

Gender and Social Structure in Prehistory –  
The Uses and Abuses of Material Culture:  
A Case-Study of the Neolithic Site of  
Çatalhöyük, Çumra (Turkey).

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I, Naomi Hamilton, declare that this thesis has been written by me, and that it is entirely my own work and the product solely of my own research. Any input by others has been duly acknowledged.



## Dedication

This thesis is dedicated to those who refuse to give in when obstacles seem insurmountable – and to those who helped me do just that.

## ABSTRACT

During the 1990's gender became accepted as a topic of study in archaeology. However, a methodology for assessing the usefulness of certain types of material for understanding the operation of gender in prehistoric societies is still lacking. Traditionally, archaeologists have tended to infer gender structures from the two 'obvious' data groups – burials, and human representations – but their assessments were generally based on modern Western normative attitudes and were uninformed by anthropological or sociological viewpoints and discoveries. Thus the data were used in unimaginative ways, or adapted to fit expectations, producing little ground-breaking work but rather reproducing in the past the picture of the present. The new wave of gender investigators also works predominantly with these same data groups, because of their clear affinity with 'real people', but there is still a gap in methodology, and a separation of gender from the wider implications of social organisation.

This thesis is concerned to investigate the application of anthropological and sociological insights, and theoretical social constructs, to certain types of material culture recovered commonly from archaeological sites and generally regarded as interpretable by any archaeologist. Thus I consider burials and anthropomorphic figurines, frequently used as the basis of gender interpretation, as well as the less usual topic of space. The focus of the thesis is the world-famous Neolithic site of Çatalhöyük, situated in central Anatolia, which has widely been viewed as an exceptional settlement with unusual gender structures.

The first part of the thesis is devoted to the theoretical issues which must lie behind any serious interpretation of the social structures of the people who lived at Çatalhöyük. Thus a substantial chapter discusses gender, and another discusses social forms. An overview of the original work at the site, and of the state of research in each of my data groups, follows. The remainder of the thesis deals in detail with the material from the current excavations, divided into three data groups, and the interpretations of gender and society which they can offer through a contextual analysis. My conclusions are that the gender and social structures discernible from the material culture of Çatalhöyük conform neither to the simple 'matriarchist' nor the modern Western expectations. Rather, a more complex reading of the material, informed by cross-disciplinary scholarship, offers a richer but more open-ended view of the ordinary lives of the people who created this extraordinary site.

## Acknowledgements

As always, the completion of a work of this nature cannot depend solely on one person, and while the writing of the thesis was entirely my own project and work – and is indeed a monument to my persistence in the face of seemingly endless adversity! – I have great pleasure in thanking those who assisted along the way.

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Besides the *work* opportunities at Çatalhöyük, it is my colleagues there who have made it so special. The importance of the site to archaeology as a whole coupled with Ian's position as a theorist of great renown have ensured that the project is staffed with people of such high academic calibre that it has been an enormous privilege to meet them and discuss work-related issues with them. Ian's vision has also meant that many non-archaeological teams and individuals have been involved, who I would not normally meet – video and film crews, anthropologists, artists, goddess groups and interested (and interesting) visitors from all walks of life. They have all contributed to my work and life with the team. Special thanks must go to the human remains team, with whom I work closely; my particular team friends Louise Martin for many good years working together; Anja Wolle for checking that I'm writing up; Amanda Kennedy for wonderful friendship and reminding me how much fun life can be; Rissa Russell, Ruth Tringham and Julie Near for support at crucial times; Stephen Holmes for reminding me I'm alive; and Jim Conolly and Jon Last for sharing a lab with me without a single argument all these years. I must also thank everyone in the team for putting up with me dancing!

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# CHAPTER ONE

## INTRODUCTION

“As an issue of history, gender is always ‘in production’, emergent in the process of human existence. Thus, epistemologically, gender is not a bounded and static phenomenon, ‘out there’ to be ‘found’ and circumscribed; it is not a ‘thing’ nor an ‘it’.

Taking gender as a process that is constructed as a relationship or set of relationships, necessarily embedded within other cultural and historical social institutions and ideologies such as status, class, ethnicity, and race, means that gender cannot be understood simply in terms of female and male activities” (Conkey and Gero 1991: 9).

### **General Introduction to the Thesis**

This chapter contains the information necessary for the reader to understand the remainder of the thesis. It therefore covers a wide range of topics. The first section covers the basics behind the practical aspects of the work, starting with a brief account of the aims of the study, followed by a discussion of terminology in which I lay out my essential understanding of some of the most important terms used in the thesis which may have different applications or permutations in other disciplines, or which are frequently used loosely in general conversation or writing but have specific meaning for the purposes of this work. I then explain the reasons behind my choice of area, sites and period of study.

The second section covers the theoretical background to the thesis, with a discussion of gender both in the modern world and within archaeological interpretation. This is followed by a section on the various data sets used for an examination of gender and social structure at the Early Neolithic site of Çatalhöyük in central Anatolia.

The final section lays out the background information about the site of Çatalhöyük, dealing with the original excavations in the 1960’s and the current excavations



which started in 1993, offering a resumé of the old interpretations as well as an explanation of the methodology and terminology in use by the current team.

## **1: General Aims**

It is my contention that gender is a social rather than a 'natural' structure; furthermore, that it is the basic structure on which 'complex' societies, and in particular hierarchical patriarchies, have been built. That is, the social structure we call gender is a major structuring feature of many societies – gender is a structuring structure, without which societies would look very different. I decided to approach an examination of the creation, embellishment and operation of gender in prehistory by considering three groups of archaeological data that are both widely available without the application of complex scientific analyses, and are generally interpreted by archaeologists. Two of these data sets – anthropomorphic figurines, and burials – have been used regularly to pronounce upon gender and/or the role of women in prehistory. Another data set – space – is rarely addressed in this context.

The original aim of this thesis was to investigate gender in early sedentary cultures in central Anatolia and Cyprus, and to examine the impact and influence of this particular social structure on the development of later social structures and systems. Gender is one of the generally unconsidered areas of social organisation, along with topics such as age, sexuality and time, which have frequently been seen as unexaminable through material culture so that essentially only hierarchical organisation and power have been discussed in works on social organisation. My intention was to analyse the three data sets for all sites within a rough circle drawn around central Anatolia and within Cyprus dating from the Aceramic Neolithic<sup>1</sup> to the Early Bronze Age in order to look at change over time. This is because I believe we are more likely to understand the operation of gender if we observe long-term change than if we look simply at a single site of a single period. Patterns might become apparent when considered over a broad area and period which are lost within the specificities of an individual site. By choosing two areas which have

close proximity yet major geographical differences (one continental, the other an island) and very different social development, I hoped to be able to recognise the influences at work more clearly. However, it proved to be extremely difficult to find suitable sites for which the data has been published in a usable form and which could be compared on any reasonable level. Therefore, I have reluctantly had to abandon my ideal strategy, and instead shall discuss the theoretical issues and possible models, then apply these to the site of Çatalhöyük East, for which a reasonable amount of data in the three data groups is available to me in both primary and secondary forms.

Clearly, a study using several data sets cannot be encyclopaedic in coverage, or it would constitute several theses, not just one. Therefore there will be no attempt to provide a full treatment of the history of archaeological work with each of the data sets, nor a standard literature review. Rather, those elements relevant to the particular topic of study will be examined, and broad referencing will suffice to lead scholars to other works if desired.

### **1.1. Terminology**

Terms such as ‘gender’, ‘natural’, ‘complex’ and ‘patriarchal’ need explanation. This is not the place to delve into areas more suited for philosophers, but rather to explain my use of these terms. While some of these terms will be discussed in greater depth in other chapters, a very brief working definition of their use in this thesis is given here.

‘Gender’ as I shall use it in this work refers to a division of people into fixed groups based mainly, though not necessarily immutably, on their sex, in order to define and/or control the behaviour of the individuals and/or groups involved. Thus ‘gender’ is used to denote social roles – whether they be related to the acquisition or processing of basic foods or the wielding of power over others – which are assigned to people purely on the basis of biological sex and which form and control their aspirations and activities regardless of ability or vocation. Gender covers a broad range of aspects of life, including personal appearance and clothing, economic and

community activities, education and knowledge acquisition. Ideologically, men have male bodies and women have female bodies. In this work, the words 'male' and 'female' are terms which denote biological sex, 'man/men' and 'woman/women' express gender. Gender is discussed in depth in chapter two.

'Culture' is a term best defined by anthropologists, and in this work I utilise the anthropological approach to culture as a system of shared beliefs, values, customs and behaviours that members of a society use to cope with their world and with one another, and that are transmitted from generation to generation through enculturation, which encompasses both conscious and unconscious learning processes. The element of enculturation is the essential aspect which separates cultural behaviour from instinct, which is based in biology and does not involve conscious thought. The power of learned behaviour, or culture, is demonstrated by the fact that humans worldwide differ very little biologically yet have enormous variation in social life, customs and beliefs.

'Natural' is used to denote behaviour uninfluenced or uncontrolled by social or communal desires, power or force. The traditional suggestion that gender is 'natural' implies that people would automatically fall into those roles regardless of whether they were solitary or in a group, suited to the role physically, mentally and emotionally or not, had freedom of movement and equal access to food, water and shelter etc.; in other words, females/women would tend children, collect or grow food and be incapable of making decisions while males would hunt food, take leadership roles and acquire things whether or not these behaviours took place in solitary conditions or were disadvantageous to survival. Thus in general the term 'natural' is often used to mean 'based in biology' or 'genetic'. As all human society – at least since the Upper Palaeolithic – is, by definition, not in its natural state but is enculturated, organised along lines which require varying levels of co-operation and coercion, there is no reason to believe that we know what the natural state of humans is. Rather, the very concept of 'natural' is another social construct which is used to regulate, justify or measure culturally ordained behaviour.

‘Complex’ has been used in archaeological literature to separate hierarchical from non-hierarchical societies. The term implies that non-hierarchical cultures are simple and disorganised, and discloses a hierarchical value-judgement on the part of archaeologists in which their own familiar systems are both endorsed and often unexamined. While some work has admitted that all cultures are complex in the true meaning of the word – i.e. in having multiple and complicated rules – the term is still in use. Here it is used in the standard archaeological usage, while inverted commas demonstrate my resistance to the term.

‘Patriarchal’ has varied meanings. It is used from different perspectives to denote different qualities. I use it in the feminist sense of a gendered social system which gives men a structural power over women, and which is based on a sex hierarchy that privileges male over female. While it appears that all hierarchical systems are patriarchal in this way, not all patriarchal cultures are hierarchical beyond this basic gender hierarchy. Patriarchy is discussed in depth in chapter three.

## **1.2. Choice of geographical area and site**

My choice of geographical area has several reasons. Firstly, I was already involved in studying the prehistory of Turkey, so it was a sensible choice. Secondly, investigations at a number of sites in Anatolia, the most famous being Çatalhöyük, have led to claims both from some archaeologists and in areas of popular culture, that early cultures in Anatolia were matriarchal and/or goddess-worshipping and/or displayed gender structures different to those of succeeding patriarchal cultures. Thirdly, I had the good fortune to join the new team investigating Çatalhöyük when work there started again in 1993, and thus I have direct access to primary data from that site. Unfortunately, it has proved impossible to get similar access to data from other sites within the area under study, hence the decision to restrict this study to Çatalhöyük East<sup>2</sup>.

## **1.3. The period under investigation**

Çatalhöyük East, the main mound at Çatalhöyük, is regarded as Early Neolithic, and is fully ceramic in all levels excavated by Mellaart (see below, section 4). The

Hodder team found no pottery below the level of Level X walls (in Mellaart's terminology) in the 1999 deep sounding but the trench was small, and lay in an external area at that depth. In addition, the common presence of fired clay objects in these layers makes it foolish to claim at this stage that they are aceramic. However, it is possible that the earliest levels at the site are aceramic. Precise divisions of the Neolithic are complex, as there is no evidence yet of a Middle or Late Neolithic phase in the Konya Plain<sup>3</sup>, and the scarcity of excavated sites makes dating terminology problematic.

#### **1.4. Types of data to be examined**

Placing gender at the centre of interpretation should mean that all types of data can be used to throw light on the gender structures of cultures. Unfortunately, until the data sets have been tested and examined within a gender-conscious study, there are currently far too many unknown aspects of most data types for this to be possible. Some data sets have been re-investigated in gender-conscious studies to show that tools or occupations widely assumed to be associated with one sex, generally male, either may or must have been used also by the other, generally female (for instance Gero 1991) but these studies have tended to be remedial feminist work – looking for the women – rather than looking for gender as a structure. As a result, they have tended to take for granted a sexual division of labour, which is one of the most common ways gender presents to the world, and examine the activities and requisites of activities allotted to females/women. While this is important work, it has not equipped us to differentiate between male and female tools or work areas or occupations in a way that enables us to examine what type of gender system, if any, was in existence. If the identification of women's tools depends on the assumption that women worked in the kitchen, which is identified by the presence of a hearth and cooking debris, how are we to question whether women were always 'relegated to the kitchen', or whether only women worked there (see Hamilton 2000b), or indeed, if women existed conceptually in that culture?

In deciding which types of data to use for my assessment of how to understand gender in prehistoric cultures, I had several criteria:

- a) I wished to look at different aspects of material culture in order to get the broadest possible view of society;
- b) I also wished to look at data sets which could bear comparison over time, between sites and between geographical areas, as I doubt whether any meaningful results could be obtained by looking simply at one type of data or in one time period alone (although, as explained above, I have unhappily had to restrict myself to one site for this thesis);
- c) Bearing in mind the difficulties expressed above concerning the assumptions required in order to begin assessing a sexual division of labour, I wanted to look both at the data 'obviously' relevant to gender and also at material that would question and/or illuminate the basis of our (often implicit) theoretical constructions and interpretations. Thus I chose data sets which range from the purely artefactual to the largely conceptual;
- d) Finally, I wanted to use data that is generally accessible without any specialist training – the material archaeologists use routinely for their interpretations, rather than that requiring special or expert input – precisely because it is used so widely without recognition of its complexities or of the assumptions that often underlie interpretation.

Thus while investigation of sex differences in diet through various chemical analyses might well give us more concrete information, it is rarely done; on the other hand, few archaeologists can resist drawing generalised conclusions about culture and society from grave goods or the organisation of a burial site. With these criteria in mind, three main data sets were chosen – anthropomorphic figurines, burials, and spatial organisation. A discussion of the data sets, with a few case studies, forms chapter four of this thesis, while an analysis of each of these data sets at the site of Çatalhöyük East constitute chapters five, six and seven. In addition, I will attempt to examine a sexual division of labour without using the assumptions normally involved, and this is part of the final discussions and conclusions in chapter eight.



### Anthropomorphic Figurines

Anthropomorphic figurines, perhaps more than any other data set, invite archaeologists to think about people. The two questions most frequently asked about figurines are whether they are male or female; and whether they represent humans or supernatural beings of some sort. These two issues demonstrate the importance to archaeologists of gender, and of the constructions which depend so heavily on the answers. The conclusion of most scholars that the vast majority of prehistoric figurines are female has led to a bemusing and imaginative array of interpretations that I can hardly believe would have been required had they been male. I feel also that the ingenious efforts of one or two scholars to show that the figurines are not really female would not have been wasted on the alternative result (see Hamilton 1996a, 2000a). The importance of the question lies in the centrality of gender to our own lives, and the determination of some to insist on the 'naturalness' and 'inherence' of our particular brand of binary gender and sexual division of labour, while others are equally determined to show it to be merely a cultural matter which can be changed if the will is there. Up until now, the question of sex has dominated the discussion of anthropomorphic figurines, and it is not an area into which I wish to delve far. Rather, I believe there is other information which can be obtained by examining figurines with gender, rather than sex, in mind, particularly if our ethnocentric binary view of sex and gender can be put aside.

### Burials

Burials are another 'obvious' data set to use for an investigation of gender. They have been used in a number of studies so far (see chapter four) but in general the theoretical basis has been of a binary gender system with a sexual division of labour. Frequently skeletons have not been sexed, assumptions have been made concerning the sex/gender of the dead based on grave goods, the sex/gender distribution of which is based on normative views of appropriateness and power culled from Western culture. Where skeletons have been sexed, there have been cases of an over-dependence on the rectifying power/usefulness of grave goods, and a strong binary view of sex which fails to recognise the continuum of biology and the multiple identifiers of sex. The difficulty I face is in recognising both the sexual

continuum and the possibility of a lack of gender or of multiple genders whilst trying to understand sex and gender patterns when they arise. Nevertheless, burials offer rich data as they are multi-faceted, complex and interlocking; information can be sought from the layout of cemeteries, arrangement of burials, treatment of the skeleton, and grave goods.

### Organisation of Space

The organisation of space may seem a peculiar area to investigate. I am not concerned here with the space allocated to each sex or gender, but with the spatial organisation of settlements. What I wish to examine is one of the fundamental, though rarely explicit, building blocks of theories of hierarchy. Patriarchal hierarchy as we meet it in archaeological thought requires certain types of space and physical organisation of settlements. Perhaps through an investigation of space it will be possible to elucidate the social structure of early cultures, in particular the gender basis of those structures.

### Sexual Division of Labour

The sexual division of labour is by far the most complicated area to tackle, because of the difficulty in approaching it at all without using assumptions which ought to be in question. Perhaps the only way it can be examined is by taking a multiple option view, and looking for the best fit. Hopefully change over time will help to elucidate the answers and lead to a 'most likely' conclusion.

My conclusions concerning the status of sex, gender and social organisation at Early Neolithic Çatalhöyük are presented in chapter eight.

## **2: The Centrality of Gender to Culture**

Until recently in certain academic spheres, and still in much of society in general, gender has been regarded as a 'natural' social structure. For this reason, it has been viewed as unproblematic. Although the particular roles allotted to the genders have



been in question for some time, the existence of gender has been taken for granted. In most Western cultures only two genders are recognised, and this conforms to the binary structure of much of Western thought. It has long been known in some academic disciplines that other cultures do not all have the same gender systems as our own – either in the allocation of roles and abilities to the sexes, or in the number of genders which exist – but so far this has had little impact on our culture or on archaeologists. This is unfortunate but perhaps unsurprising, as non-binary gender systems both undermine the ‘natural’ basis of Western gender and highlight the socially structured status of all gender systems. In recent decades, feminist work in a number of disciplines in the humanities and social sciences has teased out the structured nature of gender. Feminists were not the first to recognise this – Marx was aware of it, pointing out that capitalism required a hierarchical gender structure in which one gender works for money while the other works unpaid in the home on maintenance jobs such as feeding and clothing the paid worker (Marx 1967: 671; see also Engels 1942) – but feminists took up the issue as a central theme in the 1970’s and 1980’s. This area is discussed in chapter two.

Beyond the rather narrow view of gender as defined by economic and social behaviour is a broader socio-political structure. In this area too the structures envisioned by archaeologists for past cultures have mirrored those of the present. Power and dominance have been strong themes, with warfare and weaponry as secondary attributes. These concepts support the gender roles of Western culture, and without altering these paradigms it is more difficult to perceive alternative gender structures. One aspect explored in chapter three is a range of possible socio-political structures, with a consideration of how these would affect gender roles and how they might present in the archaeological record. This includes an examination of terminology.

### **3: The Treatment of Gender in Archaeology**

Archaeologists examine past societies. They are interested to differing extents in the social structures of the cultures they excavate and investigate, yet no interpretation of an ancient culture can be complete without placing it broadly within a social structure. Historically, this structure has not been made explicit unless it appears to be very different from the archaeologist's own cultural structure. There has been an assumption that we know how things work – that power exists, that people are acquisitive, that there is a linear development from band to empire through known cultural stages etc. One of these known facts, rarely if ever explored in archaeology until the 1980's, is gender and the sexual division of labour. So central is binary gender to our own culture that a society without gender is literally unimaginable to most people; it has been so successfully naturalised within our thought that it has been assumed to be 'natural' and therefore unchanging, ever-present, and unproblematic. As a consequence it has been ignored in almost all archaeological work until the 1990's, and is still regarded as a fringe subject. I contend that gender is so central to our thought and understanding that archaeologists' views on the gender structures of cultures they work with must be made explicit. Otherwise, a whole series of 'givens' may underlie the interpretation of a culture without reference to gender information which could render the whole work meaningless. Gender must be taken seriously – it lies at the heart of our culture and our thought, and may well have done so in the past (see chapter two).

Historically, there have been two archaeological approaches to gender: one is that gender is 'natural', a 'given' that need not be questioned; the other is that gender cannot be understood in the distant past and should therefore be left alone. However, the difficulty of interpreting a culture without reference to a gendered society means that in general archaeologists have assumed that gender structures in the past were the same as they are today. This is a peculiar attitude – no other aspect of social structure has been assumed to be unchanged, although human impulses have been viewed in that way. One aim of this thesis is to establish what can and what cannot be learned about gender in prehistoric cultures, and thereby to set some

boundaries to the assumptions so widely used by archaeologists. While I hope that far more information will be forthcoming from later studies, it is important to overturn the 'can't tell, let's assume' attitude that has prevailed so far.

The 'natural' condition of gender has led to interpretations of cultures from the distant past which appear merely to reflect the archaeologist's present. Was this accident, just 'to be expected' or deliberate policy? Now that gender has finally inched its way into the archaeological consciousness, there is a general feeling that the topic is of its time – that the late twentieth century was awash with the kind of discussion which would bring gender into the academic world at last, and that previous scholars must be exonerated for their apparent misogyny and male chauvinism. After all, the world they lived in was very different. Although this is true to a certain extent, and applies also to other aspects of archaeological interpretation, it is time to challenge the benign or naïve nature of early archaeological thought on gender. Whilst some other aspects have been understood to be biased in terms of political motivation such as Marxism, or philosophical or theoretical interest, the mainstream attitude to the treatment of gender has been that it was purely an accident of time and place, an attitude which I question (see chapter two).

The first strong academic challenge to archaeologists came in the mid-1980's (Conkey and Spector 1984) but it was not until the 1990's, when a sufficient number of women with feminist backgrounds felt established and secure enough in the academic world, that gender finally arrived on the scene in a substantial way. Since then a slow trickle of publications and conferences has appeared, largely in America, Britain and Australia, but gender is still seen as a specialist side-line, not as essential to culture interpretation. This may partly be due to the mixed origins of gender studies, and the lack of any clear definition of what an archaeology of gender is. The lack of a definition of gender archaeology is not accidental. While it may appear to 'outsiders' to be the result of muddled thinking, it is all part of the 1970's feminist enterprise which encourages inclusive non-hierarchical discussion rather than the line-toeing vertically-ordered structure that pervades the male academic

world. Thus a number of writers have stressed the multi-faceted approach taken in their books; the fact that there is no single 'archaeology of gender' but a number of 'archaeologies of gender' is celebrated as a strength rather than bemoaned as a weakness (for instance, Conkey and Gero 1991; Wright 1996c). It is probable that this multiplicity approach has assisted in the failure of gender to move beyond the fringe of archaeological thought into the centre of a discipline which has long been dominated by a single-theory ethos. The ability of male-style academia to 'know' what can in fact only be suggested or guessed at about societies long past, and the implication of (almost exclusively female) gender scholars that multiple answers are possible and indeed preferable to former certainty, makes the two groups incompatible at present.

#### **4: The Site of Çatalhöyük East**

##### **4.1. Introduction**

Çatalhöyük is a double mound that was found by James Mellaart in 1958 when, with David French and Alan Hall, he was carrying out a survey of prehistoric sites in the South Anatolian plateau (Mellaart 1961). He recognised the eastern mound as a Neolithic site based on material known from Mersin in the south-east, and from Hacilar near Burdur to the west which he was in the process of excavating (Mellaart 1970) and assigned it to the Early Neolithic period.

Çatalhöyük East is a very large mound, c. 500m north-south and c. 350m east-west. It is made up of three sub-mounds or eminences, the largest of which rises 17.5m above the plain (Mellaart 1961: 45; Pollard et al. 1996: 59-61). The south-western part of the largest sub-mound was the site of Mellaart's excavations which took place over four seasons between 1961 and 1965.

The western mound is Early Chalcolithic and is not the subject of this study. It is rather smaller than the east mound, c. 350 x 300m and rising c. 7m high above the plain. As little work has yet been carried out there, it is not yet known whether

occupation moved from the east mound to a new site on adjacent flat land, or whether there was a substantial break in occupation between the Neolithic east and Chalcolithic west mounds<sup>4</sup>.

#### **4.2. The original excavations**

Because of the large size of the site, Mellaart called Çatalhöyük a town as early as 1961, before excavation had started (1961: 160) and this label has stuck despite the absence of many elements generally regarded as essential in differentiating village and urban life. Indeed, once excavation had started, Mellaart claimed this title even more clearly: “With different quarters for different activities, a clear specialization in crafts and a social stratification that is obvious in both the size of the houses and the quality of burial gifts, this settlement was not a village of farmers, however rich. It was far more than that. In fact, its remains are as urban as those of any site from the succeeding Bronze Age yet excavated in Turkey” (1964b: 2).<sup>5</sup> Mellaart also came to the conclusion that the social framework was probably rather different to one familiar today, particularly in terms of gender hierarchy. For instance, he felt that the burials of women indicated high status, and that this was supported by imagery such as female figurines and large-scale sculptures in some buildings which suggested a female-centred religion. “I would maintain, perhaps wrongly, that the Neolithic religion of Çatal Hüyük (and of Hacilar) was created by women. In contrast to nearly all other earlier and later ‘fertility cults’ of the Near East, it significantly lacks the element of sexual vulgarity and eroticism that is almost automatically associated with fertility and probably is the male’s contribution” (1964b: 9)<sup>6</sup>. Mellaart’s views concerning the social structure of Çatalhöyük, (some of which also appear to owe something to an interaction with the ideas of Jane Jacobs, who was working at the same time, resulting in a ‘cross-fertilisation’ of theories which has become the hallmark of much work concerning Çatalhöyük<sup>7</sup>), were set down in his very accessible book *Çatal Hüyük. A neolithic town in Anatolia* (1967), through which they became known to a wider public and have become the basis of much work by special interest scholars working on, for instance, early religion, matriarchy, social structure and feminism.

The evidence upon which these claims were made would probably not be interpreted in that way today, and it is important to summarise what Mellaart found. In four seasons he excavated more than 200 buildings within a small part of the site, spread through 13 superimposed layers of structures referred to as levels<sup>8</sup>. A series of radiocarbon dates and an assessment of the material culture shows that this is essentially a one period site which lasted for a thousand years or so with little significant change although gradual change did occur over time in technology and spatial organisation.<sup>9</sup> The buildings are rectilinear, and consist of a room measuring on average 5 x 4m (though there is considerable variation in size ranging from about 3 x 3 to 8 x 5m), often with one or sometimes two associated small rooms<sup>10</sup>. Buildings were numbered by excavation area (a letter), level number (in Roman numerals), and building number (an Arabic number), giving references such as EVI:44. The large rooms have a number of features such as raised areas called platforms and benches; hearths and ovens; and bins. Entry was by ladder from the roof, and small rooms were sometimes linked to large ones through crawl holes while others had no link and were also entered from the roof. Burials were made beneath the platforms and floors. Walls were made of sun-dried mud-brick, and both floors and walls were plastered. Some walls were decorated with paintings, sculptures, and/or modelled animal heads often containing skulls of real animals. Many of the small rooms seem to have been used for storage and possibly some manufacturing and food-processing tasks, while some were entry shafts giving an alternative access to the main room – possibly to avoid smoke from the oven which was normally placed below the entrance in the main room.

Buildings were placed one upon the other, and close together, generally without streets or alleyways. At times, empty buildings were turned into open spaces or courts, and it was here that many of the artefacts were found. These open spaces could later revert to being buildings, with the placement of the earlier walls apparently remembered, or relocated as foundations for later ones. The artefacts found at the site include some demonstrating high levels of technological skill such as obsidian mirrors, blades and projectile points; a wide range of anthropomorphic and zoomorphic figurines of stone and baked clay; many thousands of beads, mainly



made of stone but also shell, bone and metal; bone tools both basic and elaborate; and simple pottery found at all levels of the site in small quantities. Textiles and wooden boxes were found in some burnt burials.

In general terms, the buildings were essentially all the same, although the number of ancillary rooms varied and could occasionally be as many as four or five, arranged carefully around the main room. The large rooms had similar basic features, although not all had the same ones. However, there was variation in size and level of elaboration, as well as the number of burials. Mellaart regarded the most elaborate of these buildings as shrines, believing the paintings, sculptures etc. to be of religious significance, yet there was no set list of shrine attributes – they could be large, have many burials, have burials with unusual features, contain paintings, sculptures, animal models, figurines, deposits of artefacts, but they might have only a few of these, or all of them, while other buildings with some of these features were regarded as domestic houses. In terming some buildings ‘shrines’, Mellaart set up the case for a hierarchical society, possibly ruled by a priestly class. Indeed, he suggested that he had found a priestly quarter where there was no evidence of manufacturing, which must have taken place in a different quarter of town.

### Figurines

A considerable number of anthropomorphic and zoomorphic figurines were found, the majority made of sun-dried or baked clay but some of stone. No corpus of these has ever been published, although each preliminary report dealt with a selection of figurines in some detail. The majority of anthropomorphic figurines depicted female bodies although some males are known, and the site became famous for figurines showing plump women sitting or standing, although these are actually in a minority. The most famous figure is seated on two felines and may be giving birth, but this is the only possible representation of birth among the figurine complement (Mellaart 1963: 93-7). A group of stone figurines showing females and a presumed male with leopards and another male wearing leopardskin were found in a level VI building, and are well-known (Mellaart 1963: 86-89). These human figurines have generally been interpreted as images of deities, with the most common deity being a ‘mother

goddess', shown sometimes in her 'maiden' form, and occasional representations of two male gods, one young and one old. This follows the tradition discussed in chapter two of this thesis.

In addition to human figures that reproduce the human form to varying degrees of accuracy, a large number of schematic figures was found. Many of these are similar in style and were regarded by Mellaart as votive figures because they were found sometimes within the walls of buildings as well as in pits in open areas. (I prefer to call these 'humanoid' figures because that recognises form rather than inferring use.) There were also some completely schematic figures, largely slightly adapted stones which bear some resemblance to the human form.

In 1995 I undertook a re-assessment of the figurines in which I considered context and other issues such as fragmentation (Appendix 1: 215-227) in an attempt to get beyond simplistic interpretations. Because of the lack of detailed contextual information available, my conclusions had to be limited, but it is clear that a single interpretation for all anthropomorphic figurines is unsuitable, and chapter five of this thesis consists of analysis of all figurines found at the site, both by Mellaart and by Hodder.

### Burials

In his first preliminary report, Mellaart said that "burials of children may occur anywhere below the floor, but adults were regularly buried below the platform in the north-east quarter of the house, that is, they buried the dead below their beds" (Mellaart 1962: 51). However, in following seasons it became clear that things were more complicated. This may partly be because during 1961 Mellaart dug a number of buildings in the very top levels of the site, which were either badly denuded or which often appear to have had only a single platform or perhaps two, with the north-east corner being the most common position for a platform (see Appendix 1: 253-4). As work continued, more buildings were discovered with several platforms, and burials were found beneath a range of them, in particular beneath the east-central platform. Intact burials were mentioned, although incomplete ones were said



to be more common (Mellaart 1962: 51), but in later seasons so many partial skeletons and bone piles were found that it was decided that burial was always or almost always secondary, following excarnation through primary burial elsewhere or exposure to vultures or insects. This suggestion was based both on the lack of marking on the bones that would result from excarnation with knives or by animal gnawing, and on the discovery of several wall-paintings that seemed to show vultures or people dressed as vultures attacking dead bodies (Mellaart 1964: 64, 70, figs. 20, 21, pl. VIIb, VIII, IX, XII, XIVa). While there are problems combining this idea with the presence of jewellery and clothing elements 'in situ' on skeletons, and it was questioned by Todd (1976: 67), it was not until the recent excavations that it was challenged seriously (see chapter six).

In subsequent preliminary reports Mellaart tried to make sense of any possible patterning of these burials, and perhaps unsurprisingly – given the centrality in our culture of sex and gender – the information he provided focussed largely on a division of people into two sexes which were treated differently in a range of ways: in place of burial; treatment of the body; and provision of grave goods. Specifically, on the basis of field identification by staff – and before anthropological study by Lawrence Angel and Denise Ferembach – male skeletons were said to be found singly beneath the north-east platform and female and juvenile skeletons to be found in multiples beneath the central platform against the east wall (henceforth east-central platform) (e.g. Mellaart 1964a: 93; 1966: 191). So certain was he of this that he declared 'hunting shrines' FV:1 and AIII:1 to have had no male burials, suggesting that they were cenotaphs to men killed out hunting and their bodies not retrieved (Mellaart 1966: 191, but see below p20).

Male skeletons were occasionally found with grave goods, generally in the form of mace-heads, chipped-stone projectile points, bone belt-fasteners and small collections of beads, while female and juvenile skeletons were rather more frequently found with grave goods, generally in the form of necklaces/bracelets, as well as bone tools such as spatulae and pins, celts, and rarely obsidian mirrors and pigment. A few female skeletons were treated with red ochre. In general burials

containing female skeletons were richer than those containing male skeletons, and were placed in the most important part of the building as evidenced by the elaborate decoration of the wall above the east-central platform in some cases, and the large size of this platform.

This aspect of Mellaart's work has been a focus of considerable debate regarding the roles of men and women, particularly with respect to social power and hierarchy, with some people claiming that the burials, in conjunction with the figurines, are evidence of a matriarchal social structure. However, on the whole this debate has taken place on the basis of the information given by Mellaart, with participants taking a largely ideological stance concerning the same set of data. No further work has been done on the material until now, with the exception of that done on Mellaart's behalf by Lawrence Angel and Louise Ferembach in the 1960's and 1970's which, unfortunately, had not been completed or published when Mellaart published his interpretations. As Angel's results were presented in a fairly brief paper without the full data, and Ferembach's publications are little cited and therefore unknown to many people interested in the debate, their work has been of far less help than it should have been.

Fortunately, I have access to both Angel's and Ferembach's data records as well as the artefacts and inventory records from Mellaart's excavations, and therefore have a fuller picture of the situation than all the protagonists to date. The situation is still far from ideal, since I was not present at the original excavations, nor am I competent to study human bones, and unfortunately there has been a great deal of information loss concerning precise context at each stage of study. This is compounded by a loss of skeletal material between excavation, on-site storage, cleaning by a local doctor, transport to Ankara for study by Angel and Ferembach, and its current storage in Ankara University. Nevertheless, it has been possible to make some sense of the data, and this has demonstrated that things are not quite as Mellaart believed when the details are considered, although the broad picture may have been correct. Data from the current work at the site confirms that discrepancies exist.

In 1995 I carried out a re-analysis of Mellaart's burial data (Hamilton 1996b, attached as Appendix 1: 242-263), based on my own examination of the finds and their records, as well as Angel's and Ferembach's records. Although it was impossible by that time to match most burials to specific areas of buildings, the few records which did contain this information were sufficient to show that male skeletons did not occur exclusively in the north-east corner of buildings, that adult males were sometimes buried alongside juveniles, and that female skeletons were found beneath the north platform as well as the main and southern platforms. This data comes mainly from records of building VII:31, as well as the 'hunting shrines' FV:I and AIII:1 – which contrary to Mellaart's belief actually contained eight male skeletons as well as ten female and four undetermined (Ferembach), and three male, three female, one undetermined and three juvenile (Angel) skeletons respectively<sup>11</sup>. It is also apparent from Angel's and Ferembach's data that larger numbers of skeletons were found than was recognised during excavation, so that Mellaart's figure of 32 as the largest number from a single house was raised to 46 by Ferembach.

Turning to other early conclusions, it became clear that red ochre was not applied exclusively to female skeletons, although they predominate; that the division of grave goods by sex of skeleton was not absolute; and that a number of burials appeared to cross sex and gender lines to the extent that a binary approach to sex-linked gender seems not to have been complete, at least in the first half of the period of occupation at Çatalhöyük. The most well-known of these cross-sex/gender burials is the skeleton buried in Shrine VIII:31 in a seated position beneath a platform with elaborate decoration, accompanied by mixed female and male grave goods and treated with red ochre. Initially sexed female, Angel said it was male. For the details of this re-analysis, see Appendix 1: 259.

### Shrines

The issue of shrines is central to the interpretation of Çatalhöyük as a stratified society and a town holding the position of 'capital city' of the region, and must therefore be explored a little. Shrines would normally be regarded as public spaces,

unless they are domestic shrines, but those at Çatalhöyük are not necessarily large and some are small. Definitions are problematic here, and also carry important implications – public buildings occur in towns but rarely in villages according to received archaeological wisdom. How public is public? If few people could fit inside, or no more than could meet in a private house, can they be regarded as public buildings? Are they public if they serve the community, as the whole of a church is regarded as a public building although part of it is accessible only to certain functionaries? What is a domestic shrine? – is it one within a house, or need it serve only the needs of the occupying family? Perhaps the ‘shrines’ had a specialised purpose – Mellaart suggested they could have been the dwellings of the priestly class, but there are no candidates for the shrines served by these priests other than the same buildings that would be their homes. This would result in a new form of domestic cult, served by domestic specialists. It is also a circular argument – the rationale for the presence of a priestly class is the ‘shrines’ themselves, which constitute the only evidence for social differentiation other than building size and grave goods<sup>12</sup>, yet if they are priestly dwellings this suggests both that they are houses like the others, and that the inhabitants of houses could turn them into shrines through decoration (and themselves into priests at the same time) – that is, they could become priests of their own domestic shrines, as no other shrines exist. What, then, constitutes a class, if this is the origin of hierarchy? – and where do we draw the line between public and private? These are extremely complex issues which cannot be dealt with in depth here, but issues of public and private are discussed in more detail in chapters four and seven.

In general, it should be stated that the case for shrines at Çatalhöyük is weak theoretically and methodologically. Moreover, it has always been known that the wall-paintings, which are widely regarded as an identifying feature of ‘shrines’, were also found in some less elaborate forms in ‘domestic’ houses; it has also been known that they can have been visible for only a short period before being covered up – typically all house and ‘shrine’ walls (but not necessarily store-rooms and entry shafts) were re-plastered regularly. Many buildings have as many as fifty re-plasterings, some have more, and it has been thought that these were applied

annually. Only a few of these plaster layers were painted, scattered throughout the period of occupation. This suggests that paintings were not a permanent feature of 'shrines'. Thus on the data level too the argument for shrines does not hold water, in terms of clear identifying features, longevity of features, as well as special treatment of burials, and a more finely-tuned explanation is needed. This will be offered in the concluding chapter.

#### **4.3. Current work at the site.**

Work at Çatalhöyük was re-started in 1993 by a team directed by Ian Hodder of Cambridge University (now at Stanford University). The first two seasons consisted largely of survey work which included carrying out a detailed 2m contour survey of both the east and west mounds (plan 1); laying out a grid of 20 x 20m squares on both mounds; surface collection of artefacts from a 2 x 2m square located in the south-west corner of each 20 x 20m square; surface scraping of selected 10 x 10m squares across much of the east mound and part of the west mound; and cleaning, recording and analysing the sections in Mellaart's old trench. This work is all reported in our first site report (Hodder 1996), along with re-analysis of some of Mellaart's data groups.

In 1995 a new trench was opened towards the top of the northern eminence, where scraping had shown a dense network of buildings just below the surface (plan 2). Excavation began on Building 1 (containing spaces 70, 71 and 72, and later 110 and 111 – but this numbering is under review, see Appendix 2) and its adjacent external areas Spaces 69 and 73, and later 153. In addition, Mellaart's old trench was cleaned up and recorded, and a 20 x 20m trench was laid out within this area, centred on where Mellaart's deep sounding of 1963 was believed to be situated. In the final days of the season excavation began on two areas examined by Mellaart along the northern edge of the new trench – courtyard 15 (re-named Space 105), and the remnants of house VII:2 (later space 107) (plan 3). In succeeding seasons work has continued along the northern edge of the 20 x 20m square, where partial buildings have been excavated in addition to the new Building 2 (comprising spaces

116 and 117) below Space 105 and another large external ‘midden’ area (space 115) (plan 4).

During 1999 a six month season took place to establish whether or not water-logged levels survived at the bottom of the mound as Mellaart had reported in the 1960’s. Draining of the plain prior to a new irrigation project has led to a severe drop in the water table over the past seven years, and therefore a deep sounding was excavated in the area of Mellaart’s 1963 deep sounding. This involved the excavation of the remnants of several buildings dealt with by Mellaart, mainly Shrines 1 and 8 at levels VII to X. In addition, the floors of Shrine VII:10 were excavated (as Building 6) and the underlying Building 17 was excavated down to floor level. These areas are shown in plans 3,4, 5 and 6. The narrow deep-sounding itself (Space 181) fell in an external area which unfortunately could not be tied in to adjacent buildings (plan 7). The deposits continued for four metres below Mellaart’s level X, and showed a mixture of continuity and difference. In particular, no pottery was found below what was thought to be level XII, yet baked clay figurines did occur, and solid fired clay objects in a range of geometric shapes were found in quantity. Similar objects were found in the Kopal trench, an off-site excavation several metres north of the northern eminence of the mound (Boyer 1999). Alongside these clay objects were the bones of large wild fauna such as deer and boar which are not often present in the normal faunal assemblage on the mound. The discovery of similar clay objects in the deep sounding and in Kopal suggests that they are of similar date. The presence of large wild fauna in Kopal may indicate the use of off-site areas for processing of hunted meat, or represent an earlier subsistence strategy than that found during the later occupation of the mound.

### Terminology and methodology

In order to understand the data produced by the team currently working at Çatalhöyük, the terminology and methodology in use must be explained briefly. First, terminology and field practice. Under the naming system employed by the current project, and in an attempt at objectivity, all bounded areas are called ‘spaces’ and receive their own number, which changes when it is apparent that a new ‘level’



has been reached. 'Levels' have been inherited from Mellaart, and do not fit perfectly with the information gained from the current work, but have been retained as general terms while not being applied specifically to different buildings. Spaces may be internal or external. Internal spaces may be grouped together to form a 'building', which is partly a recognition of the inevitable subjectivity of the crew digging the site and the need to group certain types of data for effective interpretation. External spaces have not yet been grouped in any way. A certain number of smaller grouping agents have been recognised, most of them referring to internal fixtures and fittings of buildings, and these are called 'features'. Burials are features, and may contain one or more skeletons as well as fill.

Each individual depositional event, as far as is possible to ascertain, is excavated separately under the term 'unit' (equivalent to 'context' in the Museum of London system familiar to many field archaeologists)<sup>13</sup>. A small quantity of soil from each unit is stored for future analysis (the 'archive sample'); 30 litres of each unit (or the total unit, if smaller than 30 litres) is sent for flotation. The remainder of each deposit is dry-sieved through a 4mm mesh. All artefacts or items recovered from a unit receive the number of that unit as their basic numerical record. Since 1996 there has been no 'small find' system at the site, as this introduces a subjective hierarchy of importance into the recording of finds. Instead, finds singled out for special recording in the field – because they are likely to be of interest to the government representatives as typical 'small finds', because they are located on floors, or because the person studying the material has asked for special recording for a particular purpose such as distribution analysis – are given three-dimensional co-ordinates and labelled with the unit number followed by an X and a sequential number starting at one for each unit. Thus 1215.X3 is the third item from unit 1215 given on-site numbering and co-ordinates by the excavator. All items recovered from the sieve, heavy residue and flotation receive the same unit number and are then sent to the relevant team for analysis. Each team has a separate letter of the alphabet it uses for numbering individual items within the same system as the 'x-find' method. Thus 1215.H1 is likely to be a figurine or a bead or grave good (all currently dealt with by the same person, myself), 1215.F1 is likely to be an animal

bone or shell, and 1215.A1 is likely to be obsidian or flint. It should be emphasised, however, that the letter belongs to the team, not the material – and that whoever records the item will use their own letter, regardless of the material or type of artefact. The allocation of letters to different people avoids the possibility of duplication of a number, and was introduced for practical purposes, while the failure to tie a letter to a particular material or artefact type was decided for radical theoretical purposes. With this information in mind, it should be possible for a reader to follow not only my own analyses in this thesis, but to understand our on-line database more clearly.

Second, methodology. An entire book has been devoted to the methodology at Çatalhöyük (Hodder 2000) as well as several papers (Hodder 1997; a whole day at TAG 1996, the papers from which are on our web site <http://catal.arch.cam.ac.uk>). Briefly, the current project at Çatalhöyük is an exercise in applying post-processual archaeology to the field, bringing together theory and practice. Essential to this process is a circulation of information which is unusual. Almost all analysis is carried out on site, which involves laboratory-based staff mingling with field staff at a level not normally found in British excavations where work on bones, botanical data and artefacts tends to be part of ‘post-ex’ work. To make greater use of this proximity, a number of laboratory-based staff, in particular those working on animal bones and botanical remains, visit the excavation trenches every two days to discuss which units might repay immediate analysis. These are then ‘prioritised’ for analysis by all laboratory-based staff, and the results are discussed two days later with the excavators.

Unfortunately, it gradually became clear that the faunal and botanical teams would never be able to analyse all the data from the site, as the quantities are so enormous. Therefore, although they started off trying to deal with all units – in particular those from Building 1, which we intended to examine during a study season in 1999 and publish in 2000 – it has now been decided that only prioritised units, plus a few extras chosen for specific reasons, will be studied for the final publication. (This is largely a result of the replacement of the 1999 study season with the six month



season mentioned above, which has both pushed the study season back a year, and produced an enormous amount of extra data for analysis.) This list of units will include a number chosen by ‘minority’ analysts such as those working with pottery, figurines, charcoal and ground stone, but clearly will give only a partial picture of the depositional context of these items. The ‘prioritising’ system was intended to increase not only the flow of knowledge, but self-reflexivity, and this has been assisted by the presence of anthropologists to study how we create archaeological knowledge and what our underlying assumptions are. Overall, this offers a potential for creative thinking which is extremely exciting.

### The Buildings and Spaces

In order to understand the chapters on figurines and burials it is necessary to have a basic understanding of the buildings and spaces in which they were found. Rather than include lengthy details of that type in this chapter, which is concerned mainly with methodology and theory, this information is contained in Appendix 2, in which I explain in brief the salient features of each building and external space excavated since 1995, including whether or not burials were found, and the current state of work.

## **5: Personal Statement**

Finally, in line with the feminist principle that the personal is political, and that one should own one’s statements, much of the text of this thesis is written in the first person. I believe that a myriad of assumptions and half-truths have passed for fact in archaeology – as in other academic disciplines – by the use of the third person, which fails to force scholars to question their own belief in the statements they are making.

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<sup>1</sup> Inevitably, some sites are published fully while only brief information about others is currently available to scholars outside the teams working on them. For instance, Can Hasan I is only partly published, and Can Hasan III remains merely a summary. Aşıklı Höyük is still under excavation and only preliminary reports are available. The excavations at Höyücek are complete, but not yet published. The Köşk Höyük excavations ended abruptly, and unpublished, with the excavator's sudden death, and the papers are still being sorted. Problems such as these occur repeatedly, making analysis of these sites virtually impossible, although there are several exceptions to the publication difficulties, notably Hacılar. This leads to a serious unevenness of knowledge, and therefore I tried to concentrate on certain major sites with good publication and with multiple data sets as my focal sites. Even after this restriction, I was forced by the level and quality of information concerning my chosen data groups in the publications which are available to reduce my main analysis to the site of Çatalhöyük, for which I have access to primary and secondary data. Kuruçay offers a long sequence of occupation, and is indubitably an extremely important site which could offer excellent comparative data from the Burdur region to consider against the material from Çatalhöyük. Unfortunately the final publications, though prompt, contain no usable data concerning figurines or burials, and no supporting data for any of the interpretations of use of space, making them most disappointing. These data and publication problems have meant that I cannot work over the long time period which I believe is optimal; nevertheless, it is necessary to make a start somewhere, and hopefully the work in this thesis will enable future scholars to make comparisons between Çatalhöyük and other sites.

<sup>2</sup> See note 1.

<sup>3</sup> The earliest levels of Köşk Höyük are said to be Late Neolithic, but this seems to be based on the fact that they are succeeded by occupation regarded as Early Chalcolithic rather than on any clear identification of a Late Neolithic assemblage. It may be that the Neolithic of the Konya Plain has a single phase only, with gradual change rather than any clear division into the tripartite Early, Middle and Late phases so beloved of archaeologists.

<sup>4</sup> Reports on work on the west mound can be found in Mellaart 1965, for the 1961 trial work, and on the Çatalhöyük website for trial work carried out in 1998, and for a season of excavation in 2000 directed by myself, Jonathan Last and Catriona Gibson.

<sup>5</sup> Note the allusions here to the characteristics of the urban revolution described by Childe, with whose work Mellaart would have been familiar although the reference is not made explicit.

<sup>6</sup> For problems with the sexing of the burials, see Hamilton 1996b, attached as Appendix 1.

<sup>7</sup> For instance, Dorothy Cameron has carried out a long – and continuing – correspondence with Mellaart over the decades since Çatalhöyük was first excavated

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(a little of which I have seen), and a cross-fertilisation of ideas is very apparent in the development of concepts about women and religion in both Cameron's and Mellaart's publications over that time.

<sup>8</sup> These levels are numbered I, II, III, IV, V, VIA, VIB, VII, VIII, IX, X, XI, XII.

<sup>9</sup> The work of the Hodder team supports this view. New carbon dates have been taken but final dates have not yet been made available. The material culture and faunal remains indicate a significant change in subsistence and technology during the life of the settlement that is clearest around level VI, but this is not a sudden change, and the interpretation of the site as a one-period settlement still stands.

<sup>10</sup> No original field plans exist from Mellaart's excavations (most records were destroyed in a house fire), and it is not possible to gain accurate measurements from published plans. The Hodder team has excavated only a handful of buildings so far, so only rough building sizes can be given at this time.

<sup>11</sup> Ferembach does not include this group, although they may be her Group M which would give six male, seven female, five undetermined, three juvenile; or possibly her Group G which would give six male and five female.

<sup>12</sup> So far there has been little if any correlation found between building size, elaboration, and 'richness' of grave goods (Hamilton 1996b, 258-260); an examination of 'elaboration' through plotting a number of immovable features of buildings, based on Mellaart's plans, showed that while many of the structures identified as 'shrines' were indeed the most elaborate, some were not (Ritchey 1996). Unfortunately, despite intent (Hodder 1996b:6) the number and type of artefacts found within these buildings was not added to the elaboration charts, so that is an area yet to be investigated.

<sup>13</sup> Although ideally the excavation unit is a single depositional event, there are several reasons why this is not always the case. For instance, when excavating midden-type areas, it has been common for a number of separate depositions of soil (and particularly of ash) to be removed as a single unit due to the interleaved nature of many layers and the difficulties of separating them and of recording each one individually. There have also been time constraints which have resulted in substantial depths of midden-type deposits being removed as single units, particularly at the start of the 1999 season. Among the American- and Greek-led teams, excavating Buildings 3 and 10, the archaeologists are accustomed to using different excavation methodologies and tend to work with spits and baulks rather than operating the single context system common in Britain. They have tried to adapt their methods to the system established by the British-led team for the sake of standardised recording, but in fact their retention of spits and baulks has led to the splitting of single depositional events into more than one unit of recording. For these reasons, the term 'unit' does not always have the same meaning, although it is generally pretended that it does for purposes of post-excavation analysis.

## CHAPTER TWO

### GENDER: THEORETICAL MODELS AND APPROACHES

“ ‘My lord, facts are like cows. If you look them in the face hard enough, they generally run away.’ Dorothy Sayers’ analogy between cows and facts [contains] both a philosophical and a methodological point....The philosophical point is that facts are not something we can take for granted or think of as the solid rock upon which knowledge is built. Actually their nature is rather problematic – so much so that confrontation often scares them off. The methodological point is that the confrontation has to be long, hard and direct. Like cows, facts have become sufficiently domesticated to deal with run-of-the-mill events.” (Knorr-Cetina 1981:1, quoted in Gero 1994: 145).

#### 1: Introduction

Gender is generally viewed in Western and many other cultures as a natural, given quality or attribute. That is, gender has been naturalised, and therefore is rarely seen as a theoretical model or social construct – it is simply there, as trees are green or the sky is blue: there are men and there are women, and they fulfil different roles, carry out different social tasks. The whole basis of social life is that much of our learning is done by proxy, by an often unconscious process of enculturation, and it is in this way that we learn both that trees are green and that there are two sexes and two genders linked immutably and ‘naturally’ to sex. It is such an elementary bit of knowledge, inculcated into us from early infancy, that it is difficult for many of us to imagine any other system or to recognise that our form of gender is only one of several. However, trees are not green or the sky blue to everyone – those who cannot see, or who have different forms of colour vision – and perhaps this is a useful simile for understanding the difficulties many people have in problematising gender, or in recognising that it is a social or cultural construct. Unless something does not fit, questions are not asked. In Western cultures, for the past century and a half, a considerable number of people – largely women – have been pointing out that trees have brown trunks, and sometimes have red, brown or white leaves. Under this feminist influence, the boundaries between the two Western sexes/genders have

become blurred, and in some cases redefined, but there are still areas in which gender seems to many people unproblematic. Thus certain types of work both inside and outside the home are gender-marked. However, even the most 'naturally obvious' of these, such as childcare or soldiering, are under growing challenge from people who want to do a job assumed to 'belong' to the other gender/sex.

Given that a considerable and growing part of the population in Western countries is now involved in tasks formerly assigned to the other gender/sex, we must ask whether gender is natural after all, or whether it is simply a socially constructed division of labour which is particularly suited to certain socio-political systems. It is frequently argued that women are naturally suited to childcare because they give birth and lactate. A simple extension of this argument is that men are not suited to childcare because they do not give birth or lactate, and a further extension suggests that women who do not enjoy childcare or who choose not to have children are not 'real women' or are somehow 'unnatural'. This view developed in late nineteenth century Britain, when the large number of single women caused consternation in some circles (see Jackson 1994: 15-18 and references; Poovey 1988: 1-6) and led many women to agitate for greater access to economic resources (such as the right to education and to work in the professions). The same basic line of biological thought has been used to claim that motherhood is the cause of women's restriction to domestic settings, generally viewed as the house, and their primary role as feeders and carers of kin. This view has persisted despite the fact that it has long been known that in many cultures women are or have been involved in growing food, producing artefacts on a large scale, trading both locally and long-distance, and acting as shamans, health-specialists and teachers. The large amount of data collected cross-culturally by anthropologists, missionaries, historians and others has demonstrated beyond question that gender-roles are cultural constructs which vary considerably, and therefore cannot have a biological or 'natural' base in most cases. Nevertheless, some form of sex-based gender does appear to exist in all known societies.

In this chapter I shall examine the way gender has been presented as part of culture. I shall start with looking at the place of gender in Western thought, the link between sex and gender, and the construction of Western attitudes to gender. I shall then consider the development of archaeological thought within that context – that is, the social construction of archaeologists and their treatment of gender. Finally I shall run briefly through anthropological approaches to culture, pointing to their particular application to gender, and examine the debate on gender which started in the 1970's and has radicalised both theory and practice in the last two decades. As explained in chapter one, this is a multi-disciplinary investigation, and it is not possible to deal with all areas of research thoroughly. Rather, this chapter is designed to set the scene for archaeological attitudes and approaches to gender in the interpretation of prehistoric cultures.

## **2: Sex and Gender**

Sex is regarded by most people, archaeologists included, as a natural, given attribute of humans, and the division of humans into two sexes, usually with associated sex-based gender roles, has rarely been questioned. While I am not disputing that in biological terms sex does exist, what is clear is that even in biology there is a continuum which, for instance, makes the sexing of skeletons from archaeological sites uncertain, and that outside biology the concept of sex may not have existed in the past in the way it does now. A person whose skeleton we, as archaeologists, view as female may not have had a concept of femaleness, or placed itself within that category<sup>1</sup>.

Gender is a social status based on perceived sex – perceived, that is, by others, at our birth. It differs from some types of social status in having a biological base, and is justified on those grounds – that one is born that way, and from the accident of birth a life path is mapped out which until recently could not easily be altered, in Western societies at least. However, the development of gender as a social construct is dependent first on the development of a concept of sex not just as a difference, but



as *the* difference which matters. It is possible that the creation of gender (that is, a social division based on sex) is the basis of all hierarchy, for when one aspect of birth can be elevated to a structuring structure of such magnitude, other accidents of birth can easily follow suit; but the creation of the first social hierarchy was the most difficult, having no precedent to follow. The reason that gender may have been the first of these ‘natural’ statuses is that certain differences in body form are visible to all right from birth, whereas a status based on the status or wealth of parents requires the prior creation of a status hierarchy for those parents. If gender were indeed the first birth-based hierarchical status to develop, it is clearly of great interest to understand when, how and why such a development took place.

However, there is plentiful evidence from around the world that many cultures do not have a binary view of sex and gender. There may be multiple gender options, which do not tie gender to sex (although there is generally a dominant gender for each sex); or a person may occupy different gender roles at different times in their lives. There is space here only to run very briefly through a few instances, but the anthropological literature abounds with them.

Probably the most well-known cross-sex/gender group are the *berdache* of North America, who have been documented by Westerners since the seventeenth century and are known from nearly 150 different groups (Roscoe 1996: 330). Recent decades have seen detailed studies and re-evaluations<sup>2</sup>. Basically, *berdache* adopt a gender generally belonging to the other sex, perhaps as a result of a dream or vision, perhaps through straight-forward choice, but it is not as straight-forward or clearcut as that and there is considerable variation. Early ethnographers regarded them as homosexual, but some are bisexual or heterosexual, and there is little evidence that sexual orientation is the origin of the status – rather, it is the gender role of the *berdache* which dictates the sex of their partner. The key features of *berdache* roles, in order of importance, are productive specialisation, supernatural sanction and gender variation, of which cross-dressing is the most common and visible – but also variable and unreliable – marker. Some *berdache* wear clothing distinct from that of either men or women; others cross-dress only for certain tasks. However, it is the

economic and religious elements which are more important, and *berdache* often surpass other people in these pursuits, being attributed with exceptional productivity or talent (Roscoe 1996: 335). While the *berdache* are normally males who live in some way as women, there are equivalent roles in some groups for females who live as men, although fewer have been documented (Roscoe 1987; 1996: 330-1, 338-340 and note 2). Increasingly it is now accepted that *berdache* form a third, or third and fourth, gender within a multiple-gender system rather than being simple sex/gender crossers within the binary system familiar to Western culture.

The *hijra* of India have become better known through studies by Serena Nanda (1990, 1996). Born male, they are devotees of a form of the Mother Goddess and undergo castration, receiving in return divine powers. They dress as women, and as vehicles of divine power they perform at the birth of a male child, at marriages, and act as servants of the Goddess at Her temple. They also act as prostitutes with men, although this contradicts their ritual roles. Unlike other ascetics, they live in their own communities and their position within society has elements of caste as well as that of renunciators. The role of *hijra* can be seen to fit within Hindu concepts of both the separate and complementary 'natural' roles of men and women and their sexuality, and the frequent occurrence of transvestism and hermaphroditism in mythology and Tantric thought (Nanda 1996: 374-380). Ancient Hindu texts specifically refer to a third sex divided into four categories<sup>3</sup>. The cultural identity of the *hijra* is complex, being both man minus man (via castration) and man plus woman (via transvestism and imitation, often in exaggerated form). Like the *berdache*, they have specific ritual abilities.

A third cross-sex/gender group is the *xanith* of Oman, who have been studied by Unni Wikan (1977, 1978). They are males who live as homosexual prostitutes and have been claimed by Wikan essentially to become women through this role – to be transsexuals rather than simply homosexuals. Here it is sexual activity that dictates gender rather than biological sex, and Wikan asserts that some *xanith* specifically expressed a desire to escape the male role and become women. A *xanith* can



become a man again by marrying a woman and successfully consummating the marriage.

Among the African Azande, a warrior society, boys could be taken as wives by warriors as a temporary arrangement. These wives became women for the duration of the marriage, but could later be re-transformed into men and go on to marry female wives of their own (Evans-Pritchard 1970). In the reverse of this model, in parts of Africa wealthy women can marry women for the purpose of obtaining heirs, and are the legal fathers of the children produced through the liaisons of their wives with chosen men (for instance Hoebel 1949: 209), so that on one level these women are counted as men.

Lest these should all seem exotica from far-distant places, a European example is found in the Balkans (Durham 1909, 1910; Grémaux 1996). Research carried out in Montenegro and Albania identified two types of female men – the ‘sworn virgins’, who escape marriage and remain in their natal communities, often dressing as men and carrying out male activities; and those who were turned into boys due to lack of a son in this highly patriarchal society. It is clear that some of these were self-elected while others were made male from birth or early childhood by parents or guardians, in order that the household could continue to function – for which a man is required. There is considerable variety in the outlook, experience and behaviour of those individuals researched and sometimes interviewed by Grémaux, suggesting that there is no single category or third gender to which they belong. However, some female men were accorded the rights of males in terms of access to land, the right to vote, and bearing arms, while retaining the inviolability of females that results from their normally unarmed state. Thus it does seem that a separate category is involved in some way. Moreover, although Grémaux dealt entirely with unmarried, and largely celibate, female men, there were at least two instances of sexual relationships with women. Boswell has shown that throughout the mediaeval period and up to early modern times same-sex marriage occurred in eastern Europe, including specifically Albania (Boswell 1994, especially chapter eight). Therefore it may be that Grémaux’s information is limited in scope due to its recent nature, and

that previously there were more dimensions to these lifestyles than are currently identifiable.

These are just some examples spread across the world of alternative or multiple gender roles, some of them mutable. However, there are other ways in which gender can be multiple, and that relates to sex/gender ideologies which include change through life. Meigs' (1990) important study of the Hua of Papua New Guinea demonstrates the presence of both horizontal and vertical multiple gender ideologies and statuses. There are three ideologies co-existing, the superficially dominant one in which males are superior and females dangerously contaminating to males; a parallel belief that female bodies are stronger and superior to male ones, accompanied by magical efforts to acquire female strength; and an understanding of the difference but equality of the two sexes which is required for the operation of society. Alongside these runs another ideology of the mutability of gender. Female bodies are wet and male ones dry, but the wetness and dryness alters over time. Females lose fluid in large quantities through menstruation and childbirth, so that women who have had three or more children acquire access to male spaces and rituals since they have dried out so much. Similarly old men have had so much contact with their wives that they have become too wet to be essentially male.

A similar mutability of gender has been noted by Abramson (1987) in his study of Fiji. Here a virgin girl is a goddess, and an unmarried young man is wild. The virgin tames the youth through marriage, acting out deep social mythologies about the domestic and the wild. However, female gender changes with age. Old and widowed women are expected to return to their fathers' quarter of the village where they are given small huts exactly like those occupied by 'wild' unmarried boys. At weddings "these old women – venerated matriarchs of the patriclan – are called upon to publicly display the masculinity concealed within their being. As ceremonial transvestites, they dress up in men's clothes and feign to poke imaginary phalluses into imaginary orifices....Serean women have, in fact, two genders, yet the logic of producing viable 'humanity' through the kinship system and its rites decrees that they have just one" (Abramson 1987: 211).

Among the Wana of Indonesia a completely different model is found. Here it is believed that the two sexes are basically the same and that it is cultural aspects – gender – which cause difference (Atkinson 1990). Thus in the past men used to give birth but their offspring were sickly and weak so women took over the task. However, men still do menstruate, and a few give birth and suckle babies. A few people in this society switch gender, and at least one female man married a woman although homosexuality is an unknown concept. The switch is based on clothing, economic activity and public behaviour rather than sexuality. Similarly, the Vezo of Madagascar believe that in some ways males and females are undifferentiated, to the extent that men can become pregnant, but since they do not have the proper organs for pregnancy this is a fatal illness. Unlike the Wana, however, no example of male pregnancy has ever been known – rather, it is so feared that precautions must be taken against it (Astuti 1993).

Western pre-Enlightenment thought also maintained that male and female bodies were more similar than different, with gender being the basic division – which explained the need to maintain gender differences (Laqueur 1990, chapter 1; Martin 1987, chapter 1). The Enlightenment did not change this view – rather, scholars sought scientific explanations for the old ideology, rather than questioning the ideology itself.

This overview of a few anthropological examples should be sufficient to demonstrate that notions of sex and gender are far from the unproblematic, ‘natural facts’ that we in the West – and indeed most people within their own cultural norms – imagine them to be. Rather, they are socially constructed forms which exhibit great variation cross-culturally.

In problematising sex and gender, however, we remove many of the hooks we use to hang archaeological data on. If we abandon the division, do grave goods, for instance, have a basis for patterning? Is much of the meaning of grave goods dependent on the sex-basis that we have given? If we abandon the concept, do we also throw out the tool for overturning it? – surely contravening the regulations is

the surest way to prove them wrong, but is dependant on their prior existence. Because of the difficulties expressed here, I shall initially treat the material in this thesis as though I accept the division, and work through other issues rather than attempting to address sex and gender separately. I shall then assess the data with reference to current theories of sex and gender at Çatalhöyük, to investigate the validity of both the theories and the concepts themselves.

### *Summary*

It should be clear from the above that once we look beyond the confines of our own cultural system, there is a multiplicity of sex and gender roles available, some of them open to personal choice, others culturally required by different societies. That being the case, it is foolish and indeed a waste of time to interpret prehistoric cultures from the narrow perspective of one particular experience of sex and gender roles, and this means that archaeologists must abandon the 'natural' biological paradigm which each society (including our Western culture) inculcates into its members, and instead embrace concepts of variability.

## **3: Gender in Western Thought and History.**

Gender is absolutely central to the way people in Western cultures, as well as many others, view the world. Gender is one of those 'essential' binary oppositions upon which our society has been built, and which has been seen again and again as so fundamental to our way of life that any attempt to alter gender roles will end in the destruction of our society. Despite this, its structured, rather than 'natural', nature has rarely been identified, far less accepted.

The Judeo-Christian heritage of the West has a binary approach to understanding the world and our place in it. This includes a binary model of gender based naturally, immutably, inescapably on binary sex. Judeo-Christian religion has provided the outline for the societies it has dominated, using an unequal but interdependent model of sex/gender, with Adam as the officially dominant partner of Eve, who should be a

subservient helper but whose greater curiosity shows her to be both dangerous, and capable of taking the lead – and thus requiring tight supervision and limited opportunities. This strict binary model offers segregated gender roles in which men are pro-active, creating political, economic and religious structures, while women are re-active, obeying the rules and providing domestic services for men, children and the elderly according to demand. These roles are decreed by religion to be natural, yet need to be enforced with religious and secular laws, displaying immediately the social construction of the system, as coercion would not be necessary if such a division were indeed natural.

Christian teaching on gender was derived in part from Jewish thought, although it received its most radical form in the fourth and fifth centuries under the influence of rabid misogynists such as John Chrysostom and Augustine of Hippo, both of whom were obsessed with the pollution of sexual intercourse and, by extension, the danger of women and homosexual men to the ‘man of God’<sup>4</sup>. Jewish tradition is now known to have been part of a much wider body of thought, beliefs and literature in Western Asia, but the cultures it borrowed from do not appear to have had the same narrow gender roles which have come down to us in recent Western thought (see for instance de Vaux 1965). Indeed, the people described in the Old Testament do not conform to the rigid gender roles which later Christian authorities ascribed to them – for instance, there were female rulers among the ‘judges’, and queens could clearly be extremely influential. Two things are apparent – first, that sex/gender codes and rules have become more rigid in the past 3000 years, and especially in the last 1500 years; and that there is good reason to believe that gender roles were still being developed in the pre-Biblical period and display considerable variation from place to place<sup>5</sup>.

Returning to Christian Europe, until industrialisation the Christian interpretation of ‘natural law’ impinged little on the lives of the majority, since most people lived and worked on the land. While there might have been a division of labour on the farm in some areas of work, ability to carry out tasks would always have over-ridden sex/gender roles in a subsistence society, and much work was shared. The rural

household was the unit of production, and almost all requirements were met through it – food, clothing, furniture, and care in youth and old age. As wages were rarely involved, and peasants had no access to power and status anyway, the official exclusion of one sex from these areas was irrelevant (see, for instance, Wiesner 1987: 222-223; Tong 1989: 13). Among urban dwellers, women carried out a range of trades and crafts and could control their own money (for example see Wiesner 1987; Mann 1986: 42). Moreover, among the ruling classes, sex was not the definer of opportunity and right that it became in the eighteenth century. In the mediaeval period many women acted as local rulers and lawgivers either in the absence on duty of their fathers/husbands/sons or in their own right (see for instance de Pisan 1405/1985). An abbess and a lady of the manor had extensive responsibilities in the fields of health and education, and abbesses such as St Hilda were major political players.

With the advent of industrialisation, matters began to change. Once wage labour was instituted, inequality between the sexes/genders increased. Whereas previously both sexes/genders worked together on the land and shared the fruits of their labours within the household, under developing capitalism women's work was no longer regarded as work if it did not bring in wages. Within a short time, the use of women's unpaid domestic labour to free men up for full-time wage labour was regarded as a 'natural' division of labour, but because women were not paid for their labour, they ceased to be counted as workers (Wiesner 1987: 224; Tong 1989: 13). The advent of a wage, and one paid primarily to men, created a power imbalance in the household that had previously been less clearly stated even officially and had been a matter for each household to work out for itself. This was accompanied by a movement to restrict women's involvement in the crafts and professions, with the establishment of professional bodies for groups such as surgeons and physicians from which women were barred. The law also got involved – the 1753 Marriage Act (Britain) stated that a couple had to stay together after marriage, creating a new form of marriage with which we are familiar today but which was then new for many, tying women into domesticity in a way previously unknown. At this time also the restriction of inheritance of both titles and land to the male line took hold<sup>6</sup>,



with the practice of 'entailing' land (perhaps most widely known now from Jane Austen's 'Pride and Prejudice') becoming common. These reduced the access of upper class women to power and independence. This suite of social changes laid the foundation for the sex/gender system with which we are familiar, and which so many of us assume has been in place for millennia. A justification was easily to hand in the guise of Christianity.

The Enlightenment, which strove to provide a scientific explanation for things formerly explained by religion, did not alter this – rather, in its search for universal laws, it built further on a view of the world as made up of opposites. Lacqueur (1990) has documented the alternative explanations for the same beliefs about sex and gender differences which demonstrate the failure of Enlightenment thinkers to move beyond old paradigms in this regard (see also Martin 1987). Indeed, they sought to use science to prove the 'universal law' of female inferiority or sexual hierarchy and difference, with the result that women were declared by the inheritors of Enlightenment philosophy to be intellectually and physically inferior to men – although morally superior – and unsuitable either to receive extensive education or to join the burgeoning professions. Despite the insistence of early Enlightenment thinkers such as Ferguson, Hume, Voltaire and Montesquieu that the treatment of women was a measure of society's excellence, and beliefs regarding human nature which questioned the concept of innate differences between the sexes, they failed to push their ideas to their logical conclusion and were unable to recognise the victimisation of women in their own cultures, although aware of it in others. The corruption of society was still equated somehow with female sexuality escaping proper control, resulting in contradictory thinking about women. Eventually, the debate on women's nature was concluded by deciding that women, far from being evil as some Christian philosophers and moralists had declared, were morally superior to men, a view which promoted the concept of separate spheres and the protection of women from such harmful things as politics, remunerative work and power. The result by the dawn of the nineteenth century was a new model of female domesticity based upon women as mothers and nurturers subordinated to men within the private sphere, a model still familiar today (see for instance Fox-Genovese 1987;

Laqueur 1990; Mann 1986: 44-45; Martin 1987; McGaw 1996: 59-62; Poovey 1988; Vicinus 1985: 2).

The return to Christianity in the dying years of the eighteenth century, which characterised the reaction to the Enlightenment and its child, the French Revolution, and which resulted in an explosion of fundamentalist sects and mass Christian movements, led also to a re-statement of Biblical views of the sexual hierarchy. By the early nineteenth century, the status of women in Britain had fallen to its lowest on record. From a position of relative freedom of action during the High Middle Ages, women's rights had been whittled away until they were now restricted from virtually all employment other than governess or seamstress if middle class, and servant, factory worker, or prostitute if working class. The work of social reformers to reduce working hours for both children and women in factories not only classed the two groups together in opposition to men, whose hours and conditions were not improved, but was based upon the Enlightenment concept of female moral superiority and physical frailty, and led to a severe drop in earnings potential for women and the movement out of factories into unregulated piece-work in the home (see for instance Davidoff 1986; Frader 1987; Poovey 1988; Wiesner 1987). Women had reduced rights to inheritance of titles (the majority of which could only be inherited by men by the end of the eighteenth century) and property (through the massive expansion of 'entailing' property in the male line), and were legal minors under the control of their male relatives, who had exclusive rights over their bodies, children and money (see Poovey on Caroline Norton; Fox-Genovese 1987 especially 263-4).

The middle decades of the nineteenth century were the low point for women in British history. In 1850, after a prolonged battle by male grammarians which began around the middle of the sixteenth century, an Act of Parliament declared that the word 'man' officially encompassed 'woman' too (Spender 1980: 147-150, citing also Bodine 1975; Millet 1977: 54-5 and note 69); in 1862 the influential journalist W R Greg called for the deportation of some half a million single women to the colonies to prevent their slide into prostitution and the inevitable collapse of



civilisation which would follow (Greg 1862; see also Poovey 1988: 1-6; Jackson 1994: 15-18 plus references; Vicinus 1985: 3-4 and note 10, which discusses other 'solutions' to the 'problem'); and it was claimed that giving women the vote was retrogressive in evolutionary terms, while young women who engaged in long, hard hours of study would badly damage their reproductive systems – and possibly go insane (Fausto-Sterling 1994: 4 plus references). Bernal, writing about the development of racism at this time, suggests that the philo-Semitic tradition in mid-nineteenth century Britain was related to the rise of the bourgeoisie, and "Thus many Victorians saw themselves as biblical patriarchs" (Bernal 1987: 347). Certainly this was a period of a strict ideology of sex/gender differences and of male control of the household. From such a position, the only way was up, and indeed the seeds of the first Women's Movement had already been sown by thinkers and writers such as Mary Wortley Montague, Sophia (a Person of Quality), and Mary Wollstonecraft, and were about to germinate and flourish.

Despite reforms in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the modern world has inherited a heavy dose of the fundamentalist views which flourished in the preceding decades. Thus it can be seen from this brief overview that the 'natural' system of sex/gender inequality and segregation which most people in the twentieth century believed to have been unchanged from the beginning of human society to the coming of feminism was far from correct. If such inequality and segregation was indeed 'natural', there would be no need for laws to enforce them. As Mill pointed out long ago (1869/1970) if women were intellectually incapable of benefiting from education, there would be no need to ban them from schools and universities. Similarly, if humans pair-bonded in the biological use of the term, there would be no need for marriage – or divorce. These are human institutions, cultural arrangements which are different in each society, rather than 'natural' behaviours, and a broad sexual division of labour which might have appeared eminently practical in a gatherer-hunter-fisher society, or in subsistence farming, has been used as the justification for the systematic exclusion of one sex/gender from rights and opportunities which did not exist when any sexual division of labour was first established. The repeated failure of people throughout the centuries to conform

to the system has led to a series of philosophical attempts to prove that the system is indeed right, natural and desirable, indeed essential for the smooth-running of society. While this last may well be true within the restricted paradigms they considered, these forays again demonstrate the unnatural nature, and thus the social constructedness, of the system.

### *Summary*

The view of sex and gender current in Western societies derives largely from a Judeo-Christian heritage which owes part, but not all, of its structure to Western Asian roots. However, its later development depended on the socio-political needs of specific economic models, first a peasant economy and later industrialisation. These adapted the religious model to their own needs. Thus sex and gender roles have not been the immutable constants they are often believed to be. Rather, they have changed regularly, and the most recent model – the nineteenth century one – was in fact one of the strictest, most dichotomised versions known, rather than one which has been in place for millennia. Change is still taking place in gender relations, but it is slow and painful because it affects deep cultural constraints. If it were an attempt to cross nature, rather than culture, the transition would be accompanied by less worry and fear.

From the moment we are born, our destinies are mapped out according to the shape of our genitals – the way we are held, spoken to, played with right from the start all depend on our sex, and later affect our aspirations. At the start of the twenty-first century, despite many changes concerning opportunities for both sexes/genders in both public and private life, this is still so. Indeed, the social problems widely associated in research with high male unemployment in the 1980's and 1990's demonstrate an inability on the part of men to take a flexible view of gender roles despite the social and legal changes which have taken place during and before their lifetimes, and the durability of gender models instilled in earliest childhood and unaltered by the Equal Opportunities world around them. Gender, then, is central to our view of the proper ordering of society, particularly to men (Spender 1982: 1-8).

Because these beliefs about gender dominate – or underlie – our social structures, they have also controlled how we envisage past societies.

#### **4: Archaeological Attitudes to Gender and Gender Roles**

This section will look at the treatment of gender by early archaeologists, based on the society they lived in; the eventual acceptance by the profession in the late twentieth century that gender is a suitable topic for discussion and examination; and recent archaeological approaches to gender.

##### **4.1. The history of archaeological treatment of gender.**

The latter half of the nineteenth century and first two decades of the twentieth saw far greater struggles over gender issues than the 1970's and 1980's (Millet 1977; Poovey 1988). To illustrate the point, in the early years of the twentieth century there were almost 100 feminist periodicals and newspapers in publication and circulation (Poovey 1988; Jackson 1994). No serious academic working in the formative years of the disciplines of archaeology and anthropology could have failed to be aware of the debate raging around them, or of the work of those who challenged established views of gender (feminists, Marx etc.) and their application to past cultures (for instance, Bachofen, Briffault, Frazer). In the light of this, one can hardly fail to conclude that early archaeologists – almost all male and from the establishment, benefitting as they did from the gender status quo – deliberately painted a picture of an unchanged and unchangeable gender system from earliest times to the present, in order to support the movement opposing social change. So powerful was the picture they imposed, and so tightly did they and their successors control the profession they established, that it has taken a hundred years to begin to put right what they deliberately put wrong. This may be a severe charge, but the fact that archaeology is one of the last academic disciplines to take gender seriously, despite its entire remit being the interpretation of past societies, bears out the strong resistance to overturning the cosy world they created for themselves, and suggests a fear of being found out at last.

Put simply, archaeology as a discipline generally ignored the question of gender until the 1990's, although a few attempts were made in the 1980's to change this, and even now gender is largely marginalised within the profession, seen as a specialist field occupied mainly by women. During the formative years of archaeology in the second half of the nineteenth century there was a lack of explicit theory to explain the remains that were being uncovered through excavation, and researchers concentrated largely on the establishment of typologies and classifications of the materials they had dug up, utilising a 'naïve uniformitarianism' based on simple analogies with societies documented in ancient history regardless of the difference of time and place. Excavation and dating methods received some attention, but the development of theory was not particularly important. Rather, there was a reliance on theory from other disciplines such as anthropology, which had a cultural evolutionist ideology that tied in with the development of dating systems and seriation, with one following another neatly. Alongside this was diffusionism, a concept which sat comfortably with unilineal cultural evolution and seemed to explain the early dating of Western Asian cultures compared to European ones.

A third strand was mythology, drawing heavily on the Greek and Roman worlds but working backwards to prehistory. From this field, which was not part of archaeology proper but straddled several disciplines (they were not yet as clearly demarcated as they became in the middle of the twentieth century) came ideas concerning gender – Bachofen (1967), Briffault (1927) and Frazer (1896) saw evidence of early matriarchy which tied in with ethnographic evidence such as Morgan's work among the Iroquois, and Engels' socio-political theory of the family. To a large extent this work was deemed irrelevant, as commentators such as Bachofen themselves saw the overthrow of matriarchy by patriarchy as a step forward, and were not advocating a return to such a system, while Engels viewed matriarchy as simply one of a number of evolutionary steps – thus they were not pushing it as a golden age, unlike some later researchers. On the other hand, these ideas were taken up to some extent by the early feminists, who were keen to show that women had far greater ability than allowed them in early-middle Victorian

Britain, and although in the nineteenth century archaeologists were not much concerned with social structure (nor indeed were they until the later part of the twentieth) it was clear that archaeology had the potential to prove or disprove these ideas.

Although it might appear that archaeologists failed to respond to this challenge, this failure by itself was an alignment against such views. Rather than examine the possibility that major changes in gender structure and other hierarchies may have taken place over the centuries and millennia, archaeologists interpreted prehistoric cultures merely through their own experience, influenced to a greater or lesser extent by anthropological reports of 'primitive tribes'. They assumed that societies had always been much the same but on different scales. Thus gender, class, slavery, hierarchy and property were not regarded as theoretical topics that required explanation, but as natural, given aspects of culture, and women only arrived in archaeological reports in the sections on 'the family', or 'burials'.

It was not until the major paradigm shift in the 1960's and 1970's known as processualism or the 'New Archaeology', which utilised a range of scientific approaches and techniques, that the theoretical models also changed, as new methodologies brought new questions to the fore. Developing mainly in America and inspired by anthropology and ethnography, 'New Archaeology' did bring with it an examination of women's roles in economic life. However, the questions addressed were largely concerned with kinship and marriage systems, not with internal gender constructs, and focussed particularly on attempts to recognise residence patterns based on pottery manufacture (see for instance Ember 1973; Hodder 1978; Hill 1970; Plog 1978 among many.) This work was not based upon feminist-inspired gender theory but on processualist models, although it lay within the anthropological approach of American archaeology in general. It had little impact on archaeologists outside America except in Britain, and failed to enter the mainstream of European archaeological theory. Although anthropology in the 1970's, when many of these studies were carried out, was engaged in considerable debate about gender cross-culturally which attempted to devise constructs of social

order that released gender from sex (see below pp. 58-63), the issues did not seep through to the archaeological consciousness until the late 1980's and in particular the 1990's, when they found a home in post-processual archaeology.

In the absence of archaeological interest in gender, the burgeoning Women's Movement of the 1960's produced new, woman-centred interpretations of the past. Offering cogent criticisms of the male orientation of historical and archaeological research, such as the concern with warfare and other presumed male pursuits to the detriment of a broad view of past cultures, a whole new field of 'herstory' sprang up. Drawing on a mixture of nineteenth century mythological research pointing to the existence of prehistoric matriarchies, New Age religious attitudes, and archaeological excavation reports, authors such as Elizabeth Gould Davis (1975) and Merlin Stone (1976) presented a new view of the past in which peaceful, often vegetarian, goddess-worshipping matriarchal communities developed complex and elegant civilisations which were overthrown and appropriated by violent patriarchal hordes (see chapter three). The archaeological community failed to respond to this challenge by reconsidering its paradigms, focus and research methods, preferring to ignore these critics disdainfully and thus leaving the field open to enthusiastic and often persuasive writers with strong political motivation but often lacking the training to use mythological and archaeological data in a way that would gain them respect among academics. Those archaeologists who did respond, generally women, faced rejection by their profession, making it impossible to have a foot in each camp. The one senior archaeologist who took up the cause of matriarchy – Marija Gimbutas – became engulfed by her task, abandoning normal standards of proof in her fervour and in the broad scope of her work and, in the process, discrediting not only the topic she had espoused but ruining her own standing with many professional colleagues.

#### **4.2. Recent archaeological approaches to gender**

The first academic challenge from within archaeology came with Margaret Conkey and Janet Spector's ground-breaking paper in 1984. A string of earlier feminist writings had laid bare the bias of archaeological interpretation and offered other,



woman-centred views of prehistory, but these had been ignored by the professedly neutral establishment as the work of non-professionals who did not understand how to use the material they referred to, or who had an axe to grind and were not interested in 'the truth' (see also Hamilton 1996a). Female scholars who showed interest in the role of women or feminist archaeology were unlikely to get academic jobs (Ehrenburg 1989: 8-9<sup>7</sup>), and it was not until a number of women felt established and secure enough in the academic world that gender became an issue in archaeology in the late 1980's and early 1990's.

Although there have been a number of publications and conferences in recent years gender is still seen as a specialist side-line, not as essential to the interpretation or understanding of culture. This may be due partly to the mixed origins of gender studies, and the lack of any clear definition of what an archaeology of gender is. To some, it is a matter of searching for both men and women in the archaeological record; for others there is a theoretical issue at the heart of culture concerning the origins and results of gender as a structure; while for others still the origins and definitions of sex are the focus. Some of what has been said and written has a theoretical basis which I reject because it conforms to and encourages binary gender and a sexual division of labour in apparently unthinking ways; some 'gender archaeology' seems to me to be remedial 'women's archaeology' – essential certainly, because investigations of women in the past have long been ignored, but not 'gender'; and yet more deals with much later periods when established gender patterns are known to exist within a patriarchal hierarchical structure, and which therefore asks questions and uses methodology which may not be suitable for or relevant to prehistory. While to some scholars, the whole field seems a mish-mash of views, there is a richness and variety of thought which should offer something to everyone. Nevertheless, much of archaeology has continued without considering the central role of gender in the interpretation of societies and cultures.

For historical and structural reasons discussed above, archaeology was way behind many disciplines in tackling gender. In particular social anthropology, sociology, history, geography and political science had started getting to grips with the issues in

the early 1970's. In contrast, the first successful attempts to approach the topic of gender in archaeology did not take place until the mid-1980's, and the majority of the literature and conferences belong to the 1990's. However, that does not mean no work was done; merely, archaeologists carrying out feminist and gender research could not get their work published, so that it was only circulated as 'underground' material among those known to be interested (see, for instance, Gero and Conkey 1991: xi). Following Conkey and Spector's invitation to archaeologists to engage with the question of gender and suggestions of areas suitable for research, Joan Gero succeeded in publishing another plea in *American Antiquity* (Gero 1985). Spector had already managed to publish a study on identifying male and female work in the archaeological record (1982), and the theoretical issues now seemed to be firmly on the agenda. However, there was little movement in the establishment, which seemed largely uninterested.

In 1987 Liv Gibbs published a paper in which she attempted to apply gender questions to a broad range of data from Bronze Age burials in Scandinavia in a similar way to my own work for this thesis. In my view, this remains one of the most important pieces of work in this field. This is not only because Gibbs was working very much along the lines I wished to work on myself – although I have been forced through lack of published data or properly structured excavations to abandon the diachronic element of my research at this stage – but because she was attempting to broaden the possible options by seeking patterning before interpreting the evidence, rather than assuming she knew what the patterns were in advance, and because she was examining gender as a social construct with its concomitant tensions and developments.

Since that time, although there has been an increasing volume of work purporting to be on gender, much of it has worked with an assumed sexual division of labour, and has actually been an examination of certain sex-based work roles (particularly looking for women in the archaeological record via stereotypically female tools or tasks) rather than an investigation of gender as a system. While that work can be important in filling in the details and sometimes in broadening the options, and some



of it has been carried out on cultures where the gender structure has been known and the assumptions therefore much reduced, it has not assisted greatly in developing a methodology for understanding gender through the archaeological record and especially in prehistoric assemblages.

Margaret Ehrenburg attempted a broad view of the subject in her pioneering work *Women in Prehistory* (1989). Drawing on a wide range of material, she attempted to tease out some of the questions and answers, but it was clear that there were some major theoretical and empirical difficulties, as well as prejudices to deal with. With the books by feminist 'herstorians' and goddess worshippers the only widely available works touching on the topic, she felt obliged to mention in her first chapter the dangers of mythology, and the common dysjunction of ideology and reality – that is, the presence of goddesses in a culture need have no bearing on the status of real women. While this is so, it is worrying that such statements have become almost routine in work on gender and women, but are not considered necessary when dealing with men or society in general.

Despite the stirrings in the 1980's, the application of gender theory or gender-oriented questions to data was still rare, and a new attempt at shaking up the profession was needed. Two major publications in the early 1990's set the agenda: in 1986 Gero and Conkey, two veterans of the struggle, began putting together a round-table meeting of established archaeologists who were invited to try to understand their normal data from a gendered perspective. The meeting took place in 1988 and the resulting papers appeared three years later (Gero and Conkey 1991). This book illustrates well the state of the profession at the time. Only about half the contributors had previously attempted to work on gender, and some papers are more successful than others. Ruth Tringham confesses to having been 'dragged kicking and screaming' to do what she was convinced was impossible (Tringham 1991: 93), and the lack of decision in the writing bears this out; and Russell Handsman appears to have got rather lost on a train of thought which seemed promising at the time but ends up nowhere in particular – a problem which occurs repeatedly in work on gender and archaeology, and demonstrates the severe shortage of a theoretical base

and of empirical studies to build upon. However, among many interesting approaches the volume contains three extremely important theoretical contributions. Gero and Conkey's introduction to the issues states clearly the issues and the case to answer. Gender is:

“a process that is constructed as a relationship or set of relationships, necessarily embedded within other cultural and historical social institutions and ideologies such as status, class, ethnicity, and race and therefore cannot be understood simply in terms of female and male activities....The idea of gender as a structuring principle immediately leads to a radical realignment of traditional archaeological categories that typically trivialize, minimize, degrade and/or ignore what are thought to be women's contributions and roles in production and cultural construction” (1991b: 9).

Alison Wylie's contribution offered a wide-ranging critique of the failure of archaeology to address gender, suggesting why these failures occurred and the theoretical atmosphere required for matters to move forward (Wylie 1991). The most radical, and to me most important, paper was Spector's re-writing of the archaeological enterprise (Spector 1991). This impressive work demonstrates the acute failures of traditional academic archaeology even to begin to explain the reality of the material they dig up, and is an extraordinary monument both to what feminist archaeology should be about and to the mountain traditional archaeology has to climb. Spector recognises that gender has been written out of the archaeological endeavour to such an extent that remedial work is insufficient to rectify matters – what is needed is to question the entire language and practice of archaeology, and start with a clean slate, in a completely new way. It is this recognition of the structural failures of the profession which I believe lies at the root of producing good archaeological work in which gender, among other things, takes its proper place.

The second major publication came in 1992 when Wylie followed up her earlier critique with an important theoretical paper in a mainstream journal dealing with the problems, the old excuses, and possible ways forward (Wylie 1992). It seemed as though at last gender had arrived.

Since then there has been a steady stream of publications, some of which have attempted to apply theory to practice (major contributions being Claassen and Joyce 1997, Gilchrist 1994; Moore and Scott 1997; Nelson 1997 – a very thorough treatment which also deals with the historical problems within the profession; Whitehouse 1998; Wright 1996). The conferences at Chacmool in 1989 (Walde and Willows 1991), Australia in 1991 (du Cros and Smith 1993), Boone in 1992 (Claassen 1994), Exeter in 1994 (Donald and Hurcombe 2000), and TAG in Durham in 1993 and in Bradford in 1994, played an important role in widening the interest group. However, many of the papers presented failed to deal with the structural aspects of gender (as described so lucidly by Gero and Conkey, 1991b, quoted above) and were instead remedial feminist endeavours or research of the ‘add women and stir’ variety. The lack of clear ‘rules’ and focus led quickly to a disenchantment with the topic, and the arrival of more narrow conference sessions dealing in particular with the body and, less frequently, with sexuality. These belong not so much to gender as to an ancillary area of research reflecting a movement towards and interest in sex rather than gender, drawing on work by Judith Butler and queer theory to produce papers dealing with the body, embodiment and the individual. While this is a fascinating area of discussion, it has less to offer to prehistory than later periods in which established sex and gender roles are documented. This desire to ‘move on to something more interesting’ expressed both the feeling of a ‘gender ghetto’ which was restricting rather than liberating, and the idea that gender had now been ‘done’, yet the discussions had been almost entirely theoretical, at least in Europe. Much of the practical and empirical research has yet to be done. Thus at the start of the twenty-first century there is still little thorough data-based research for archaeologists to look to in an attempt to ask relevant questions of their data, and in particular to tell them how to excavate the material in ways that will make these questions more answerable.

### *Summary*

The archaeological profession began its development at a low-point in women’s status in the Western world, when sex and gender were dichotomised more extremely than ever before. Rather than using the new techniques and

methodologies to question the social order, archaeologists have been happy to rubber-stamp it. Throughout most of the twentieth century this remained unchanged, and it is only in the last two decades – and really only the last one – that feminist arguments and post-modern critiques have made any impact on archaeological treatment of gender and society. While this is now changing, gender is still regarded as a fringe area for specialists rather than as central to all interpretation of society, and the recent move to go beyond gender to more interesting pastures suggests that yet again gender has failed to be taken seriously by the profession and is in danger of being ignored again before it has been explored sufficiently to make the major contribution that a serious interest in understanding society and culture demands.

## **5: Gender in Anatolian Prehistoric Archaeology**

Gender has not been a topic of enquiry in Anatolian archaeology to date. On the whole, Anatolian archaeology has long been the poor relation to other areas of Western Asia. As recently as the 1950's it was believed that there was no occupation of the area prior to the Bronze Age. Most archaeological work therefore took place according to a historical agenda, concerning events in Hittite history or the documentary record of the Assyrian merchants settled outside major towns. Although these both offer interesting insights into gender roles through the written documents unearthed at major sites such as Hattušaš and Kültepe-Kaniš, little attention has been paid to this aspect. Theory has not played an important role in Anatolian archaeology among either Turkish archaeologists or those foreigners who have excavated in Turkey and until recently have frequently appeared to be rather cut off from the mainstream changes in archaeology in their own countries<sup>8</sup>. In the absence of major theory, gender has not been seen as an important area of enquiry, and one looks in vain for any discussion of gender roles or any other social issues in excavation reports. However, a number of beliefs have crept in, based largely on early interpretations of the site of Çatalhöyük and of anthropomorphic figurines found at many prehistoric sites.

The discovery of largely female anthropomorphic figurines at prehistoric sites in Western Asia during the nineteenth century occurred at a time when the role of women in prehistory was being discussed by a handful of people in a number of developing disciplines. Thus in anthropology Morgan (1877/1963) was working on matrilineal societies; scholars of mythology and legend such as Bachofen (1967) and Frazer (1896) were postulating early matriarchies and all-powerful goddesses; and sociological work by Engels and Marx on social origins suggested a matriarchal stage in human development. Ucko explored the origins of these ideas in archaeology (1962: 39; 1968, chapter 14) and Hutton (1997) has traced an earlier strand of thinking within British culture and literature in which, under the influence of the Romantic Movement, the primary Classical goddesses referred to in the arts shifted around 1800 from those representing love, majesty and wisdom to those associated with wild nature and the earth. When in 1849 it was suggested by Eduard Gerhard that a single Great Goddess lay behind the many Classical variants, this seemed to fit easily within the broader Romantic framework (Hutton *ibid.*: 92-3), particularly as Anatolia, which has a dense Classical archaeological heritage, was known to have had historically-attested pre-eminent goddesses such as Kybele and Artemis. Prehistoric archaeologists, following Gordon Childe, saw female figurines as one of the common culture elements shared by early farming cultures in western Asia and south-eastern Europe<sup>9</sup>. The conjunction of these theories, ideas and artefacts led some archaeologists to interpret anthropomorphic figurines as evidence of a prehistoric Earth Mother or Mother Goddess linked to the fertility of the crops, newly domesticated animals, and human society. Ucko and Hutton point out that there was some resistance to this idea among archaeologists, although influential excavators such as Sir Arthur Evans soon accepted the suggestion, but that by the 1950's and 1960's even some of the strongest critics had converted to goddess theory (Ucko 1968: 409-10; Hutton *ibid.*: 96). Thus when the first Neolithic sites were discovered in Turkey in the 1950's by James Mellaart, the dominant ideology was that early settled cultures were concerned with fertility and expressed this concern through the worship of a Mother Goddess.

When Mellaart excavated Hacilar, proving against contemporary archaeological belief that Anatolia had settlements dating to the Neolithic period, he discovered a number of anthropological figurines, most of them clearly female, some within atypically 'rich' buildings regarded as shrines. Mellaart interpreted these as images of a Great Goddess in her varied forms as maiden and mother, setting the scene for most interpretations of Anatolian anthropomorphic figurines to this day. Mellaart's later excavations at Çatalhöyük both reinforced and developed this interpretation. The extraordinary fixtures and decorations of some buildings, including large-scale wall-sculptures as well as anthropomorphic figurines thought to represent the Goddess, were viewed as shrines to a goddess linked to fertility, agriculture and the wild. Mellaart suggested that, as a result, the position of women at Çatalhöyük was high, something which appeared to be borne out by the burial record. This view has been elaborated by some commentators, particularly non-archaeologist 'herstorians' such as Davis (1975) and Stone (1976) and the archaeologist Marija Gimbutas (1974, 1989, 1991), into evidence of a goddess-worshipping matriarchy, and this is largely the opinion which dominates the popularist books on ancient Anatolia.

Gimbutas has been a major influence in this arena, due to her early reputation as a formidable prehistoric archaeologist and her subsequent publications. Her location at UCLA, and the fact that her publications were in English, helped make her work so influential and provided credibility for matriarchy theory in some circles. From this base, which was originally focussed primarily on the atypical site of Çatalhöyük, anthropomorphic figurines have often been interpreted by Turkish archaeologists and many others dealing with Anatolian prehistory as images of a Great Goddess or a fertility goddess of some kind (for instance Alp 1989; Duru 1989; Kulaçoğlu 1992; Renda 1993; Silistreli 1989a, b; – although there are exceptions, for instance Bilgi 1975; 1977), whose development can be traced from the nameless deity of Çatalhöyük to Kybele, the historically attested Phrygian Great Goddess, and onward to the goddesses of the Classical period, in particular Artemis. While this may be plausible, it is far from proven, and ignores major issues concerning the development of religion and the archaeological recognition of evidence of prehistoric religion, while also consisting of reasoning backwards from



the known to the unknown rather than interpreting prehistoric material within its own context. (Anthropomorphic figurines are dealt with in chapters four and five of this work, so I shall not comment further at this point.) The idea of a goddess-worshipping matriarchy has simply become embedded fairly uncritically within Turkish archaeology, and no work on specifically gender-based topics has been carried out.

### *Summary*

No attention has been paid in Anatolian archaeology to the theoretical implications of gender in interpreting either prehistory or the historical periods. An uncritical acceptance that female anthropomorphic figurines represent an early form of a Great Goddess known from later times has hampered any more detailed investigations into the data, and at present the field is wide open.

## **6: Anthropological Approaches – Cross-Cultural Interpretations.**

Anthropology developed in tandem with archaeology in the second half of the nineteenth century and early part of the twentieth, and the theories and findings of each influenced the other. This is particularly the case where gender is concerned, and therefore it is worthwhile looking very briefly at the leading theoretical approaches of anthropology and their relevance to gender, before examining the major debate on gender which began in anthropology in the 1970's. Many of these approaches have something to offer the archaeologist in trying to understand prehistoric social structures, but it is rare for their influences to be made explicit in the literature. Rather, archaeologists tend to work in more 'intuitive' ways, which generally can be reduced either to drawing on modern Western models or to a nodding acquaintance with a single anthropological school of thought.

Nineteenth century anthropology was highly descriptive, amassing details of behaviours and customs. Darwin's theory of natural selection offered a basis for understanding much of this material through the theory of cultural evolution, which



suggested that cultures evolve through certain stages just as species evolve. Unilineal cultural evolution, based on the work of E B Tylor (1871), held that all peoples were equally able and that cultural differences were due to the stage they had reached along the evolutionary road. Customs observed in non-industrial societies were often read as fossils of earlier social forms, retained in vestigial or symbolic form. Pertinent to gender is the suggestion that the occurrence of matrilineal inheritance in some cultures was evidence of an earlier state of matriarchy, which had been widely replaced by the “more advanced” system of patriarchy – which presumably would eventually take hold in all cultures, as they evolved further. Working within the same evolutionary framework, Lewis Morgan (1877/1963) classified societies according to the various stages of culture they had reached, and defined these stages by their technological sophistication such as the use of pottery, or the domestication of plants and animals. He was particularly interested in the evolution of the family, postulating that originally there was no family structure or control over sexual relations, as system which was succeeded by communal marriage, and finally gave way to the establishment of individual households by men, each with a wife or wives. The final stage of social evolution was accompanied by monogamous marriage. These views, which were highly influential at the time, and were used by Marx and Engels in the formulation of their theories of the historical processes leading to communism, are clearly relevant to anthropological attitudes to gender structures. The general basis of cultural evolutionism is that society, rather than the individual, is the basic cultural organism.

The broad range, and the untestability, of the theories of cultural evolution led to new approaches being developed which dealt more with specific cultural groups and with the individuals within them. Led by Franz Boas, whose *The Limitations of the Comparative Method of Anthropology* (1896/1966) argued that anthropologists knew too little about preliterate peoples to formulate valid theories about social origins, the approach known as historical particularism depended on the intensive study of a cultural group and collection of detailed ethnographic data through fieldwork rather than the use of broad speculative theory about the origins of culture.

Individuals were seen as the products of their cultural systems but capable of autonomous action. Boas's approach established cultural relativism as a tenet of anthropology, replacing the ethnocentrism – in particular, Eurocentrism – and extreme racism common in cultural evolutionary perspectives.

Many schools of anthropological thought have been developed since that time – Malinowski's 'functionalism' (Malinowski 1927, 1954, 1961/1922); Radcliffe-Brown's 'structural functionalism' (Radcliffe-Brown 1952); Lévi-Strauss's 'French structuralism'; 'psychological anthropology' (Benedict 1934/1959; Mead 1928/1971, 1934, 1939); the 'culture area' approach (scholars such as Wissler and Kroeber); 'neo-cultural evolution' (White 1949) and 'cultural ecology' (Steward 1971) looking at external influences as causes of change; Marxist approaches looking at internal causes of social change; and 'cultural materialism' (led by Marvin Harris) that mixes some of these approaches. Although it is clear that many, if not all, of these models could be relevant to gender relations, and could be useful in understanding the operation of sex and gender in society, that has rarely occurred. Mead's work tackled sex and gender specifically, and defined the social rather than natural basis of gender roles, but it stands out as unusual in this respect. Sociobiology is the other field that has dealt with sex and gender, and since it is such a major topic it is discussed below.

Sociobiology has come to the fore since the 1970's, and like many of the theories mentioned above, did not arrive out of a vacuum. Feminist research had begun to question many of the zoological models which had previously been assumed to explain or justify some types of human behaviour, including gender inequality. This questioning led to a new wave of zoological research concerned largely with topics such as dominance, violence and inequality, and to a large extent sociobiology is a more sophisticated version of this work. Such returns to biology are common in Western science when the dominant paradigm is under threat – for instance, consider the 'scientific proofs' of the intellectual and cultural inferiority of Africans which arose alongside both the anti-slavery movement and the expansion of Western empires. By drawing on a wider range of inter-disciplinary research than

previously, which makes it more difficult for outsiders to test all aspects of the work equally, sociobiology has succeeded in gaining considerable credibility outside anthropology, but not necessarily within it. Although anthropologists recognise that humans have a long evolutionary heritage, they view culture as being relatively unconstrained by biology because of the extremely slow pace of biological evolution compared to the power of learning to both replicate and change behaviour and society. The sociobiologists, working mainly from the biological sciences including behavioural psychology, argue that social behaviour is shaped much more by biology than has previously been recognised. They draw on Darwinian ideas of natural selection and studies of non-human social animals to produce a model in which organisms have a genetic propensity to behave in certain ways – in particular, in ways that promote individual reproductive success. Despite elaborate theory and many ingenious sleights of hand, sociobiology remains entirely speculative and largely untestable. It is not surprising that prehistory is especially attractive to some sociobiologists, given the evolutionary basis of their work, and because of the importance of reproduction in their arguments, male-female relationships and sex/gender roles have recently received considerable attention (for instance Knight 1990). This makes sociobiology of particular importance to a study of gender in prehistory, and this will be discussed in more detail in chapter three.

### *Summary*

Anthropological theory offers a wide range of approaches which have a bearing on gender. These theories have been susceptible to political influence over the years, as is theory in many fields; they have also been affected by other disciplines. Thus explicit interest in sex and gender had to await the second wave of the Women's Movement in the 1960's and 1970's. Archaeologists have a lot to learn from anthropology in their treatment of social organisation and gender, but must also recognise the influences at work and the limitations of applying social theory to dead cultures.

## **7: Anthropological Debate on Gender and its Relevance to Prehistory**

“To an anthropologist...the idea of natural inequality is inherently ambiguous, if not a contradiction in terms” – there are great differences between people which have ‘natural’ and ‘socially constructed’ dimensions, but these are not elements of inequality “unless they are selected, marked out, and evaluated by processes that are cultural and not natural” (Beteille 1981: 59-60, quoted in Wason 1994: 36).

The ‘natural’ basis for gender inequality is generally attributed to biology (see chapter three). The Women’s Movement of the 1960’s and 1970’s challenged this, and it may not be pure co-incidence that the same period saw an upsurge in zoological research, especially on primates. This work, largely carried out by men, reinforced the biological basis of gender asymmetry by focussing on topics such as dominance and violence, and on certain animal groups in which the males appeared to be dominant – for instance gorillas, with their social groups superficially so similar to the patriarchal human family; or baboons, among whom females seem to be subservient and males aggressive. The sociobiology of the 1970’s and 80’s draws on much of this research, and could be viewed as part of the anti-feminist backlash, although some of its protagonists proclaim a feminist agenda.

### **7.1. Separate spheres**

The use of biology, including primatology, to explain gender inequality came under academic scrutiny in the 1970’s when a number of female anthropologists explored the possibilities of non-biological reasons for the gender asymmetry seen in most, if not all, known human societies. Several ideas were put forward in the influential book ‘Women, Culture and Society’ (Rosaldo and Lamphere 1974). In their introduction, the editors discussed comprehensively the issues faced by those who believed that an anthropology which regarded womens’ lives as uninteresting and marginal was incomplete. No examples of matriarchal cultures such as those postulated by Bachofen (1867), Engels (1972) and others had been found, and it was clear that matrilineal descent patterns did not prevent or exclude the establishment of patriarchal structures. Biological theories were clearly embedded in culturally formed assumptions. As gender asymmetry appeared to be almost universal (some

gatherer-hunter communities were known to be largely egalitarian) universalist theories were put forward to explain it.

One major theory offered for gender asymmetry was that of separate spheres – the domestic or private sphere being female and the public sphere male (Rosaldo 1974). Drawing on Fortes's division of domestic:political or private:public as an explanatory or causative model, Rosaldo concluded from her research that gender asymmetry is least strong in cultures within which men value and participate in domestic life and, correspondingly, women are not excluded from public life. It is an attractive theoretical model, which is instantly recognisable in Western culture as well as many others. However, it still brings everything back to biology: the domestic sphere is female because females/women have babies and cannot travel far while burdened with children, and women become homemakers because of the need to feed and nurture offspring – precisely the argument of the biological determinists. Moreover, although it is possible to define the two spheres in most, if not all, human cultures, the boundaries will not be the same everywhere. For instance, in some societies women are virtually confined to the house, while in others they till the fields. Thus cross-culturally we are no closer to understanding the origins of gender or gender asymmetry.

## **7.2. Nature and culture**

The second major theory was also offered in 1974 when Sherry Ortner published an influential paper suggesting that women's physiology was added to their resultant social roles and psychic structure (drawing on Chodorow 1974) to lead to their being seen as closer to nature than men, who are closer to culture. Although fully part of culture, women's long-term involvement with birth and child-rearing – the enculturation of offspring who start life in a natural state – associates them with nature. In some cases women are seen as intermediate between nature and culture, leading to the ambiguity with which they are frequently regarded – pure yet dangerous, both Madonna and whore. Since, following Lévi-Strauss, culture dominates or tames nature, by association women are dominated by men. Although powerful in creating debate within the discipline, this theory suffers from the same

pitfalls as Rosaldo's, with a circularity of argument and with biology as the bottom line. For instance, women's psychic structure and social roles, while regarded as cultural constructs rather than innate, are nevertheless seen as concomitants of their physiology, and involved not only in the reproduction of the very cultural constructs in question but also in creating women's acceptance of their own inferiority. Ortner also seemed willing to accept the idea that since women feed babies through lactation, they are the obvious carers of children when they are older, a view that comes straight from culture – it might as reasonably be suggested that after weaning it is time the men did their share of raising the next generation. Moreover, women's involvement with raising older children would make more sense if women were more closely associated with culture than men, and therefore better able to transmit culture to the young. Indeed, in some cultures this is the case – nineteenth century Western culture regarded woman as the civiliser and man as the rough brute, using this as the reason to exclude women from the contaminating influence of the public world. Conversely, boys are often removed from the female sphere in order to turn them into men – not only in the boarding-schools of British culture, but among many cultures worldwide, one of the most extreme being perhaps the Sambia of New Guinea in which close contact between the sexes is discouraged while sexual relations between men and boys are required for the creation of manhood (Herdt 1984).

A number of other problems with these attempts to understand gender cross-culturally can be discerned, although they may not have been apparent at the time. For instance, is the domestic sphere a physical or merely a conceptual space? Women's ability to give birth could just as easily have elevated them above men as led to their inferior status through a culture:nature hierarchy. Both these issues have clear relevance to understanding gender in prehistory, particularly in view of the Mother Goddess hypothesis which regards the discovery of the male role in procreation as leading to the loss of female ascendancy. Ortner may well be correct in suggesting that women's role in enculturation could lead to them being restricted and controlled by men to preserve culture intact, but this would certainly have greater explanatory value in societies with female endogamy and male exogamy if



the women are handing on culture to the young. However, unsurprisingly, studies have shown that men have more power when related males form the core of a community and females marry out, so under what circumstances did the restriction take place? This again has relevance to the study of prehistoric cultures, in which kinship and marriage structures have been theorised to discuss pottery motifs but not to examine gender itself (for instance, Frankel 1993; Stanislawski and Stanislawski 1978 among a number of studies). Perhaps the most important question is whether female subordination is truly universal? Although the data appears to indicate that it is, it was collected within a male-dominant framework, particularly in the early period. Thus we hear regularly of things women are forbidden to do, or touch, and this is interpreted as a devaluation of women, yet the informants were almost always men, and they were often responding to male investigators. It is likely that men were similarly forbidden to do or touch a range of things, yet such an idea was foreign to the Westerners carrying out research and was therefore not necessarily considered or recorded. We do know of a range of restrictions applying to men relating to menstrual huts, or childbirth, for instance, yet these have not been viewed as a devaluation of men. Women themselves are frequently aware of their own importance, however marginalised they may appear from the public world of the outsider, and they may not believe that what men do in the public world really matters at all. Rather, they manipulate men to achieve their own goals. Collier (1974) touched on this in uncovering women's covert power in the public sphere through manipulating living arrangements via 'domestic tragedies'.

### **7.3. Variability: beyond universals**

From looking for universal explanations of gender in the 1970's, feminist anthropology has moved on to exploring the range of gendered experiences, and attempting to understand gender in a wider sense. In doing so, it has underlined the variability of gender in a way that defies universals, and shown that gender is constructed differently in each culture. In an important work, Marilyn Strathearn (1988) dealt with the problem of universalising Western concepts in her critique of Josephides' Marxist analysis of pig breeding among the Kewa of New Guinea (Josephides 1985), arguing that concepts of alienation and exploitation were based



on our capitalist experience and cannot be transferred to utterly different cultures such as Melanesian societies, which she views as characterised by a lack of ownership ethos. Other anthropologists have been working on gender and kinship (see, for instance, Collier and Yanagisako 1987), the cultural construction of sexuality (Caplan 1987), and the body (see, for instance Moore 1993), and the multiplicity of gender structures (see, for instance, Atkinson 1990; Grémaux 1996; Meigs 1990; Roscoe 1996). All these aspects of gender studies have shown that gender cannot be regarded any longer as natural or inherent, but must be treated as a social structure.

### *Discussion*

Despite the difficulties with the theories put forward by Rosaldo, Ortner and others, some of which have been touched on above, they stimulated great debate among anthropologists, leading to research in areas which had previously seemed unimportant. A major problem for archaeologists wishing to use anthropological material, however, is that most known cultures have been affected for at least several generations by the main patriarchal religions (Judaism, Christianity and Islam). These religions have been powerful tools in the establishment and retention of strict gender rules (see for instance Rosaldo 1974: 40, note 14), and as ethnographies and studies of non-Western cultures pre-dating such influence were gathered in a non-systematic way and without anthropological training or explicit theoretical bases, far less an understanding of the gender question, it is impossible to say whether or not gender-free societies, or cultures with very different gender structures to those known today, have ever existed. Absence of proof is not proof of absence, and when dealing with prehistory, archaeologists need to remain aware not only of the range of cultural systems known in the present or recent past, but also of the severe attacks made by both exported patriarchal religion and by Western empires over the past few centuries on cultures (many now essentially extinct) worldwide.

### *Summary*

The feminist-inspired debates about gender which started in the 1970's have transformed anthropological research in the ensuing decades. There is a great deal of important work available for archaeologists to use, in order to understand more clearly the possible social bases of the material culture they unearth. This is no quick fix, because the methodological approaches vary as do the questions asked by the investigators, and archaeologists cannot therefore simply take a theory or interpretation off the peg and apply it to a prehistoric culture indiscriminately. Nevertheless, an awareness of the progress made in anthropology is essential if we are to make a serious effort to understand the social structure of prehistoric peoples.

## **8: Conclusions**

Gender is seen by most people as a 'natural' fact of human society, binary and immutable. However, the experience of change within our own lifetimes in Western culture coupled with an understanding of historical and cross-cultural variation demonstrates that actually gender is a social construct. Gender is created by each society to suit its own needs and purposes, and while in some cases this is binary and immutable, in others there are multiple gender options, multiple gender ideologies, and change through the course of a person's life.

Once the social constructedness of gender is recognised, it is clear that archaeologists must develop a range of tools to understand the particular structure of gender within each society they examine. It is no longer possible to assume that we *know* what form gender took, and that sex and gender are insolubly tied to each other. Rather than imposing present or recent patterns of sexual division of labour and gender from Western society onto the past, particularly the distant past of prehistory, each culture's social signature needs to be teased out of the material remains in the same way that its economy and history needs to be reconstructed from data rather than from assumptions. The theoretical challenge has already been met to some extent through the work of anthropologists and social theorists who

have demonstrated that gender is not natural but cultural. The challenge of creating a suitable methodology has not yet been met at all.

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<sup>1</sup> The 1990's saw a lively debate in anthropology, feminism and social theory about the social construction of sex and the body (based largely on Foucault 1978; Butler 1990; Grosz 1990; see also Moore 1994). While there is no doubt that there is some basis to this, and that a social selection of physical attributes has taken place in the construction of sex, I do not need to go into the intricacies of the arguments for the purposes of this thesis and shall therefore not pursue it here. The debate has now died down considerably, with an acceptance that there is a complexity worth recognising here but also that a general understanding of sex constructed from the same elements exists throughout world cultures.

<sup>2</sup> Feminist-inspired challenges to anthropology along with Gay Liberation led to many new studies of the *berdache* from the 1970's, the most important of which are Katz 1976; Whitehead 1981; Callender and Kochems 1983; Medicine 1983; Blackwood 1984; Williams 1986; Roscoe 1987, 1991.

<sup>3</sup> The four categories are the 'waterless' male eunuch who has desiccated testes; the 'testicle voided' male eunuch who has been castrated; the hermaphrodite; and the 'not woman' or female eunuch, a woman who does not menstruate. The more feminine of these, whether male or female, wore false breasts and imitated the voice, gestures, dress, delinquency and timidity of women and provided alternative sexual gratification (Nanda 1996: 377 plus reference to Bullough 1976). It is interesting that male, female and hermaphrodite are all subsumed within a single group. Modern scholars would regard these as four separate extra sexes/genders, making six in all.

<sup>4</sup> John Chrysostom's views on the inferior and polluting nature of women are well known. Until Augustine's pronouncements on sexuality, homosexuality - at least for men - had been regarded as a purer expression of love than heterosexuality. Augustine lived in Hippo, a city in which homosexuality was perhaps more common than heterosexuality, which is probably responsible for his extreme reaction. For more information on the position of homosexuals in the church before Augustine, and generally within the Christian world up to the early modern period see Boswell 1980 and 1994. It is interesting to note the association of male homosexuality and femininity which post-dates Augustine, a new development which appears to be related to his views of the polluting aspects of sex generally.

<sup>5</sup> As more writing from the Late Bronze Age Hittite period in Anatolia is being discovered and slowly translated, it has become clear that not only did Hittite queens play a major role and carry out important functions, including the choice of wives for client kings - women who became joint rulers with their husbands - but that ordinary women acted as traders, owned property and slaves, and existed as legal

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individuals. Evidence from pre-Hittite Anatolia shows that during the Assyrian colony period of the Middle Bronze Age women could trade, buy and sell property and slaves, and female rulers existed. As no writing has been discovered from earlier periods in Anatolia, it is more difficult to assess gender structures, but at the famous Early Bronze Age site of Alaca Höyük female as well as male skeletons were found with equally rich tombs and grave goods. Unfortunately we do not know whether they were rulers, a priesthood, or ordinary people. In Mesopotamia, where social stratification was clear, sex/gender did not lead to a complete separation of roles, as records of priestesses, female scribes and women running factories show. Similarly in Egypt, where the right to the throne was matrilineal, female pharaohs are known to have ruled at least in the Late Bronze Age and probably earlier, and women owned property, engaged in trade, and could inherit alongside men. In fact, when looked at in detail – or even fairly generally – all these cultures appear to be exceptions to the rule of female exclusion from power, education, inheritance and opportunity, suggesting that the rule did not exist. It is clear that some separation of gender roles did exist in the Bronze Age, but the variation shows that, far from being natural, each culture was making social adaptations to fit their developing needs.

<sup>6</sup> Until the eighteenth century many, if not most, titles could be inherited by women; now only a handful can and most of those are in Scotland. The most important one in England is, of course, the right to the throne, although female holders are called Queen rather than King, the title normally held by a king's wife and not conferring power.

<sup>7</sup> As a student I was told by a well-meaning female academic not to touch any topics such as women, symbolism or early religion as these would not advance my career.

<sup>8</sup> I am thinking of those working on the Anatolian Plateau, rather than the Aegean and Mediterranean coastal regions where large amounts of effort have been invested in the excavation of Hellenistic and Roman cities.

<sup>9</sup> See for instance Childe 1925, *The Dawn of European Civilisation*; Piggott 1965, *Ancient Europe*.

## CHAPTER THREE

### THEORETICAL MODELS OF SOCIETY

“When one examines what the general function of the concept civilization really is, and what common quality causes all these various human attitudes and activities to be described as civilized, one starts with a very simple discovery: this concept expresses the self-consciousness of the West. One could even say: the national consciousness. It sums up every thing in which Western society of the last two or three centuries believes itself superior to earlier societies or ‘more primitive’ contemporary ones. By this term Western society seeks to describe what constitutes its special character and what it is proud of: the level of its technology, the nature of its manners, the development of its scientific view of the world and much more”. (Elias 1978: 3-4, quoted in Bernal 1994: 126.)

#### **1: Introduction**

Archaeologists interpret past societies from their material remains. However, until recently many of them seem to have had little interest in understanding the forms societies can take, and how culture operates to generate the societies we claim to interpret; rather, they followed one of three routes: they imposed their own ideas and concepts on material culture to produce early societies which were recognisably the forerunners of their own; they applied theoretical constructs without considering how they would present in material form; or they adopted the work of Elman Service or Morton Fried and categorised societies in terms of the degree of hierarchy and institutionalisation. It is said of Sir James Frazer that, when asked if he had ever seen one of the primitive people about whose customs he had written so many volumes, he replied tersely, ‘God forbid!’ (Beattie 1980: 7). I suspect many archaeologists would feel the same about the cultures they reconstruct from the earth. Perhaps a detailed consideration of the implications of the terms they use and images they present might lead to a more balanced picture. More importantly, a thorough appraisal of social forms should lead to a better contextual analysis of material culture, and hence to better archaeological interpretation. In no area is this more important than ideology, of which gender is a part.

In this chapter, I shall discuss concepts of society which have frequently been taken as read rather than made explicit. Categories of human societies such as band, tribe, chiefdom and state (based on Service) which have often been used to discuss social organisation have been little utilised to consider gender, which is internal to all these systems, and therefore I will not be using these in my analysis. Rather, I shall be using constructs and concepts such as egalitarian, patriarchal and matriarchal systems for an examination of gender, as these are far more relevant and useful. However, I shall start with a brief outline of the most influential anthropological approaches, followed by the familiar hierarchy of systems because it has become so common, along with an outline of the smaller elements which make up societies – families, segments, tribes – and the rules governing them, in order to create a framework with a clear terminology for the examination of data from the prehistoric site of Çatalhöyük in central Turkey; I shall then move on to a consideration of power, including its relationship to hierarchy; and finally I shall discuss a range of social models into which archaeologists frequently tap, often unconsciously, for their interpretations of past societies.

### Anthropological approaches

Anthropology is a changing discipline, and has many schools of thought, but this thesis is not the place to examine them in detail. Recently it has become fashionable to examine the development of anthropological thought, and a number of useful thematic histories and overviews have emerged (e.g. Barnard 2000, Gosden 1999 and Layton 1997) which discuss the various schools of thought and their influence upon each other. At its briefest, the most influential and long-lived ‘schools’ have been functionalism, structuralism, and Marxism, while various ‘post-modern’ approaches including feminism have had powerful effects in recent years.

Throughout, kinship has been an essential element in anthropological thought.

While early American anthropologists under the influence of Boas concentrated on ethnography and historical description of the disappearing native American peoples, European anthropologists began to seek methods to understand the vast quantity of data which had been collected relating to the customs of non-literate societies met



with during colonial rule. In order to compare different societies, they began to focus on the ways cultures were organised. Malinowski concluded that all elements of a society are functional in that they satisfy certain culturally defined needs (Malinowski 1927, 1954, 1961/1922). Functionalism recognised three basic types of human need: biological (such as food, sexual activity); instrumental (such as education and law), and integrative (such as a common view of the world). Social institutions such as kinship, religion, law and family life are developed to meet these needs, and fit together to create broader attitudes and social values. Thus a culture is an integrated network of mutually supportive institutions related to basic human needs. Radcliffe-Brown (1952) also believed that societies should be analysed in terms of institutions and their functions, but saw the central function of institutions as the maintenance of the social structure, rather than to satisfy the needs of the individual. This emphasis on social structure underlies the term 'structural functionalism' used to describe this approach. Within this framework, a sex/gender division of labour could be seen as part of a social strategy in a similar way to the one Marx posited in his analysis of capitalism, except that in a non-capitalist society there need not be an element of exploitation (an issue tackled by Marilyn Strathearn 1988, chapter 6).

The French structuralism of Lévi-Strauss and his followers concentrates on the cognitive structures which they claim underlie social organisation. They argue that certain propensities or codes required for social organisation are inherited, not learned, and that these mental structures can be identified by an examination of myth, ritual and art. In particular, they postulate that one of these mental structures leads humans to think in terms of 'logical opposites'. This is relevant to the issue of sex and gender, which (as discussed above, chapter 2) is generally viewed in binary terms in Western and some other cultures, a model which has been naturalised very successfully. In his work on the origins of agriculture, Cauvin (2000) draws on this material to explain the appearance of divinity in his poorly argued case for religion as the catalyst for economic and social change<sup>1</sup>. Lévi-Strauss was also deeply interested in kinship (a subject that has dominated anthropology throughout), in particular cross-cousin marriage and the concept of reciprocity (Gosden 1999: 111-



112; Layton 1997: 70-83). Reciprocity as a social system was investigated particularly by Mauss (1990 – a topic later reworked by Marilyn Strathearn 1988), who initiated what Layton calls an interactionist theory of exchange.

The ‘culture and personality’ school centres on behaviour as a response to surrounding circumstances, and can be seen to arise from Boasian relativism (Barnard 2000: ch.7). Ruth Benedict (1934/1959) suggested that each society produces a certain type of personality, through the unconscious selection of a limited number of human potentialities or traits as cultural ideals. Individuals absorb these ideals through acculturation, resulting in a group personality. Margaret Mead followed this basic concept when she set out to examine whether behaviour or stressful life events thought to be rooted in biology, such as the transition from childhood to adulthood, were naturally or culturally formed. Her conclusion, in *Coming of Age in Samoa* (1928/1971) was that cultural conditions control the individual’s response, rather than nature or biology. Her later studies (1935; 1949) led her to argue that sex roles and personality traits are plastic, rather than biological givens, and therefore cultural artefacts. This work is clearly of great relevance to investigations of sex and gender in prehistory.

Environmental theories can be relevant to the development of a sexual/gendered division of labour, and therefore need to be considered in trying to understand prehistoric societies. Alfred Kroeber (1931) looked for an environmental explanation for why certain groups kept or abandoned parts of the cultural suite they had once had access to. Cultural ecology views environmental adaptation as the catalyst for the evolution of cultural systems. Julian Steward’s approach (e.g. 1955) required the simultaneous investigation of technology, culture, and the physical environment – climate, terrain, neighbouring populations, natural resources. While he saw technology as a crucial aspect of culture, it is affected by environment, and thus different solutions will lead to different cultural behaviour.

In contrast to theories that place external influences such as the environment at the centre of cultural change, Marxist anthropology is concerned with internal causes of

change, including an emphasis on internal conflict as a primary source of social change. The focus is on the distinctive set of contradictions within a particular society, and special attention has been paid to production, reproduction, power/core and periphery, and the role of inequality in social conflict. These are obvious areas of interest to a study of sex and gender, and broader social organisation, especially questions of hierarchy, gender and power. Marxist approaches have a broad base and may go hand in hand with other anthropological schools (see for instance Barnard 2000: 87-97). Recently there has been an attempt to apply network analysis theory to kinship, involving it in a wider network of social elements to examine and understand the workings of different types of society (Schweizer and White 1998). Papers are concerned with the role of property (Milicic 1998; White and Schweizer 1998; Houseman and White 1998 ), individual experience (Böck 1998) and the enmeshment of both kin and non-kin in reciprocal obligations (Bollig 1998; Weissner and Tumu 1998) in systems claimed to be based on kinship.

'Post-modern' approaches are many and varied, and have been concerned with subjectivity, situation, relativism and power. For instance Bourdieu's theory of practice presented the concept of 'habitus' or the habitual state (Bourdieu 1972/1977, 1980/1990), in which meaningful behaviour can only be understood by the actor within a culture, an idea which has had powerful effect in anthropology and beyond. Reflexivity is a recognition of the observer's situation within their own experience as well as that of the culture they are studying (for instance Schutz 1972, or Okely 1975/1996), and is strongly linked with feminism. A consciously reflexive methodology has been used during the excavation project at Çatalhöyük. Feminism has taken a two-pronged approach, working on power and gender as a set of social - and symbolic - relations, as well as recognising the gender-based subjectivity of the observer in fieldwork situations (and is discussed in some detail below, Section 5). Work on embodiment theory and on sexuality (for instance Butler 1990; Herdt 1996) tends to overlap with discussions of gender, although there are distinct viewpoints involved.

Anthropology has many theories and approaches, and many nuances within each of them. From fairly simplistic ethnocentric beginnings it has moved generally into a broad zone of relativism and subjectivity, with a wide sweep of options available to those wishing to engage in or utilise anthropological work. Many of these are of relevance to a study of gender, some more obviously so than others, and no one approach is being used in trying to understand social structures at Çatalhöyük.

## **2: Descent Systems and Family Structures**

Kinship has long been a central issue for anthropology, and cannot be avoided in discussion of social organisation. However, some scholars have been concerned with the separation of kinship studies from other aspects of society in traditional ethnology (e.g. Leach 1964, and see Parkin 1997: 26-7, 140), and have worked to relate it to both production and social reproduction, looking at connections between structure and practice, and looking to other disciplines for analytical tools. For instance, it is clear from work such as that in Schweizer and White (1998) that kinship is just one element of social organisation, that should not be isolated and seen as a pristine structuring device, each culture must be dealt with separately with its own data, especially when archaeology is the only source of information. On the other hand, in the absence of live informants, material aspects such as personal property, trade and habitation might assist in understanding the operation of kinship and of wider social organisation in the past.

In non-state societies, kinship takes a central role in organising social relations both within and between groups. In state societies, governments take on the role of law-giver and enforcer. In non-state societies these are aspects of the kin group, and therefore descent systems and kinship have always exercised the minds of anthropologists. For the prehistoric archaeologist, working with non-state cultures, kinship has also become an issue, and an understanding of descent systems and family structures is therefore essential, although they may view social relations as irrevocably tied to material culture (see for instance Gosden 1999: 120-2; Chapman

2000; Schweizer and White 1998 for a range of approaches). The aim of this section is to provide a clear explanation of kinship terminology used in later interpretation within this thesis, and is not a discussion of multiple terminologies in and out of present use, and current anthropological debates. (For such information the reader is referred to texts such as Fox 1967 [the old school] and Parkin 1997 [new school]).

Descent systems can be unilineal or non-unilineal. Non-unilineal systems may be bilineal or bilateral (or cognatic), both involving descent from two parents. In unilineal systems, descent is reckoned through either the father (patriline, agnatic) or the mother (matriline, uterine), but not both (Parkin 1997, chapter 2). These are the most common systems, and patriline is far more common than matriline. However, it has been noticed that a change from matriline to patriline is currently taking place, and that matrilineal systems are disappearing fast, as a result of men wishing to combine their varied roles, rights and responsibilities in one household (husband and father) rather than in two (husband and brother) (Beattie 1980: 131-132). Thus it is likely that matriline was once far more common than today, and indeed it was once thought to be the original system everywhere. While modern anthropologists tend to dismiss this view, it is clearly not possible to prove it one way or the other<sup>2</sup>.

Although it may seem common sense that the earliest recognition of relationship was that between a female and her children, and that any relationship with the father would be a late discovery, it is also known that some cultures, while fully aware of the biological facts, still explain relationships through other mechanisms<sup>3</sup>. Thus it is obvious that social relationship may be as relevant to descent systems as genetic relationship (something Western cultures recognise through adoption, for instance), and unless the origin of the concept of lineage is ever proved, we cannot assume that it was always and everywhere based on biological rather than cultural ties.

## **2.1. Bilateral descent**

In bilateral (or cognatic) descent systems, a kin network is established for each individual based on links with both their mother and father. With the exception of siblings, each person's kindred is different from everyone else's, and therefore a bilateral group incorporates only relatively close biological relatives and is typically

represented by the Western nuclear family. Because bilateral descent does not create a group with a fixed membership, it has no continuity over time, and kin networks cannot own land. On the other hand, they have great flexibility as an individual has access to a wide range of relatives in times of need or enterprise, and seem to be especially well suited to societies in which mobility and independence are important (Nanda 1987: 241). Bilateral groups are often regarded as amorphous, with overlapping membership, and generally endogamous, although there is variation (Parkin 1997: 19).

## **2.2. Bilineal descent**

In bilineal descent groups an individual belongs to both a matrilineal and a patrilineal descent group, a system known as double descent. In general, the two kin groups control and are important in different aspects of life – for instance, one group may be involved in day-to-day affairs, and this is likely to be related to residence systems and land ownership; and the other may be responsible for religious affairs and alliances, or disposal of the dead, matters that can be dealt with over larger distances with regular gatherings. An individual will have rights in and obligations to both sets of kin, and boys may inherit from their fathers while girls inherit from their mothers (Nanda *ibid.*: 241-2; Parkin *ibid.*:24).

## **2.3. Ambilineal descent**

Ambilineal systems are those in which the individual can decide which descent group to belong to, and is correlated with ambilocality, a choice of which descent group to live with (Nanda *ibid.*: 244).

## **2.4. Unilineal descent**

Unilineal descent has two main advantages: 1) the rules result in the formation of descent groups that can perpetuate themselves over time, even though the membership changes through birth and death. These are permanent groups which have an existence greater than the individuals who are members at any one time, and therefore may own property and manage resources on behalf of their members; 2) unilineal descent rules provide unambiguous group membership for every individual

in society, so that rights and obligations, such as ownership, social duties and roles, are clear to each person. This also provides a relationship with a large number of people, both known and unknown (Nanda *ibid.*: 235; Parkin *ibid.*: 15-20). Usually *all* children born to the line will be attached to it through the appropriate parent, regardless of their sex, but only the lineally stressed children will transmit descent to future generations of that line (Parkin 1997: 15). Each offspring of the appropriate sex may form their own line through their children, by branching, and one of these collateral lines may be regarded as pre-eminent, e.g. that of the eldest or youngest (Parkin *ibid.*:15).

### Patriliney

In a patrilineal system, descent is reckoned through the male line. It is normally accompanied by virilocal residence patterns after marriage, so that a woman leaves her natal community and moves to that of her husband. When doing so, she frequently leaves her lineage entirely, and becomes a member of her husband's lineage. The payment of bridewealth by the man to the woman's parents or lineage is normal in this system, and represents both a form of indemnity or compensation for the loss of a member of the group (Beattie 1980: 123-124) and the claim of the man on his wife's children, who will belong to his lineage and not hers<sup>4</sup>. However, patrilineal societies do not invariably deny all autonomy or authority to women, although it may be restricted to certain spheres such as the household, or certain ritual or trading elements (Parkin *ibid.*:25).

### Matriliny

In a matrilineal system, descent is reckoned through the female line. Interestingly, it is not a mirror image of patriliney, because the role of men in a matriline tends still to be focussed on authority power, whereas the role of women in a patriline tends to be centred on their reproductive power. Thus, in a matrilineal system, a woman's brother is very often involved in her affairs and those of her children, and it will generally be his sister's children rather than his own who inherit from him (Parkin *ibid.*:25). Because of this, men **can** appear almost to have bilineal relationships – although residence patterns after marriage are usually uxorilocal, a man does not cut



his ties with his birth lineage because he has a role in his sister's family, and has inheritance through his maternal kin. This might tend to encourage marriage within neighbouring communities, so that it is possible for a man to maintain links and power in one household while living in another (see, for example, Beattie 1980: 128-131). This is quite different to the position of women in a patrilineal system, who generally leave their birth lineage and become part of their husband's lineage upon marriage, perhaps having very few links with their birth kin after that time.

Although descent is transmitted through birth, inheritance of property or succession to office, for instance, may follow other rules – even if the result appears to be the same regardless of the mode applied (see for instance Parkin *ibid.* 22-7). This is particularly the case where certain aspects are restricted to one sex even though both sexes belong to the same lineage. It is important to be aware also that apparent or explicit rules may not always be followed in practice (see for instance papers in Schweizer and White 1998), and also that different societies give very different weight to the importance of descent and residence rules etc. However, as stated above, this section is not intended to be a discussion of the ramifications and variations within kinship, but is designed to clarify my own usage of terms. Modern discussions of kinship and of the complications of terminology and transmission can be found in a range of texts, such as Parkin 1997.

## **2.5. The family**

Anthropological studies detail a wide range of family structures. Despite this, archaeologists have tended to interpret the past in terms of two family structures – the modern Western nuclear family, and an undifferentiated 'extended/polygamous' family about which details are rarely spelled out. It is important to be clear about the different forms families can take, and to specify what type is being referred to.

The family can be viewed as a biological, a residential, or an economically productive and inter-dependent unit, according to the social system. In modern Western culture, the family is seen as a biological, social and residential unit consisting of a married man and woman and their offspring. While this actually



represents only a constantly reducing proportion of society, it remains the ideal image, and current debates over recognising other forms as families (e.g. homosexual couples, unmarried couples and groups of more than two adults), and the regulation of relationships between children and non-biological parents, demonstrate the dysjunction between ideal and reality. Nevertheless, the ideal still controls the archaeological view of the past to a high degree.

Nanda (*ibid.*:219-220) and Parkin (*ibid.*:28) point out that any single definition of 'the family' has escaped anthropologists, due to the range of social arrangements discovered through ethnographic research. Even the socialisation and care of children need not be the responsibility of the biological parents, but may lie with a consanguineal group or the entire community. Two basic types of family are recognised – nuclear and extended. The nuclear, or conjugal, family is generally based on marriage, and consists of a married couple and their children. However, in some matrilineal societies the family nucleus may consist of sister and brother (or mother and mother's brother) (Parkin *ibid.*:30). Compound or composite families are aggregates of nuclear families linked by a common spouse. In polygynous groups each wife tends to have a separate household which she occupies with her children. In polyandrous groups there may be no conjugal residential unit, but a 'visiting' system for husbands, although societies vary (Parkin *ibid.*:29-30). A stem family is a nuclear family with a dependent adult added on, and is particularly characteristic of peasant families (Parkin *ibid.*:28).

The extended, or consanguineal, family consists of two or more lineally related people of the same sex plus their spouses and offspring, occupying a single household or homestead and under the authority of a household head. It is not simply a collection of nuclear families. It may be organised around either males or females, with a patrilineal family consisting of a man, his sons, and the sons' wives and children while a matrilineal family consists of a woman, her daughters and the daughters' husbands and children (Parkin *ibid.*:28-9).

The domestic group or household is not the same as the family. Although domestic or residential groups usually contain related members, they may also include non-kin; similarly, members of a family may be spread among several households. The composition of a household is related to the residence rules of a society about where a newly-married couple should live. There are five such patterns: neolocal, in which a couple establishes a new household alone; patrilocal, in which a woman lives with her husband's kin either in the same household or nearby; matrilocal, in which a man lives with his wife's kin; bilocal, in which the couple may either choose which spouse's family to live with, or may move between the two during the year; and avunculocal, in which the couple lives with the husband's mother's brother. Residence is not necessarily uniform either throughout a society or during the life cycle (Parkin *ibid.*:31-2). Thus simplistic use of the term 'family' for the residential unit in archaeological reports and reconstructions of early societies is unhelpful.

The narrow view of family structures generally held by archaeologists until recently flowed over into interpretation of family function, which implicitly assumes certain sex-linked roles and powers. In this they are not alone – a similar complaint has been made about sociologists (see Delphy and Leonard 1986), who discuss the sociological understanding of the Western family. A range of tasks is carried out within the family, distributed according to the status of the individuals, and the value given to a task depends on the status of the person who does it<sup>5</sup>. This bears a strong resemblance to the archaeological view of the family, a view which needs to be challenged and tested to bring us to a better understanding of how early cultures operated. The archaeological approach to a sexual division of labour has been similarly based on the Western view of technology as a specifically male preserve (see, for instance, Cockburn 1986; McGaw 1996), a belief reflected in the terminology for cultural periods, based on the material used for the manufacture of weapons. All these aspects of the family should be tested against a mixture of theory and material culture, but the methodology must be created first. One issue to bear in mind is that in pre-industrial Western societies the residential unit was generally also the main productive unit, and that any division between inside and outside the residential unit was minimal (see, for instance, Young 1980; Tong

1989:185; also chapter two, pp. 38-39 of this thesis). The widespread assumption in archaeology that women were in a domestic sphere while men went out hunting, trading or otherwise occupying the public sphere in prehistoric cultures must be examined thoroughly.

### **3: Political Organisation**

Political organisation refers to supra-familial structures which may or may not be recognised as 'political' in a modern sense. Terms such as 'lineage', 'clan', 'tribe' etc. are commonly used in fairly general ways, and here I wish to explain the precise anthropological usage to establish a clear terminology.

#### **3.1. Lineages and clans**

A lineage is a kinship group whose members trace their descent from a common ancestor, through either the female or the male line, and who can actually demonstrate that these genealogical links exist. A lineage can vary in size – minimally it may consist of a female or male, their children and their children's children, or it can encompass more than three generations (Parkin *ibid.*:17-18). Some lineages own land collectively, and in some all members are held responsible for one another's behaviour. In these cases, a lineage is regarded as a corporate group. In some societies lineages operate as corporate groups, in others they do not (Nanda *ibid.*: 236). Lineages are often residential or domestic groups, so that daily interaction and co-operation of members takes place, and they might organise collective use and storage of resources (particularly if they own land in common), and may have religious and political functions. It is common for the lineage to be involved in regulating marriage. In particular, members usually have to marry outside their lineage, and often outside those of both parents (Parkin *ibid.*:45-6). If a lineage occupies its own village, as in some societies, this means marriage outside the village, which can produce networks of co-operation through marriage alliance between villages.

A clan normally consists of a unilineal kinship group whose members believe they share a common ancestor, but cannot demonstrate this genealogically. Sometimes the ancestor is mythological, sometimes there will be no specific named ancestor, but they believe themselves to be linked genealogically (Parkin *ibid.*:18). Clans need not be residential groups, but are often spread out over a number of villages. Therefore they are more likely to have religious and political functions than primarily domestic and economic ones. As with lineages, it is common for clans to be exogamous, which strengthens the unilineal nature of the group. A village may contain members of several clans, and clan (rather than village) exogamy can produce a network of peaceful social relations between clans. Lineages and clans can sometimes be divided into segments, generally a descent group within the larger group. Segments may be residential or localised units, or may be dispersed among several communities (Parkin *ibid.*:18-19).

### **3.2. Wider political structures**

Moving from descent relationships to wider social organisation, it is worth defining briefly various levels of political organisation which have traditionally been recognised by anthropologists, and must therefore be relevant to how we interpret prehistoric remains. This is simply a clarification of terminology, in order to facilitate later discussions. Anthropologists define egalitarian societies as those in which no individual or group has more access to resources, power or prestige than any other, although differences based on age, sex and skills will be recognised, so that status differences are achieved. In ranked societies there are formal differences in prestige but no important restrictions on access to basic resources. They may have a chief who has high prestige, but this is often linked to a redistribution of resources which prevents individuals from accumulating foods and goods as private property for their own use. Kin groups might also be ranked, according to their relationship to the chief. Stratified societies have formal, permanent social and economic inequality based on attributes other than age and sex, such that some groups and individuals are denied access to basic resources. These status differences are ascribed by birth which gives membership of a particular group, rather than achieved individually. Although the type of society is often defined

according to whether status is achieved or ascribed, in practice many societies have a mixture of achieved and ascribed statuses.

In traditional anthropology societies were divided into the categories of band, tribe, chiefdom and state established by Service (1962) or egalitarian, ranked, stratified and state set out by Fried (1967), which were based on fairly strict criteria drawn up more theoretically than from actual societies, (although the two schemes did not equate straightforwardly), although this categorisation has now largely fallen out of use as the terms have been problematised (see below). Service's 'band' consists of a relatively small group of people (20-50) made up of nuclear families who live together in a loosely-defined territory in which they gather, fish and hunt (Layton 1997:161-2). They have no formal controls, leadership is based on proven knowledge and ability, and leaders cannot enforce their views – they have a level of authority but no power. There are no important differences in wealth, status and power in these groups, although different individuals might command special respect at some times. Service's 'tribe' is usually made up of unilineal descent groups larger than nuclear families which are the 'owners' of economic resources and the basic political unit. They are basically egalitarian, with no important wealth, status and power differences between members, but are likely to have gender differentiation. The main difference between a band and a tribe is that tribal societies have mechanisms to integrate local segments, which might be age sets, secret societies, or military societies (Nanda *ibid.*: 290-291). A segmentary lineage system is based on both kinship and locality. All segments of a tribe are structurally and functionally similar but there are various ranks of lineage, and members of basic individual lineages might live in the same village, while several lineages are linked at progressively higher levels creating a political network which can be called upon for large-scale affairs. (Parkin *ibid.*:136-7, 151-2; Layton *ibid.*:53-4). Typically, tribal societies have leaders but no centralised leadership or formal offices that could be a source of political power. There may be various leadership roles at any one time, each dealing with a different area of life, but while leaders might mediate disputes they have little authority to impose settlements (Layton *ibid.*:140).

A chiefdom, in the traditional view, is made up of parts that are structurally and functionally different from one another. An ascribed ranking system controls the social status of lineages or individuals, sometimes creating grades such as rulers, nobles and commoners. It has a centralised leadership consisting of the office of chief, which is filled by an individual drawn from the correct group, rather than being an achieved position such as in the 'big man/woman' model. This office is often related to redistributive exchange, with goods moving to the chief and being redistributed through generosity in giving feasts and sponsoring rituals for the whole community while enhancing the chief's power and prestige. In such societies, polygyny may permit the rapid expansion of a lineage which has gained acceptance as a superior group, through the acquisition of extra wives – and thus children – due to its privileged status (Mair 1977:104).

In the 1980's and 1990's a number of anthropologists and archaeologists began to question the application of such rigid terms in attempts to understand in more detail the transition from egalitarian or 'band' societies to stratified or state systems. The middle ground of 'tribes' and 'chiefdoms' – termed 'middle range' or 'intermediate' societies - was the area of contention. Feinman and Neitzel (1984) used a range of variables to test the assumption that a main attribute of a type of society could be linked neatly to a constellation of elements to produce, in this case, a chiefdom. Rather, their evidence suggested massive variability and a continuum that made simple categorisation useless. This re-examination was propelled both by a rejection of the application of state theory to the understanding of these groups, and also by a desire to understand more of the variety of forces leading to the formation and disintegration of such societies and to the development of more complex social forms (see for instance Arnold 1996b). As O'Shea and Barker (1996:13) put it: 'As a fuzzy concept the idea of *'tribe'* means something to most social scientists and probably with a fair overlap of concept – societies within a certain broad size range, lots of local autonomy, transgenerational kin units, crosscutting sodalities etc. This is useful, yet as a fuzzy concept it resists precise definition and its use will be limited since its indistinct definitional boundaries mean it will overlap other modal categories such as chiefdoms.' The rejection of the old approach gave rise to some



important contributions both in theory and case studies of particular relevance to interpreting large prehistoric settlements such as Çatalhöyük East. Important multi-author volumes tackling the issue include Paynter and McGuire 1991, Price and Feinman 1995, and Arnold 1996.

Key among studies on intermediate societies is Earle's work on chiefdoms, which rejects a single causal factor but sees political power in its varied forms as the origin of chiefdoms and ultimately of states and investigates a range of geographical and temporal societies to elucidate the operation and manipulation of each element (Earle 1987; 1991; 1997). The elements of power are identified by Earle as social relationships, economic power, military might and ideology, and in each society different aspects are to the fore. He also differentiates between wealth finance and staple finance as strategies for mobilising surpluses in the development of chiefdoms. Flannagan (1989), on the other hand, problematised the concepts of equality and egalitarian societies, while Paynter (1989) questioned whether inequality equals complexity, and asked why people give up egalitarian modes of operation in exchange for stratification. Bender (1990) was concerned to challenge the idea of inevitability implicit in most state-formation theory<sup>6</sup> and brought the concept of resistance forward, emphasising the importance of social negotiation, the dual-edged power of ideology in constraining both the targets and the beneficiaries, and the role of tension in social organisation; and Paynter and McGuire (1991) examined multiple forms of resistance, both 'everyday' and 'open defiance', in their study of domination theory and approaches to the creation of inequality. Drennan (1996) felt the drift into multi-variate analyses had produced both an endless range of options not susceptible to broader theory and a blurring of distinctions between societies of differing levels of complexity, leaving us with a mass of individual societies and data and little to sort them with. In trying to understand variation, we need some general principles, and he identified the major division in approaches to complexity theory as between those that see social stratification as benefiting society as a whole, and those that see it as a matter of conflict of interest (or ecological-functional approaches to social change versus most Marxist approaches.) Others, such as Chapman (1996) and Hayden (1996) look at economic stresses behind social



change and the difference between 'top down' and 'bottom up' models of assessment. Hayden's (1995) in-depth study of the roots and routes of social complexity offers a clear view of the archaeological evidence to be expected from a 'transegalitarian' society<sup>7</sup>, which is in many ways pertinent to the material remains at Çatalhöyük<sup>8</sup>. Coupland's (1996) study of the Tsimshian is also of importance for Çatalhöyük, with evidence of horizontal expansion from single to multiple lineage occupation of a site alongside conceptual 'Houses' which had a leader occupying a larger physical house in which all members had rights.

Thus the traditional views of middle range societies have been challenged and altered over the past two decades by a range of studies and theories presenting more nuanced approaches to the data. So far there is no consensus other than that multiple elements, causes and outcomes are involved, making simple interpretations of social structure and of the archaeological evidence for ancient cultures both rash and insecure.

#### **4: Concepts of power**

Beattie's discussion of power and authority is worth quoting at length:

"The dictionary defines power as 'the ability to do something or anything, or to act upon a person or thing'. So conceived, power is a fundamental concept in social science, indeed in all human thinking, for the very idea of causality implies it. We commonly conceive of causes as producing their effects because they have the 'power' to do so. And we tend to think of this power as a kind of latent ability to alter the existing state of things, such as we are aware of in our own psychic experience. Thus (as Hume showed two centuries ago) power is not something we observe in nature; it is rather a projection into nature of a category which derives from our own awareness. In a very fundamental sense power is human power, and human power is the ability to produce intended effects, that is, to carry out one's will on oneself, on other people, or on things. Since it implies that the end which is brought about is foreseen, the notion of power is essentially teleological. When we say that a man has power we mean that he can do what he wants to do, and when we say that he has social power we mean that in any social relationship he can make another person do what he wants him to do. Thus social power is an aspect of very many interpersonal relationships; it is not restricted to those ordinarily called political, though perhaps it is specially characteristic of them. So we must seek other criteria

besides the exercise of social power in order to delimit the special field of political relations.

Unlike power, authority implies right: a robber may have the power to rob, but he has no authority to do so. And right is a concept, an idea; it exists only in people's minds. It is something that people acknowledge, and it exists only by being acknowledged. So political authority is more than just the ability to exercise power; it implies also that the right to do so is publicly acknowledged. It therefore involves the existence of a shared system of values, which include the acceptance of the political and social institutions through which the authority is exercised." (1980:140-141).

#### **4.1. Types of power**

Power takes various forms, and can be both direct and indirect. When archaeologists deal with power, they generally consider direct power – though they often fail to make the parameters explicit. Beattie's definition of power (which deals with direct power) includes two very different aspects, which could be described as 'power to' and 'power over'. One concerns autonomy of action, the other concerns control of others<sup>9</sup>. In my view these two forms should be separated if we are to understand different notions of social structure and development, as they are not only used in different ways, but occur within different structures. It is feasible, therefore, that these two types of power could be related to social organisation through the archaeological record, if we were able to theorise the relevant material remains. To a certain extent this has already been done in the case of power over.

'Power over' enables a person to control the actions, property and even life of another person. It is seen in the macro-structure of hierarchical patriarchal societies, in which the power of the ultimate ruler is often obtained from a higher source (such as god or inheritance), and cascades down through a strict hierarchy that pervades not just the public but the private world. This type of power is typically wielded by men, although women might also use such power by virtue of social status or age (for instance, class or motherhood). It may leave archaeological traces in the form of rulers' residences, temples, army barracks, administrative structures – all those things regarded by the archaeological world as the basis of civilisation. 'Power over' is the type of power sought by zoologists among animals, and used to create

zoological models for human society, justifying what they already find in the human world by examples from the animal world. In some cases, 'power over' seems to be acquired by force – as among gorillas, for instance. The striking thing about male power in the animal world is that it is time-limited. A leading male must be in his prime, good breeding stock, capable of organising the troupe's males in time of threat (that is, being seen by the other males as a good choice) and fit. Once this passes, he is discarded, left to live out the rest of his days as a pensioner if he gave in gracefully – but possibly abandoned if he refuses to go when told. Although there is some evidence of inherited power among some mammals, in that sons of leading females in some groups (for instance, deer, see Poole 1985) appear more likely to become leading males, this is not a matter of direct inheritance, and may relate more to the health of the parents (as leading animals they have to be fit and healthy) giving a youngster a good start in life, than to any deliberate social choice. Amongst humans, power may be yielded as old age or ill health take hold, but in many societies it can now be held until death, in contrast to the animal world.

'Power to' is rather different – it does not involve control or coercion; rather, there seems to be consensus among those with freedom of action. It does not fit Beattie's description of authority, because it does not carry with it any sense of right, and does not necessarily involve more than one person. It is not a kind of power generally associated with human societies, although consensus theory can be found in systems such as anarcho-syndicalism and communism, and can be found in practice in feminist collectives. 'Power to' may involve a leader whose job it is to decide a range of matters, yet others are free not to follow the leader's decision. This is the form of power we see in egalitarian human societies, mainly small hunter-gatherer groups, in which an individual perceived as having knowledge or wisdom may lead others, but this role may move between individuals according to the matter in hand – expertise in ritual matters and in finding good foraging areas may not reside in a single person. Remembering that we cannot extrapolate from animals to humans, it is still interesting to note that this type of power also appears to be found among animals, although it has not been studied in the same way as 'power over'. 'Power to' may occur particularly in female-only or female-led groups – for instance,

wolves, or elephants. There may be a leader (often dubbed a matriarch), who will decide where to go or where to settle, and who may also be the only one to reproduce, but there is little evidence that this amounts to 'power over'. The others follow, but this is not at any individual's expense, nor is there evidence of coercion. It is not clear how leaders, especially female leaders, acquire 'power to' – it seems to vary. In all-female groups, it may be the eldest; it may even run in families. In mixed groups, especially those with strongly-marked male hierarchies/pecking orders, it may relate to sexual links with a leading male (Poole 1985). This, however, is a confused area, since it is clear that the acquisition of the role of top male by a gorilla, for instance, is related as much to the choice of the females as to success in warding off male competitors – and the females can decide when to change the top male, by choosing or supporting another. The interest in understanding power and inequality in the 1980's and 1990's produced useful work on domination and resistance, in which 'power to' was recognised as a tool used by the non-elite to resist the application or creation of authority (e.g. Paynter and McGuire 1991: especially 10-13).

In anthropological literature, these two forms of power tend to be described as ascribed and achieved power or rank. This relates them to kinship structures and the acquisition of power, rather than defining how it is used, although there is an implicit assumption that ascribed power falls within the 'power over' arena. The relationship between the two descriptions is not neat, however. Achieved power may take either the form of 'power to' in an egalitarian society or of 'power over' when, for instance, an outsider seizes the throne in a coup. Moreover, it is important to remember that 'power to' relates both to the individual's freedom of action and to the system of consensus leadership, whereas 'power over' is concerned only with leadership aspects.

In general, 'power to' is seen little among advanced Western societies, but remains more common in traditional cultures. It can be used by either sex. 'Power over' is the most common form in Western culture, and is largely used by a male hierarchy.

#### **4.2. Power, hierarchy and settlement size**

Western (male, imperialistic) belief in power as 'natural' and inevitable has led in the past to very narrow approaches. Concepts of power and prestige dominate the lives of males in many cultures, including our own, and it is not surprising therefore that they crop up in archaeological texts with great regularity. The evolutionary view of culture from band through tribe or segmentary society and chiefdom to state still hangs on in some areas, partly because it has been naturalised within our culture. In archaeological thought, it was embedded in the interpretation of early sites well into the 1970's (for instance, Redman 1976 was a very influential text) and beyond, and was certainly powerful at the time of the original excavation and early interpretation of Çatalhöyük in the 1960's. Thus Mesopotamia had small villages (Hassuna period), then larger villages (Samarra and Halaf periods), which started expanding during the Ubaid and Uruk periods until they became towns and we had urbanisation. In the absence of much research in Anatolia, the same model was assumed to apply there. This pattern only worked because of the starting point with an exceptionally simple Aceramic Neolithic, a period which was little known. It may also have been a product of research patterns based on expectations, with Mesopotamia as the heartland of urbanisation and hierarchy from which it spread elsewhere.

However, the pattern in other places does not conform to that offered for Mesopotamia, and research during the 1980's and 1990's began to uncover a very different Aceramic Neolithic in Mesopotamia and the Levant than that originally conceived. Rather than small, simple settlements such as had been recognised earlier, now large sites which clearly supported substantial populations and sometimes included strange, possibly ritual structures, with highly developed industries, and evidence of complex trade networks, began to come to light throughout Mesopotamia and the Levant. The term 'social complexity' began to circulate, as it became clear that these were large-scale societies with organisational rules different to those familiar from later, urban developments, notably at sites such as Abu Hureyra. This remarkably large Aceramic site (excavated in the 1970's but only recently published fully) appears to have been intensively occupied initially by

hunter-gatherers who could organise on a large-scale for mass gazelle hunts, exploited a very wide range of plants in the vicinity, began to cultivate rye at an exceptionally early period, and had some contact through trade or travel with the Mediterranean and Anatolia, yet had no evidence of social hierarchy, specialised buildings or any higher level of organisation than the household (Moore 2000). `Ain Ghazal, on the other hand, even larger than Abu Hureyra, does appear to have had some degree of status differentiation on the evidence of special buildings, and different treatment at death, but more on the household than community scale (Rollefson 2000). Akkermans (1993) study of the the Late Neolithic site of Tell Sabi Abyad builds a picture of the interrelationship of nomadic and sedentary occupants of the Balikh valley in Northern Syria, in a non-hierarchical yet elaborately complex social system, and Verhoeven's (1999) 'ethnography' of the burnt level 6 settlement at Sabi Abyad used a contextual analysis of space along with the use of sealings and the study of the animal bones to build up a convincing argument for a settlement consisting of permanent settlement for a minority and longterm storage for a nomadic majority within Akkerman's own non-hierarchical format. Campbell's (2000) reconsideration of the Burnt House TT6 at Arpachiyah, which is concerned with social organisation at the end of the Neolithic in Mesopotamia. His detailed analysis of the material known to have been found within the house, especially the main room, shows the mix of special and ordinary within a small area, the lack of evidence for a ceramic workshop, and the apparent ritual destruction of certain items prior to the probably deliberate burning of the building. Campbell posits the use of exchange ritual involving prestige goods to cement a decentralised network of settlements within each of which is little sign of social hierarchy, utilising Kristiansen's (1991) concept of a 'decentralized, stratified society', a view which fits neatly with Akkermans' and Verhoeven's analyses. The fact that this exchange was carried out in an elaborate building in a small settlement, rather than a major settlement hosting such functions, is of interest for those trying to reconstruct inter-settlement contacts and hierarchies.

The collection of papers edited by Kuijt (2000a) covers the Aceramic Neolithic not only of the Levant and Mesopotamia, but also South-eastern Anatolia. Hole (2000)



questioned the relevance of settlement size to social differentiation and communal behaviours in a comparative study which established that no pattern can be seen relating to the presence of evidence of social differentiation or public buildings, and the number of dwellings or overall size of the settlement. Households, residence groups and social differentiation are examined by Byrd (2000), who notes a general increase in building size during the later Neolithic in the Levant but no evidence of social differentiation accompanying it. He believes nuclear families occupied the houses, although related households could share tasks to produce greater flexibility. Other studies in this collection relevant to the general topic of social organisation and complexity examine pre-agricultural sedentism (Belfer-Cohen and Bar Yosef 2000; Rosenberg and Redding 2000), and ritual activity and social complexity (Goring-Morris 2000, Rollefson 2000, Kuijt 2000b). The resulting picture is mixed, but at least shows up fruitful avenues for further research. Stein and Rothman (1994) is another important collection of papers from the past decade dealing with the social organisation and the rise of complexity in later prehistoric Mesopotamia and the Levant. It deals with the Chalcolithic and Bronze Age in Mesopotamia, focussing on the 'fuzzy' area of social organisation between chiefdom and early state, and on both the localised, micro-scale elements such as ecological and economic change, and the macro-scale organisational dynamics that were involved in the development of urbanism. It is clear yet again that broad statements are insufficient to represent the many and varied practices involved in developing complexity.

While new ideas were developing in Mesopotamian archaeology, and it was becoming clear that simple egalitarian societies of the kind envisaged earlier probably never existed, little was changing in Anatolia, where Çatalhöyük East has always been regarded as exceptional. Not only is it extraordinarily large (at 500 x 350m it is the largest known Neolithic site in the region), but the quality of its industries, its unusual physical structure and the famous wall-paintings led to it being seen by some as a central place – either for the obsidian trade (although it is some 150km from the Çiftlik/Acıgöl obsidian sources) or for religious reasons. However, the expected satellite villages have not materialised despite several



surveys in the region (Mellaart 1961; French 1970; Todd 1980; and most recently and intensively Baird 1996<sup>10</sup>), and although this may be partly because of the accumulation of silt in this alluvial plain burying small sites, it may also be because they were never there. We now know that another substantial settlement (considerably smaller than Çatalhöyük, but erosion makes it difficult to be sure of the original extent – perhaps c120 x 220m) existed at Aşıklı Höyük during the Aceramic period, maybe 1000 years before Çatalhöyük was established (although the basal levels of Çatalhöyük are not yet securely dated). Although Aşıklı was recognised in surveys in the 1960's as a Neolithic site with potential similarities to Çatalhöyük (Todd 1980), especially the painted floors and massive quantity of obsidian, excavation only started in 1989 when threats to the site became serious and therefore no details were known until recently. Aşıklı Höyük is much closer to the obsidian sources, but still not on top of them (c. 30 km). Both sites are on good alluvial soil where agriculture could have supported a substantial population – but Aşıklı appears to be pre-agricultural in its early phases (U Esin pers. comm. 1998). So whereas Çatalhöyük has until recently been regarded as an exceptional Neolithic site that came from nowhere, it can now be seen to fit on to the end of an elaborate, vibrant and large-scale Aceramic culture in central Anatolia. In the Konya plain district large sites appear early on, with no clear evidence at either site yet of any central organisation or hierarchy as we had been led to believe is required when the population reaches that size, although it is clear that 'social complexity' of some kind must have existed. (Esin, 1999:128-130 does indeed plump for a ruling elite of some kind at Aşıklı which appears to reflect later models. Others have not generally been so explicit, but in a neat twist on the old view M Özdoğan [1999:231], summarising new evidence from the south-east [below] suggests not only the existence of a privileged 'guiding' group but that this is the origin of the historical Mesopotamian temple-based economies.)

A sudden flurry of work in South-eastern Anatolia during the 1990's, prompted by major dam projects in the region, supported this developing picture as other 'exotic' Aceramic settlements were discovered. Çayönü, long the only known Aceramic site in the area and seen as 'aberrant' with its changing house-types, mass burial of

skulls, and extraordinarily advanced technologies such as copper working and textile production (see among the large number of publications Braidwood et al 1974; Çambel and Braidwood 1980; Özdoğan and Özdoğan 1990; A Özdoğan 1999), has been joined by others, in particular Nevalı Çori with its apparent ritual buildings and strange large-scale sculptures (e.g. Hauptmann 1988, 1992, 1993, 1999:70-78), and now Göbekli Tepe (Schmidt 1997a, b; Beile-Bohn et al 1998; Hauptmann 1999:78-80), all fairly small sites yet exhibiting features suggesting either social differentiation or organised social ritual, and it is clear from the accompanying survey work that a range of settlement types existed in the region during the Early Neolithic, sustained by varied economies. The earlier small site of Hallan Çemi offers more evidence of the indigenous development of an incipiently complex society, with a possible public structure and feasting in a site occupied by small but completely sedentary population of hunter-gatherers who were not even flirting with plant domestication (Rosenberg 1999; Rosenberg and Davis 1992; Rosenberg et al 1995; contra Price 1995 who argues that the development of agriculture is the opportunity for accumulation necessary for complexity). Whereas scholars such as Cauvin (e.g. 1988:77, 1989: 83-5, 2000 [1994]) have in the past seen this area as an offshoot of the Levant, with a derivative culture reaching as far as highland Anatolia, and Kuijt's (2000a) edited volume discussed above included a number of papers linking sites in south-eastern Anatolia and the Levant, it has now been established as a culture zone in its own right, in touch with but not dependent on neighbouring areas to the south and west (although Cauvin [1999] is still not entirely convinced, preferring to see it as a 'joint effort'). Nevertheless, it is clear that south-eastern Anatolian cultures do share some elements, such as skull ritual or 'caching', with the Levant, while the evidence of this behaviour in central Anatolia is muted at best.

To return to the situation in central Anatolia, after the decline of Çatalhöyük East it appears that during the succeeding Chalcolithic period we get shrinking settlements, with smaller sites than during the Neolithic, although this is not yet certain as little work has been carried out. The Early Chalcolithic mound of Çatalhöyük West seems to be a fair size judging from surface scatter, in excess of 300m each way but

only 6m high above the plain (coring shows it to extend several metres below the plain), but until the site has been excavated we will not know how far the architecture extended and how much of this now rather low mound is made of eroded soil from an originally higher mound. If it was the immediate successor of Çatalhöyük East, we would expect it to contain a substantial population and therefore it should be rather large, although it is obviously smaller than the Neolithic mound. Certainly there is no evidence of the considerable increase in settlement size from the Aceramic to the Chalcolithic.

In the south-eastern corner of the Konya Plain the situation is less clear: the Aceramic Neolithic site of Can Hasan III (French 1972) is small, around 100 x 100m visible on the ground and rising only 2.25 above the plain, although a core shows 6.75m of deposit which probably means the site is somewhat larger lower down; Kösk Höyük (Silistreli 1989a, b), with Late Neolithic and Early Chalcolithic levels, is even smaller, only 80m in diameter and with 3m of deposit; the long-lived Chalcolithic site of Can Hasan I (French 1962-1968) is much larger than the Aceramic mound, at 360 x 280m and 5m high above the plain, but no ceramic Neolithic site is known in the village so there appears to have been a major break in occupation at that time. Looking to the west of the Konya Plain, the sites seem all to be small. In the Suğla area the Aceramic site of Suberde is only 70 x 70m, and 3.5-4m high and the ceramic Neolithic site of Er Baba is also small at 5000sq m, 4m high. No Chalcolithic sites have been investigated in this area. Further west in the Lakes region of central Anatolia around Burdur the ceramic Neolithic site of Hacılar is only 150m in diameter and not more than 5m high, while the extent of its Aceramic predecessor is unknown but presumed to be no larger; the nearby ceramic Neolithic site of Kuruçay has a 90m diameter at the base, although it is 8m high; and the Late Neolithic site of Höyücek is also small, c800sq m and rising 3.5m above plain. The extent of the Chalcolithic levels at Beycesultan is unknown but thought to be small compared to the overlying Bronze Age settlement.

Following the Chalcolithic, which is itself poorly represented by settlements, we have a problem. Early Bronze I sites are even harder to find and almost certainly

Early Bronze sites underlie Middle and Late Bronze settlements, probably as small sites. The Early Bronze III site of Alaca Höyük consists of fairly insignificant structures which have been adapted to form the sides of graves containing elaborate burials, but we do not know whether the people buried with such pomp were secular rulers (princes/princesses) or religious leaders or what. Therefore we are unsure whether this was a local development or was influenced from outside. The succeeding Middle Bronze Age in central Anatolia is something of a mystery, as it is again uncertain if it was home-grown or imported or a mixture. Suddenly there are large settlements with building complexes which written documents show to have been administrative buildings and palaces – completely new hierarchical structures of principalities controlling major trade. It is not clear, therefore, whether the development of hierarchies and administrations based on ‘power over’ was indigenous in central Anatolia or a borrowing from further east. As Mesopotamian groups such as the Assyrians are deeply implicated in Middle Bronze Age Anatolian trade, and were known to have a strongly developed hierarchical structure, it is entirely possible that they were the stimulus for some of the changes seen in Anatolia at that time, but much further research is needed to understand what was happening in the period immediately preceding the establishment of Assyrian trading colonies.

Thus an overview of developments in Anatolia (and some other parts of Western Asia) suggests that rather than the old assumption of initial small settlements in the Aceramic Neolithic leading through gradually increasing population density and craft specialisation to an urban model in the Bronze Age with full hierarchy and complexity, we started with large Aceramic settlements of considerable complexity, gradually decreasing in size (in central Anatolia at least) down to the Chalcolithic after which something rather different grew up and became the hierarchical Bronze Age urban model of power with which we are familiar. The low level of Early Bronze I settlements in central Anatolia suggests that this could have been the crunch time when a major social re-orientation took place, perhaps initiated by outside contacts, or as a response to changing economic conditions. The big

question to answer, therefore, is what was the social model of the large Neolithic settlements, if it was not the fore-runner of Bronze Age organisation?

Although a model of linear development of hierarchical power long dominated thought about political structures, there is one major exception in the region which attracted attention before the new discoveries concerning the Aceramic of the Levant and Mesopotamia made an impact. Cyprus has for some time been seen as 'failing' to develop urbanism or hierarchy. That is, it has a different model which has been seen as requiring explanation, rather than simply being an alternative development (for instance, Frankel 1993; Knapp 1993; Manning 1993; Peltenburg 1993). Settlements were regarded as remaining small from the Aceramic period right up to the late Middle Bronze Age, when they suddenly started to develop into towns, but there is little continuity of place of settlement and few multi-period sites have been found, suggesting that hiatus, change and movement were the rule. This appears to have perturbed investigators, by whom it was regarded as a strange phenomenon that required explanation rather than being just another model among many. Thus theories were put forward about deliberately resisting hierarchy by moving regularly, creating the shifting and drifting we see, and resulting in few tell sites. This approach took power and hierarchy as normal, rather than phenomena that need explanation, and Cyprus as the odd one out, capable of different – but backward – development because of its island status (see, for instance, Held 1993). However, if power is *not* natural, then we need to explain it, and we might see Cyprus as normal<sup>11</sup>. Shifting and drifting is just as likely to have been caused by land exhaustion as a conscious decision to prevent the growth of power structures. In fact, why would any group of people permit the growth of power hierarchies if they realised what was going on in advance? (see Paynter 1989 and my discussion of middle-range societies, above). This idea pre-supposes that power hierarchies are somehow beneficial for society as a whole, and therefore the population permits their appearance, whereas such a view only holds up within an imperialist, property-based, expansionist world view. In reality, life for the majority becomes worse under hierarchy, as surpluses, however modest, are taken away rather than providing greater security, ease and comfort to the subsistence farmer<sup>12</sup>.

In fact, recent surveys on Cyprus suggest that the pattern of settlement is not as had been thought. Rather, the Aceramic settlements were large, and the succeeding sites up until the Middle Bronze Age were smaller. No longer is Khirokitia-Vounoi so exceptional (Dikaios 1953). The recently discovered earlier sites of Shillourokambos-Parekklisha (Guilaine et al. 1995) and Tatlısu-Çiftlikdüzü (Şevketoğlu 2000) are also very large, as Kalavassos-Tenta may be (Todd 1987), and Kholetria-Ortos is more substantial than more well-known sites of the period (Simmons 1993). The extensive site of Kataliondas-Kourvellos has long been known, and was suspected by the investigators to be earlier than Khirokitia (Watkins 1979; 1983). This is similar to the pattern just seen in central Anatolia, where large Aceramic and Neolithic sites are succeeded by smaller ones in the Chalcolithic and the start of the Bronze Age. Thus in Cyprus too the pattern of smooth hierarchical development from hamlet to village to town to city once postulated for Mesopotamia is incorrect, although urbanism does appear to have arisen under the influence of the Levant during the Middle Bronze Age. Again the Early Bronze Age seems to be the time of deconstruction, when one long-lived social system finally decays and is succeeded by something different.

The development of power systems, in particular hierarchical ones, is closely related to gender structure. The Mesopotamian cultures on which the old models were based are known to have been patriarchal, and thus it is assumed that others followed the same route. Unfortunately this area has been little examined. Even in Cypriot studies, in which ‘social complexity’ has become something of a buzz word in recent years, gender has been notably absent from the debates – for instance, no papers on gender can be found in the proceedings of the conference on Early Society in Cyprus, held in Edinburgh in 1988 (Peltenburg 1989), although a number of papers contained pertinent comments. This seems a strange omission from a conference dealing with society. The important American Society for Oriental Research consultation on the topic (published in issue 292 of the *Bulletin*) contained scant references to gender and no discussion of it. The (invited) male contributors appear to have conceived of social complexity as merely a macro-political scenario, and – notwithstanding Knapp’s discussion of complexity terminology (Knapp 1993:



86-88) – the consultation as an opportunity to pinpoint that now elusive point in Cypriot prehistory at which men took control of society (and its metal wealth), a problem which had not troubled earlier scholars. In examining complexity, the hunt was on for high status groups and the manipulation of exchange systems (Peltenburg 1993: 14), and for “the development of lineages, and the diachronic possession of rights and status” (Manning 1993: 43). It was left to the (female) anthropologist to mention the range of social organisations known in comparable cultures, including gender-based lodges and dormitories for unmarrieds (Kingsnorth 1993: 108), but as her role was to comment on what the participants had said, she had little scope for involving a broader gender perspective. Given that Cyprus was the only area of Western Asia recognised to have had a different development from its neighbours, this omission is particularly unfortunate, as there is no comparative debate with which to examine the rather similar situation I have just identified in central Anatolia.

### *Summary*

Concepts of power are at the heart of much archaeological interpretation but what power is – the forms it may take, and how it can be used – is rarely made explicit. Similarly, assumptions about the development of power and hierarchy underpin much interpretation without being examined for the particular place in question, although recent discoveries within Western Asia have started a major reassessment. , Only Cyprus was identified as having an ‘abnormal’ development, but a similar pattern of settlement size can be seen in central Anatolia. Given the relationship between hierarchy and gender structures, it may be relevant to consider more closely the impact of power on social organisation with special attention to gender, and to question the assumptions about hierarchical development which have been inherited from earlier work on Mesopotamia.

## **5: Social Models**

This section will examine some of the models upon which interpretations of human organisation are frequently – if often implicitly – based by archaeologists.

Sociobiological, anthropological, sociological and ‘herstorian’ models will all be reviewed.

### **5.1. Zoological models of human behaviour**

There are many things that happened in our development into humans that we do not understand. In search of answers, there has been a tendency on the part of some scholars to look to non-human primates, or to mammals in general, for an explanation of our behaviour or a justification of it. Although it has always been recognised that we cannot extrapolate information directly from animals to humans, this has often happened in practice. In the 1950’s and 1960’s it was particularly popular to study primates in an attempt to understand human social forms revealed by intensive anthropological research, and a favoured topic of research was dominance and hierarchy. This seemed especially relevant in the face of rapidly changing social structures in Western culture in the first half of the twentieth century, with the arrival of universal suffrage, new opportunities for women, urban growth and the expansion of communism. Populist works such as those by Ardrey (1966, 1970) and Morris (1967) and later Diamond (1992) not only treated humans as simply advanced primates, but also treated primates as primitive humans, ignoring to some extent the enormous evolutionary gulf between the species and permitting fairly direct transfers of data from animal to human behaviour. From these studies, one could infer that the hierarchical structure of many human cultures, both in terms of sex/gender and class, were ‘natural’ developments, similar to those seen among other primates. However, these studies have been done within very human parameters. Dominance was sought, not simply noted in a broad study of behaviours. It was also assumed widely to be a male attribute, so male dominance patterns have been popular. Thus it can be seen that primate studies have been led by human concerns, not by animal behaviour. Moreover, as Morgan (1972: 184-197) points out in her attempt at a feminist critique of ‘Tarzanist’ or masculist

zoological models, the primate chosen for analogy to humans, as evidence of the 'natural' state of human society, is all too often the one which displays the greatest similarities to the behaviour in question, rather than the one most closely related or one with other affinities. Hence baboons, which are known for their male dominance, strict male hierarchy and warlike male approach to hostile environments (with females and young protected in the centre) have been held up as evidence of the 'natural' origin of male dominance, hierarchies and 'warfare', although baboons are not closely related to humans, indeed are not even apes (see for instance, Morgan 1972, chapter nine; Ardrey 1966; 1970; Morris 1967; Tiger 1970).

Chimpanzees have suffered a similar fate of being used to justify human behaviour<sup>13</sup>. Chimpanzees are, in any case, unusual primates in their social structure, in that they are a basic group of related males into which emigré females are brought for breeding, sometimes after being kidnapped (Poole 1985). The suddenly popular bonobos, pygmy chimpanzees that are closer to us genetically than chimpanzees, are rather different. Although they are also based on a group of related males, they also have strong male-female and female-female bonds, and are famous for using sexual contact as social cement (Poole 1985: 191-192). The current debate in the area of socio-biology is, which set of chimpanzees should we look to for our social roots: the chimpanzees that appear closer to us in behaviour; or the bonobos that are more closely related, and whose behaviour we can all see as a possible human option?

One of the major problems with zoologically-derived models for human behaviour is that it treats other primates as less developed than humans, rather than recognising explicitly that they have had at least as long to develop their social structures as humans have done. Chimpanzees will not develop into humans given a few million years more, although they may develop into rather different chimpanzees, so it is fairly pointless to view them as examples of early hominid society. The main use of such studies is to provide a range of social and behavioural models which may be relevant to understanding early hominid and human social structures, because primates offer many different models of group living. It is within this very broad approach that something may perhaps be learned, not through any attempt to

approximate early hominid or human behaviour with that of any particular modern ape.

## **5.2. Socio-biological models of human behaviour**

Socio-biological arguments are particularly susceptible to political manipulation. They were used in the nineteenth century to restrict the roles available to women to a narrow domesticity based on the idealised housewife and mother (see chapter two). For instance, it was claimed that women who work to obtain economic independence set themselves up for 'a struggle against nature' (Bagehot 1879). In the twentieth century, more developed socio-biology has been interested in sexual difference and the biological basis of gender inequality. While this could be neutral ground, in practice it has largely been used to uphold the status quo, as with arguments based on animal studies that claim male natural promiscuity and female natural domesticity, impelling females to use deceit and trickery to keep the male at home (Fausto-Sterling 1994:4). Such claims play on common male perceptions of female behaviour, without recognising the social restrictions on the open exercise of power by women which inevitably requires them to acquire or use power indirectly.

While modern socio-biology, based on the work of E O Wilson (Wilson 1975), has attempted to be more cautious than earlier forays into zoological realms, the chimpanzee/bonobo debate (above p100) shows that in some aspects it has barely moved on from nineteenth century concerns. Tannahill comments that Haeckel, a contemporary of Darwin, claimed that the gibbon – the only monogamous ape – was our closest relative (although we now know it is only a distant one), and that this idea appealed to Western historians<sup>14</sup>.

Socio-biology in the 1980's and 1990's has been more concerned with the role of genes than with simplistic comparisons of humans with various primates, but the questions asked are often similar. In particular, the sex/gender problem has received considerable attention from socio-biologists in the 1990's (for example, Knight 1990 which has made its way onto anthropology reading lists). At a Theoretical Archaeology Group session in 1994 in Bradford, the buzz-words were deception,

exploitation, and 'no meat, no sex' – all distinctly modern human issues. Overall, the range of papers offered by socio-biologists sought an explanation for male dominance and monogamy, and found it in the exploitation of the male by the female through the use of sex to obtain favours – in particular, meat. While this attempts to get beyond simple biological determinism, it contains not only a series of unexamined assumptions about sex/gender roles in the palaeolithic, but the message that women are responsible for their own subordination<sup>15</sup>. This whole area of work also looks back to the old zoological models. It is true that among some apes, including chimpanzees, females have been seen to beg meat from males they have sex with, but among the bonobos sex is offered freely without any food exchange, and as I commented above (p101), the bonobo model is just as likely to approximate to early humanoid behaviour as the chimpanzee model. It is all a matter of choice, and which aspects of human behaviour the researcher believes to be genuinely 'natural'.

It is perhaps surprising that socio-biology should be so concerned with sex differences when a series of studies has shown that there is far less scientific evidence of differences other than that two biological sexes exist with specific sets of genitals and reproductive organs than had previously been thought. The motivations behind the many experiments carried out, and the problems which undermine their results, have been dealt with in detail by a number of commentators (see, for instance, Maccoby and Jacklin 1975; Tavris and Offir 1977; Nicholson 1984; Fausto-Stirling 1994) and it should be clear by now that many so-called differences between males and females are products of socialisation of the subjects or of those organising the experiments. While there is evidence of some generalised differences, there is also plentiful evidence of such variation within each sex that to persist in attempting to find a simple biological basis for gender roles therefore seems almost cussid, or at the least based on misconceptions or suspect agendas rather than evidence.

It is in the area of evolutionary psychology that socio-biology has made most headway in recent years, with some interesting work on the origins of language and

social behaviour that is relevant to early group size and social organisation (see, for instance, Dunbar 1996). This work is taking place within a broader group of coevolutionary ideas involving language, social organisation, culture, gender and sexual selection, and may offer useful insights into social origins. However, much of this remains speculation, so that while the theories may be helpful they should also be treated with care.

At the edge of sociobiology, the 'Selfish Gene' concept (Dawkins 1976/1989) mixes Darwinian and socio-biological ideas as well as introducing 'memes', a type of 'social gene' which propagates cultural or learned behaviour<sup>16</sup>. While 'The Selfish Gene' can be seen as an attack on sociobiology<sup>17</sup> the transfer of motivation from human consciousness to genes can be simply a way of disguising human attitudes, and making them appear to be 'natural'. Note for instance how Dawkins starts by using carefully neutral language yet soon slips into terminology of conscious motivation (Dawkins 1989). While he refutes vehemently the accusation levelled by Mary Midgley of humanising or giving consciousness to genes as deliberate misinterpretation or the work of someone incapable of understanding him (1989: 278, note to p55), he fails to rectify the language causing the problem. This is hardly surprising, as in re-writing with a neutral terminology, he would probably come to other conclusions<sup>18</sup>. As Tannahill puts it: 'Many of man's hitherto inexplicable acts and attitudes, say the sociobiologists, are a product of his genes' determination to propagate themselves.....in effect, the Stone Age Casanova was motivated not by the desire in his loins but by the DNA in his chromosomes. The female of the species had no such biological carte blanche' (Tannahill 1980:21).

However, this begs the question of who the promiscuous males are promiscuous with, if females are monogamous; it also ignores the problem of why the male drive to spread genes should be stronger than the female, since with a long gestation period, females have fewer opportunities to reproduce and should therefore seek multiple sexual partners in order to get the best chance of good reproductive success. Moreover, although 'selfish gene' theory might be a neat way of dumping human behaviour such as monogamy or female fidelity out of the conscious and into the



‘natural’ realm, it is not in line with what we know of actual human behaviour – that is, that neither monogamy nor fidelity occur widely without strong social sanctions to enforce them. Why, then, are biologists still trying to find ‘natural’ causes for human behaviour that is clearly social in origin? It is important to recognise that this is what they are doing, however much they try to obscure the fact with the science of genes. It is worth noting in this context that under the impact of ethnographic evidence of war-free societies – and primate studies – anthropologists no longer believe that aggressive instincts provide the basis for war; rather, there is general acceptance that aggression is learned, and war should be understood in terms of the social and ecological contexts in which it occurs (Nanda 1987: 300).

### **5.3. Sociological and anthropological models of human society**

What type of social structure should we be considering for early humans, and in particular for early sedentary groups? There are several options on offer, any or none of which may be a close approximation. Before we can assess the archaeological evidence, we need first to consider the types of social structure that we think might be feasible, and then we must discuss what traces each societal form might leave in the material record. Only then can we begin to determine which social structures may be represented by the archaeological data, and even then we are likely to be dealing with a ‘best fit’ scenario rather than an outright ‘winner’. Therefore in the following pages I shall discuss a number of social forms and structures which I believe are relevant to the topic on hand.

#### *Pre-gender society*

1970’s feminism forced anthropologists to re-examine many of their assumptions, in particular in the realm of gender, and it was shown without doubt that gender was a social rather than a natural construct (see chapter two, 31-37). It was also believed to be universal, although varying widely between cultures. While Chodorow (1974), Ortner (1974), Rosaldo (1974), and Rubin (1975) put forward various theories for explaining the apparent universality and persistence of gender (see chapter two, 59-65), there was still no understanding of how and why gender should have appeared at all. The socio-biological models discussed above have always seen gender as a

development from our primate ancestry, yet in fact humans are the only species to have gender. This does not mean that there are no sex differences in other species – as zoologists, primatologists and socio-biologists have demonstrated, there are sex differences in a number of species related to humans, and indeed in many others, and these take many forms. Among primates and monkeys, there may be hierarchies within each sex, and occasionally between sexes (although this needs to be investigated more carefully without human assumptions in mind); and there may be specific roles such as the protection of pregnant females, nursing mothers and young by the males of the troupe. Many other mammals live in sex-specific groups, for instance herds or groups of females and young living together, while adolescent and adult males live singly; or ‘harem’ type organisation in which a single adult male, or occasionally two males, live with a group of females and young. However, these systems do not represent gender as we see it in human societies. They are normally explained as relating to breeding strategy and food supply. Gender in human societies has several features not seen in other species, which require explanation. In particular, human societies are the only ones in which females can be entirely dependent on males for food. While we are aware of certain other species among which females are dependent on their mates for food during breeding, this is entirely different from modern human cultures in which males literally own food and its means of production and females have no legitimate access to it other than through the males to whom they are attached. In all other species, each individual feeds itself. Clearly, the industrial world is a different matter from subsistence agriculture, but it is merely a logical extension of male power over females in our culture. The separation of feeding strategies by sex is seen in many non-industrial societies, and is a feature of gender which operates to restrict access by females to certain types of sustenance, often meat, although males generally have rights of access to all types of food (barring tabooed items). Another aspect of gender seen only among humans is control over mating and breeding, in particular the control of female sexuality and fertility. Although some other species are genuinely monogamous with a true pair-bond, and many others are known in which an adult male will attempt to monopolise the breeding females – with varying success – this is not the total control which has long been practised in many human

societies; nor does it carry with it punishment for digression, whereas human societies use a range of coercive tactics to control female – and sometimes male – sexuality, with punishments up to death available as social sanctions. Other aspects of gender which occur in human but not animal societies tend to relate to economic, social and political developments which we alone have, and which therefore cannot be compared directly. However, it should be clear from the examples given that humans are the only species with gender, and therefore to assume it is an inheritance from our hominid past is mistaken.

In 1981 a paper of fundamental importance to the question of gender appeared in a major collection concerning the cultural construction of gender and sexuality (Cucchiari 1981). To my knowledge, this is the only attempt to understand what would have existed before gender if gender is itself a social construct and not the ‘natural’ structure it had previously been assumed to be, and it deserves substantial discussion. Cucchiari attempted to think the unthinkable – to imagine a society without gender, in order to understand not only whether it was feasible, but what its features would have been. It is a complex paper, and cannot easily be summarised, yet an attempt must be made here. Cucchiari began with the view that all human cultures have binary sex and gender, and that the existence of societies which offer cross-sex gender categories only emphasises the binary nature of sex/gender. That is, none of these societies truly offer extra genders; rather, they permit some members to join the gender normally assigned to the other sex (see chapter two for a discussion of cross-sex/gender options). Thus, they still see sex and gender in a binary way, although they permit more combinations, in exceptional circumstances, than Western societies have done. It is rare, if ever, that a truly new gender is available. Cucchiari then goes on to consider kinship, and concludes that while gender and kinship have always been known to be closely linked it had not previously been understood that kinship is dependent on gender and cannot exist without it. Therefore a pre-gender society must be a pre-kinship society. In place of kinship, therefore, he postulates a ‘bisexual horde’. Drawing on both psychoanalytical and medical sexology models, as well as anthropological examples, he notes that sexuality is a social construction, formed at an early age, and

generally dependent on the gender expectations of the parents. Thus in pre-gender society, sexuality would not be directed into either a heterosexual or a homosexual channel, but would be bisexual. Following Marcuse, he sees sexuality as diffuse and 'genitofugal', not restricted to genital contact but part of a wider interaction. (This could well describe what we see among the bonobos.) Thus members of the 'horde' are linked by interpersonal relationships which include this broad genitofugal sexuality, a sexuality that has no restrictions, controls or taboos and therefore no jealousy and possessiveness. Similarly, sex did not exist as a structuring principle. The recognition of sex as a relevant division between people is a perceptual, not a natural, one. There are more similarities than differences between male and female bodies, and until we enter a zone of compulsory heterosexuality there is no reason why the differences should become structural. What has happened here is not that our bodies have changed, but that the significance laid on the minor differences between male and female bodies, which lie basically in the genitals (the others being largely hidden or relative) have been raised to the level of a primary structuring principle of society, to divide all people into two entirely separate groups. A pre-gender society would be a pre-sex and bisexual society.

In Cucchiari's reconstruction, the group is divided into two sections – Child Tenders and Foragers. All members of the group expect to be in each of these sections at some time – healthy and mobile people would be Foragers while the young and the old would often be Child Tenders, although they would probably do some foraging at the same time in the local area. Membership of each group is therefore not sex-dependent – as sex did not exist – but more likely to relate to ability and age. Child-care was communal, rather than the responsibility of the birth mother, and children were the communal property of the group. Therefore there was no need to relate child-care to sex. He postulates that children were used as social cement between hordes, with child exchange carried out by Foragers, who were more likely to meet other groups. The overall ethos of the horde was 'unitarian' – that is, all people were the same and could expect roughly the same life experience as each other, within both the Child Tender and Forager groups.

So how did gender grow out of this system? Cucchiari suggests that the asymmetry of biology – the fact that only female bodies produce children – eventually became a problem. The unitarian ethos required a ‘false consciousness’ which failed to recognise the difference between the two types of bodies where the production of children was concerned, since clearly not everyone could really expect the same experiences of life if only one group could give birth. When this contradiction became too severe, it was dealt with by bringing the sacred to bear on the issue. Since only certain people could produce babies, this became a non-human or sacred activity, and this is signified by the creation of symbols recognising this sacred element. Ultimately, however, this failed to prevent the breakdown of the unitarian ethos since the recognition of biological difference led inevitably to a social division of people into two sexes and, because the sacred is dangerous and polluting to the ‘other’, the removal of child-birth into the realm of the sacred led to a separation of roles, with birth-givers becoming Child Tenders. Thus a division arose in which those with female bodies became Child Tenders, and those with male bodies – defined negatively as being non-female – were Foragers. From this point, it is downhill all the way, with the perception of sex and sex-based gender as structuring principles leading to compulsory heterosexuality, male-female pairing and households, the ownership of children by the couple rather than the community, and exogamous marriage. The exchange of children remains in the hands of Foragers, who are now ‘men’, and becomes transformed into the exchange of child brides and then adult brides. This is now a gender hierarchy, in which one sex of adults – men – has control over adult females, a completely different state of affairs to when all adults cared for and had rights over all children. Thus an understanding of asymmetrical biology led to a recognition of sex and on to gender, compulsory heterosexuality and gender hierarchy.

Cucchiari went on to apply this theory to Upper Palaeolithic Europe and the symbolism found at that time, and suggested that, following Leroi-Gourhan’s reading of Upper Palaeolithic art, a change can be seen with sex/gender symbolism initially emphasising the female role in birth and nurturing (vulvas and breasts), giving way towards the end of the Magdalenian to a weak female symbolism

dominated by a stronger male symbolism as maleness ceases to be defined as non-female and finds positive identifiers.

As I stated above, Cucchiari's paper is complex and needs to be read for a proper understanding of the arguments. Although there may be areas for debate, it remains a pioneering attempt to explain why humans have gender, rather than assuming it is natural. It has several important implications for my work. First, it is clear that if gender is a social structure, there must have been a time without gender. Second, Cucchiari seems to be correct in saying that a pre-gender society must be pre-kinship (although Astuti 1993 may contradict this thesis, in that the Vezo have a gender-blind kinship system to a large extent, but sometimes the exception proves the rule). Although I am not qualified to judge his application of the theory to Upper Palaeolithic Europe, it is reasonable to suggest that gender must have developed in the later part of early prehistory. (Sexual selection – choosing a mate for social or economic reasons rather than purely chemical attraction or availability – is a third human attribute that seems to have joined a suite of elements in early human society as part of the evolution of culture.) My interest is in the Neolithic period, and Çatalhöyük is outside Europe, so no direct parallels could be drawn anyway. However, the Neolithic throughout Europe and Western Asia is known to be a period of the manipulation of a range of symbols and it is widely thought that this is a time of change in gender structure alongside the 'Neolithic revolutions' of agriculture and sedentism.

### Egalitarian societies

The issue of the existence of egalitarian societies is complicated. Although the term suggests that all members of a group should be equal, it is now generally accepted that egalitarian means that all members of a group have equal opportunity, although some will attain higher status than others based on their particular abilities and the needs of the group. Status within these groups is achieved rather than ascribed – that is, attained by each individual, rather than inherited from relatives. The anthropological literature has assumed that, although such societies do exist, a structural difference based on sex can in fact prescribe the areas within which



individuals would expect to attain status, although they may not always be restricted completely from roles generally held by group members of the other sex. This is clearly contrary to a complete egalitarian ethos, but because there is no other structural principle controlling aspirations and roles besides sex – thus all males have equal opportunities within male areas, and all females have equal opportunities within female spheres – it has been accepted that these societies should be regarded as egalitarian nevertheless. Indeed, it has long been thought that no society exists in which sex/gender is not a structuring structure which controls aspirations and access to certain roles and statuses, and therefore the term ‘egalitarian society’ has come to include sex/gender difference within it.

However, it has been shown that at least one society does exist within which sex/gender does not limit or control aspirations or access to roles and statuses (Lepowsky 1990). This should re-open the question of what we mean by egalitarian, and also whether or not other truly egalitarian societies do or did exist. It must be remembered that there are very few societies left which have not been affected by major patriarchal cultures, and that their profound influence on so-called ‘primitive societies’ has been well-documented. It may be, therefore, that not only do other egalitarian societies exist, but that a careful trawl through early records might indicate the probability, or possibility, that others existed before being wiped out by colonial or imperialist forces from elsewhere.

Lepowsky’s study of the people of Vanatinai, a lightly populated island in the Coral Sea, illustrates a society in which both men and women have access to power and prestige through the same system of gift-exchange and generosity, and in which the same personal characteristics – strength, wisdom and generosity – are valued in both sexes. In this small-scale society the egalitarian ethos pervades all aspects of life – there are no chiefs, acquisition of material wealth is controlled through the acquisition of respect by the redistribution of wealth in gift-exchange, men and women and their specific contributions are valued equally, and children have great freedom. However, sex is recognised, and indeed immutable – the life of a girl will be different from that of a boy, but there is a single sexless term for both until

puberty is reached; both have access to many of the same learning opportunities regarding knowledge, magic and ritual; and there is no change of gender for post-menopausal women. Homosexuality is unheard of, suggesting compulsory heterosexuality, but sexuality is not tightly controlled and rape has never been reported, while wife-beating is regarded with severe disapprobation and the rare cases of spouse-abuse were punished heavily. There is a substantial cross-over of tasks for both sexes during childhood and adulthood, and while women may generally spend more time on some tasks and men on others, there is a high recognition and toleration of individual autonomy and difference, so that much is left to personal preference rather than specified sex roles. There are few taboos, and women are not regarded as polluting. Kinship is matrilineal, and residence is bilocal, so that part of each year is spent with each kin group, enabling each spouse to keep strong links with their matrilineage and thus giving each equal power in the home. As decisions are on a small-scale, made in the domestic or hamlet-wide realm, people of both sexes and all ages can make their views heard. There are no men's houses where political or religious decisions are made in private. Prestige is gained through trade and gift-exchange, and women can make these journeys and partnerships as easily as men, although they are less likely to do so during their child-bearing years. While more men than women seem to have high prestige, some women have greater prestige than most men through generosity stemming from successful trading and gift-exchange partnerships. In recent decades, Western influence may have reduced some female access to power through the introduction of state and religious institutions which are only open to men or require use of English (rarely acquired by women, as it is picked up off-island), but it may also have reduced male access to power through warrior status after pacification in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

This, then, is an example of a society where sex is marked and lineage does exist<sup>19</sup>, but the ethos of egalitarianism includes gender equality both in theory and in practice. The long-held claim that an ethos of male dominance is universal can now be shown to be incorrect (see Lepowsky 1990:171-177 for a discussion and references). There may be specific reasons why egalitarianism could exist on

Vanatanai, but it may equally have existed elsewhere in the past. In particular, the low level of population means there is land and food for everyone, unlike some of the densely occupied islands of Melanesia where land-stress has led to social ranking and inequalities, and where gender differences are strongly marked and women are regarded as polluting. Inequalities do exist on Vanatanai, but this is not structural. Rather, it relates to individual success and to lineage strength.

### *Patriarchy*

Most of the theorisation of patriarchy has taken place within sociology and women's studies, and although this may not seem entirely relevant to prehistory, it is to these theorists that we must turn to begin to understand the concept, and how it might be assessed in archaeological data. The term 'patriarchy' is, and has been, used differently by different individuals and groups to describe certain types of social structure. Because of these different usages, there has been little agreement as to what patriarchy consists of, and whether or where it exists. Some scholars use the term only in the narrow biblical context of early Hebrew society, and reject its broader application as misleading and meaningless<sup>20</sup>. It is interesting that within sociology itself there is no accepted definition of patriarchy, and this is largely because feminist-inspired scholarship has been questioning the very bases of sociological enquiry – social stratification and the concepts of status and class – because of their failure to deal adequately with structural gender inequalities. The case was stated clearly by Delphy and Leonard: "We want...to argue, first, that sociological accounts when they do touch on gender still base many 'social' explanations on 'natural' foundations; secondly, that as a result sociology supports the view that the world consists wholly or sufficiently of men and that women are 'extras', the detached reproductive organs of men or a marginal, lumpen group; and thirdly, that this has had serious consequences for sociological analyses of society" (1986:57).

Despite the debate, most scholars would probably accept a basic definition of patriarchy as a system in which power and authority is held by male heads of households. They might also agree that in these societies there is a clear separation

between the 'public' and the 'private' spheres of life, although this major issue for prehistory has been dealt with less extensively. In an important essay attempting to redefine sociological approaches to take account of gender, Mann elaborated on his definition of patriarchal society:

"In the 'private' sphere of the household, the patriarch enjoys arbitrary power over all junior males, all females and all children. In the 'public' sphere, power is shared between male patriarchs according to whatever other principles of stratification operate. No female holds any formal public position of economic, ideological, military or political power. Indeed, females are not allowed into this 'public' realm of power. Whereas many, perhaps most, men expect to be patriarchs at some point in their life cycles, no women hold formal power. Within the household they may influence their male patriarch informally, but this is their only access to power. Contained within patriarchy are two fundamental nuclei of stratification: the household/family/lineage and the dominance of the male gender." (1986: 41-2).

He suggests that this ideal type is essentially the one that has prevailed according to written records from Mesopotamia c2,500BC to eighteenth century western Europe, and that therefore the label 'patriarchy', though much disputed, seems apposite to most of our history. However, he goes on to qualify this in three ways:

"First, in almost all societies custom and law generally protected women from their patriarchs at some basic level – and the woman's own lineage could uphold her rights against an unjust husband. Secondly, less was in the public sphere in the past than now, except amongst the highest social class. The 'private' family was the main unit of economic production and of socialization, and for almost the whole lifetime: there were few households of single, childless, 'post-child', or retired persons. Far more was unpenetrated by public power. Thus there was greater scope for private, informal power according to personal influence and force of character.... Thirdly, and most significantly, women (and men) belonged (and still do) to more than one household/family in their lifetimes. Power is transmitted hereditarily through intercourse between a man and a woman drawn from separate households, usually from separate lineages. So power must make a journey, potentially fraught with difficulty, between two families of origin and one family of procreation. Most historic societies, precisely because family and lineage are so crucial to their stratification, confer on the woman trusteeship over power resources transferred from her family of origin. In early modern Europe spinsters and widows could formally control most of the resources they inherited; and married women could retain some control of land (but not of moveable chattels) they brought into the marriage. In the upper classes women could be legal agents, manage estates, defend castles and succeed to thrones; lesser, equivalent rights existed among merchants, guilds and propertied peasants. Such women were not exercising power as 'persons' or even just as members of classes, but as trustees for their previous lineages. They were 'honorary patriarchs'. (ibid: 42).

Mann's description of patriarchal society is one that sits comfortably with much feminist analysis. Where they part company clearly is his suggestion that Western society ceased to be patriarchal at the start of the modern era, with the growth of alternative power systems such as capitalism and the state, and that the past two centuries have been neo-patriarchal in character. As discussed in chapter two, the position of women in Britain in the nineteenth century was substantially worse than previously, to the point that adult women had been made legal minors and entirely subject to their patriarchs, yet this was the time that Mann calls neo-patriarchy, when the power of the patriarch was under attack. In addition, feminists would add to Mann's fairly neutral description of patriarchy the common use or threat of male violence to keep female members of both the family and society in general in subjection.

Feminists have been the main discussants of patriarchy over the past few decades, and there are several strands of feminist thought, each prioritising certain aspects of women's experience but recognising the same range of basic phenomena. Thus in very basic terms, and following Tong (1989), liberal feminists see the root of the problem in unequal opportunities for the sexes, which could be overcome through equal access to education and economic resources<sup>21</sup>. Marxist feminists base the origin of sexual inequality in a class society, and follow Engels' claim that women's oppression started with the introduction of private property (Engels 1972: 103); socialist feminists, while largely accepting Marxist concepts of class, regard patriarchy as a separate strand of oppression which will not simply be eradicated by overthrowing capitalism, but must be unravelled in different ways; radical feminists view women's oppression as based heavily on male control of female sexuality and reproduction, allied to naturalising biological claims; existentialist feminists, following de Beauvoir, regard patriarchy as a result of women being defined as 'not-man', as 'other' for if the 'other' is a threat to 'self' (Sartre 1947, 1956) then woman is a threat to man and must be subordinated if man is to remain free; psychoanalytic feminists view women's oppression as rooted in the psyche, and is based on various readings of Freudian analysis; and postmodern feminists have pointed to the patriarchal nature of unified theory, resisting attempts by some



feminists to synthesise feminist thought into a single version capable of encompassing – and thereby probably obscuring – the diversity of female experience which differs according to race, class, culture etc. and has thus given rise to a range of feminist thought. While some of these approaches may seem initially to have little to offer archaeologists, many of the issues discussed by feminists go to the heart of the questions concerning early human society, and they must therefore be teased out carefully to examine the ways in which they can illuminate areas of culture such as ideology, the family, and power in prehistory. This may lead us to some closer understanding of the origins of male power and hierarchy than either an unthinking assumption that because gorillas live in nuclear families with alpha males at the head, this is the natural state of humanity, or that prehistoric men conspired to subjugate women due to an innate aggression leading to an urge to dominate.

While scholars of all political persuasions are theoretically capable of recognising an objective social structure called ‘patriarchy’ (although they might argue over the details), feminists – at least feminist women – view it also from the position of victim, which alters their perspective to that of subject even while dealing with the structure as object. For this reason, feminist analyses of patriarchy have often been dismissed as politically motivated, while other analyses are supposed to be neutral. However, the status of anyone within their own society must influence their approach to that society – indeed, that is the whole point of stratification and status – and therefore no-one is exempt from subjectivity, however neutral they might claim to be. Thus all analyses of society are politically motivated, whether or not the analyst is aware of her/his motivations. Nevertheless, the result of feminist women’s participation in the analysis of patriarchy as both subjective and objective observer has been a more radical and passionate recognition of the details of patriarchy, and an inclusion of aspects not accepted by non-feminist commentators. In particular, patriarchy has been seen by many – though not all – feminists as *the* issue, the origin of hierarchy and oppression. The difficulty of assimilating gender and patriarchy to standard sociological theories of stratification has led some socialist feminists to develop dual-systems theory, in which economic and social



forces have worked independently yet in some ways in tandem to create modern capitalist patriarchy, and it is possible that this approach might be helpful in understanding the development of early cultures. There are two distinct feminist versions of dual-systems theory, which Young (1980: 174) describes as nonmaterialist patriarchy/materialist capitalism (Mitchell), and materialist patriarchy/materialist capitalism (Hartmann). These positions are discussed usefully by Tong (1989: 175-183). Mitchell's (1971, 1974) view of patriarchy is that it is an ideological and biosocial structure – the result both of ideas in society about how women should relate to men (and how men should relate to men), and of the interplay between female biology and the social environment. This explains why patriarchy persists under socialist economic systems. She believes that patriarchy is embedded in the human psyche, and is therefore extremely difficult to overthrow: “no society has yet existed – or existed for a sufficient length of time – for the ‘eternal’ unconscious to have shed its immortal nature. While matrilineages are certainly to be found, it seems as though matriarchies can be ruled out” (1974: 415). Hartmann (1981), on the other hand, sees patriarchy as a material structure based on men's control of women's labour power, for instance through monogamous heterosexual marriage, female child-rearing and domestic labour, women's economic dependence on men through exclusion from waged work, and male structures such as the state. This, rather than a purely class-based Marxist analysis, helps to explain “why women are subordinate to men inside and outside the family and why it is not the other way around” (1981: 10). Patriarchy operates mainly in a material, not a psychological, realm and in very concrete forms.

Both these approaches offer food for thought in a prehistoric context. By separating ideological from economic relations, it is possible to consider what information might be available archaeologically to demonstrate the state of the concepts of sex and gender within a given society, regardless of the question of a sexual/gendered division of labour, within which the whole issue is generally subsumed. It seems to me likely that an examination of figurative representations of people (art, figurines, etc.), material representations of people (burials), and spatial representation of people (settlement organisation) are all capable of shedding light on the ideological

aspects of cultures with respect to gender. This is because if gender and patriarchy are not 'natural' but are social constructs then they may be expected to be signified in cultural (material) terms. The material aspects of patriarchy identified by Hartmann would translate in prehistory into the posited sexual division of labour. Identifying archaeological data relevant to this topic is much more difficult, due to the problems of either working with gender-stereotyped assumptions or having no structural paradigm against which to measure information. Nevertheless, it may be possible to overcome these difficulties by working with multiple paradigms in search of a 'best fit' outcome.

Mitchell's approach also illustrates the ways in which questions of nature and culture have been to the fore in feminist work, while many non-feminist scholars have been content to rely on implicit socio-biological explanations of the patriarchal family, with perhaps a glance in their mind's eye to happy scenes of young gorillas playing around their patriarch in natural history films on television (and this despite general acceptance that the nuclear family is a recent construction in human society!). The origins of patriarchy are seen as somehow lost in the mists of time, but since it appears to have existed at the dawn of written history, it may always have been the human way.

Because sociology and economics, in particular feminist versions, have been the areas in which patriarchy has been theorised most extensively, this is where we have to look for models. They cannot be used directly in archaeology, but help us to consider what we mean by the terms, and what forms it may have taken in the past. Also, since economy is part of social structure, these are the right areas to look at. However, these approaches are not the only ones available to archaeologists. Leaving aside socio-biological interpretations of patriarchy as the 'natural' family structure based on primates such as gorillas, gibbons and baboons, the beginnings of patriarchy have remained largely unexamined other than by feminist 'herstorians'.

These visionary feminists, working largely in the 1970's and 1980's, collated a broad range of data from sources such as classical writers, religion, mythology,

archaeology and their own analysis of modern patriarchy to build a picture of a pre-patriarchal human existence (e.g. Davis 1975; Stone 1976; Gimbutas 1989, 1991 are among the most well-known and influential). Their work on pre-patriarchal structures will be discussed below. Their contribution to patriarchy theory lies largely in the structure of opposites, in which female human nature has been recognised intuitively as having certain components (often those presented in non-feminist socio-biological and zoological models) regarded by patriarchal culture as negative. In this scheme, those behaviours attributed to males and regarded as positive in socio-biological, zoological and masculist discourse are presented as mainly absent from female behaviour, offering a dichotomous model of opposing male and female nature. In this model, male attributes focus on aggressive and destructive behaviour, which are seen as negative traits whereas in masculist versions they are presented as positive. One of the theoretical problems with this model is the 'natural' or biological nature of many of the intuitive arguments coupled with the requirement for patriarchy to be an import, destroying cultures in which the 'local' males did not display these behaviours. Why one group should have developed male dominance and patriarchal structures while another should not, if sex/gender differences are innate, is not explored. Nevertheless, there is ample evidence in the modern and early modern period for an exportation of Western patriarchal systems to areas of empire in which such models did not previously exist, particularly in Africa (see, for instance, Scott 1986 on Peru and Ghana). These overturned and obliterated other social systems within an alarmingly short period of time. This recent experience not only demonstrates clearly that the failure of anthropologists to discover living societies in which men are not dominant does not mean that they have never existed (see above 107-111), but also suggests that imperialist patriarchy can act almost like a lethal virus – infiltrating a culture either by open attack (conquest) or by stealth (trade), taking it over by infecting all major systems (in particular, refusing to recognise women as political or economic actors), and eventually destroying the 'host' and moving on leaving only a dead body politic which will soon be unrecognisable to investigators. In the case of Ghana, which has very well documented evidence of women's involvement in production, trade and internal politics – some of which (trade) has indeed survived colonialism – it would

be interesting to discover whether archaeological data would provide evidence of the change in women's status during the period of Western imperialism. Such work would be of enormous value in helping us to understand the limits of archaeological interpretation of gender and society in prehistoric cultures.

In recent decades patriarchy has also been examined by a growing 'men's movement', as well as within sociological and anthropological studies of masculinity which complement the earlier feminist work on women (for instance Dubbert 1979; Cherfas and Gribbin 1984; Roberts 1984; Brittan 1989; Cornwall and Lindisfarne 1994; Biddulph 1994; Mac an Ghaill 1996). Brittan in particular has theorised Western patriarchy and its ideology of 'masculinism' which naturalised male domination, but he has also recognised the multiplicity of masculinities, just as feminist anthropologists have been exploring multiple gender ideologies and identities in non-Western cultures. For this reason he does not view men as a class, as they do not all share common interests in relation to women. This is much the same argument as that of post-modern feminism in particular, and other feminisms in general, in moving away from 1970's universalist views of women and gender, and focussing on specifics of culture, time and place. It is essential to recognise that if gender is a social construct, masculinity is also a social construct, one that is generally made in tandem with – or in binary opposition to – femininity, and that each society will differ. This type of approach will take us further in understanding the operation of gender and social structure than simplistic dichotomies will. Any understanding of gender must involve an exploration of male as well as female roles and identities, and therefore these approaches must be welcomed. Masculinity studies still have some way to go in making inroads on the consciousness of other disciplines, and so far they have had little impact on a broader (and largely male) academic world, while archaeology – so resistant to feminism – has paid them no attention. This is unfortunate, as it is clear that there is no greater reason to assume that male roles are obvious and unproblematic to distinguish in the archaeological record than that female ones are, and a critique of one must involve a similar critique of the other. This applies to analyses of anthropomorphic figurines (generally awash with implicit sexual ideology) as much as to who used stone tools, or had leadership

roles. In this thesis I shall attempt to question both masculinity and male roles as much as femininity and female roles in discussing the data from Çatalhöyük – a site ‘par excellence’ for interpretations full of uninhibited assumptions about sex, sexuality, gender and the proper ordering of the social world.

Finally, the word ‘patriarchy’ occurred originally in a Biblical context, and in Mann’s view this is the social system (a male-ruled household, with the public arena made up of male heads of households) which can be seen in the written documents from Early Dynastic Mesopotamia. This is clearly much closer to prehistory than the modern Western culture from which feminist definitions of patriarchy have been derived, and by which they were inspired. It is thus imperative that we ask: what did Bronze Age patriarchy look like archaeologically? In order to do that, we have to consider the details of patriarchal culture, stripped of the modern views of society which are so frequently imposed on the past. Ancient patriarchy – as in Mann’s definition (above p112-3) has two separate yet inter-related facets: the household, and the public world. To date, most archaeological interest has been in the public aspect – a recognition of those areas of culture which are suggested to constitute ‘civilisation’: palaces, administrative buildings, storage for surplus products to feed non-productive workers, military barracks, temples, and writing. Most of these can be found in the built environment, and only writing is dependent for its survival on specific methods of production and accidents of preservation such as the burning of archives containing clay tablets. (It is, on the other hand, the most important for proving the interpretation of many of the other aspects.) A more rounded understanding of society requires an investigation also of the private world of the household, based on the types of data I am using in this thesis.

### Matriarchy

The earliest proponents of matriarchy theory were nineteenth century anthropologists who viewed it as the original form of society. Thus Bachofen (1861/1967), working with myths, believed that originally prehistoric people lived in a state of promiscuity or ‘hetaerism’ in which female sexuality was uncontrolled and paternity was unknown, thus lineage was traced through the mother. This was

succeeded by the first human society, Amazonism, in which militant females defeated lustful males to establish female primacy or gynocracy/matriarchy, and in which the female principle is reflected in goddess religions which emphasis female fertility. Next came conjugal matriarchy, in which marriage was established for the control of lustful males and protection of females. This was followed by a period of male revolt characterised by sex wars found in the myths of the Amazons, and finally patriarchy was established upon the defeat of the Amazons. This succession of systems was seen as natural evolution, with matriarchy a fact but a primitive form of organisation growing out of biological truths, and patriarchy as a higher, civilized form, which established patrilineal descent and brought culture to humanity. "All [the evidence] joins to form a single picture and leads to the conclusion that matriarchy is not confined to any particular people, but marks a [universal] cultural stage" (Bachofen 1967: 71).

Bachofen's views were not dissimilar to those of Morgan, whose study of the Iroquois had revealed that they had matrilineal descent and led him to claim in 1877 that matriarchy was the original form of society (Morgan 1963). Bachofen's and Morgan's views were very influential in forming Engel's (1884) beliefs about human origins, which underlie Marxist historical thought. Thus a period of early matriarchy was widely accepted in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (although there was strong opposition from some scholars such as McLennan and Westermarck). However, what it really looked like was rarely expressed, since none of these authors believed matriarchy was better than patriarchy or that a return to matriarchy should be sought. Rather, it was a primitive form of society based on biology which produced rule of the mothers, and which was rightly superceded by later cultural developments. (See Bamberger for a feminist anthropological discussion and rebuttal of the matriarchy arguments.)

In the 1960's, when matriarchy had long become outdated in anthropological thought, a new group of writers resurrected the idea. Drawing not only on the authors mentioned above, but later writers such as Frazer, Briffault and Graves who were heavily influenced by classical mythology and early anthropology, they began



to create a new, female-centred vision of the past, in which gynocracy or matriarchy featured as a well-ordered, peaceful civilisation in which humans lived in harmony with nature, and which was overthrown by violent male hordes. For once, a few details were added to the theory, but they remain thin on the ground. The earliest major work in this area was Davis's (1975) broad-sweep critique of male-centred history which offered inspiring new ideas about the past for those women who felt excluded from standard accounts. Using mythology, anthropology, religion, feminist theory, archaeology and history, she created a completely new vision of the past. However, the section on matriarchy, in the chapter on archaeology, deals largely with generalisations about female power ranging across several thousand years in Europe and Western Asia. The central monument is Çatalhöyük, and Davies claims to draw heavily on Mellaart's 1967 book, stating that the settlement

“was not only a matriarchal but a utopian society. There had been no wars for a thousand years. There was an ordered pattern of society. There were no human or animal sacrifices; pets were kept and cherished. Vegetarianism prevailed, for domestic animals were kept for milk and wool – not for meat. There is no evidence of violent deaths. Women were the heads of households, and they were reverently buried, while men's bones were thrown into a charnel house. Above all, the supreme deity in all the temples was a goddess” (Davies 1975: 78).

The connection between matriarchy and goddess worship is seen as strong, and this theme is central to much of the writing on the subject. Unfortunately, this description of Çatalhöyük bears little resemblance to the archaeological facts.

Reed (1975), in her chapter on the ‘matriarchal commune’ (ibid: 131-162), points out that matriarchy has often been seen as the mirror image of patriarchy, which explains the resistance from men to such a system. However, she reconstructs a very different society, based on a range of myth and anthropological data. In her view, early society consisted of woman-based families, and sex segregation was common. Marriage did not exist – rather, men and women led largely separate lives, and sexuality was unregulated. This is based heavily on the known long periods of sexual abstinence which followed the birth of a child in many cultures (and was related to the low numbers of children borne to ‘primitive’ women compared to ‘civilised’ women in the nineteenth century). In this scenario, women invented

technologies such as agriculture and cooking, and men learned from them until they became sufficiently skilled to take over some areas of work and develop related industries such as metallurgy. While men and women co-operated in the production of food and children, there was no sexual hierarchy or power structure. The overall ethos was of egalitarianism, including equal wealth, and while women may have created society, it was beneficial to all members regardless of sex. It is clear that in her view, rule of the mothers did not result in the subjugation of males in the way that rule of the fathers (patriarchy) led to the subjugation of females.

Stone (1979) works from religion to secular society. Using the historical attestation of major goddesses in Western Asia and archaeological evidence of prehistoric female figurines there and in Europe, and linking it to anthropological evidence of matriliney, she then considers the relationship between the sex of the dominant deity and those in power, and concludes that where goddesses were worshipped as primary deities, the status of women was high. She uses a range of texts from Bronze Age cultures of Western Asia to demonstrate that women were at one time more highly respected, had a wider range of responsibilities, and in some cases were polyandrous. While recognising that matrilineal society are not matriarchal, she links matriliney to female power (as many anthropologists have done). However, she fails to identify what matriarchy actually was, restricting herself to descriptions of known female roles in cultures which were patriarchal but had features which modern patriarchy would not tolerate and which Judeo-Christian thought has opposed.

Cavin (1985: 40-43) maintains that the general assumption that the first human social relation is between male and female with accompanying heterosexual relation is no more likely or proven than that the first human social relation was between females – mother/daughter, sisters, or mothers co-operating to feed and protect their young (seen in many other mammals), and that the concomitant sexual relation would be lesbianism. While accepting that there is no empirical proof of this, there is likewise no empirical proof of the heterosocial system normally assumed. Homosocial female relations would produce a gynosociety of women and children,

from which most adolescent males would be expelled, and were probably characterised by a high female/low male sex ratio through social selection (ibid.: 81-118).

Marija Gimbutas is the foremost archaeologist to explore the feminist and/or 'herstorian' approaches to a female-centred past (see chapter two, 55). In doing so, she largely forfeited the respect of her professional colleagues, but this was not specifically because of the subject matter – rather, her use of archaeological data does not conform to normal standards, nor does the large admixture of mythology, although it is easy to understand the need to use data in this way in order to address the issues. In the first of her two late major works on pre-patriarchal civilisation Gimbutas suggests that the pre-Indo-European culture of Old Europe was a gylany rather than a matriarchy (1989: xx-xxi). Gylany (Eisler 1987) is a social structure in which both sexes were equal, 'a balanced, nonpatriarchal and nonmatriarchal social system (Gimbutas 1989:xx), a 'gylanic, nonviolent, earth-centred culture' (ibid.: xxi). In her second major work on the topic, Gimbutas stated that "The religion of the Goddess reflected a matristic, matrilineal, and endogamic social order for most of early human history. This was not necessarily 'matriarchy', which wrongly implies 'rule' by women as a mirror image of androcracy" (1991: x), and that "Old European society was organized around a theocratic, communal temple community, guided by a queen-priestess, her brother or uncle, and a council of women as the governing body" (ibid.: xi). This is perhaps the clearest statement of the modern 'matriarchist movement' of what form social organisation is thought to have taken in pre-patriarchal cultures, and it explicitly rejects a mirror image of patriarchy in favour of one of female-guided egalitarianism. As so frequently in matriarchy/gynarchy/gynocentrism theory, the site of Çatalhöyük features early on as the type-site of such a society (ibid.: 7-9), although the interpretations placed on the data were difficult to support effectively even on the information from the early excavations, and that data has now been shown to be flawed (see chapters five, six and seven).

These images of matriarchy tend to be based on 'natural' arguments relating to women's biology and men's violence. This biological essentialism is the same that has been used by 'patriarchalists' to explain why women have always been restricted to having babies and looking after the home. These are anti-feminist arguments, yet they feature strongly in matriarchy theory and are seen by 'matriarchalists' as proving that women have not always been restricted to these roles, indeed that the role of mother gave access to wider authority while males were less important. The contradiction between claiming that matriarchy or gynarchy was egalitarian and functioned for the good of men and women, and claiming that nevertheless the feminine principle reigned supreme, is also not addressed.

Overall, the theoretical outline of matriarchy is too sketchy for archaeologists to attempt to test it against surviving remains. The only areas which have been put forward for such work are burials, figurines and symbolism. According to matriarchy theory, female burials should take pride of place in terms of physical position, use of grave goods, and symbolic elements. Figurines, many of them clearly female and the rest simply assumed to be, are typically regarded as representing goddesses. Symbols have been discussed widely by Gimbutas, and all are interpreted as encapsulating some form of female power or role, but non-matriarchy scholars see them differently and the arguments rest largely on myth and imagination.

## **6: Conclusions**

Archaeologists have tended blithely to interpret past societies within frameworks familiar to themselves from their own lives. Until the 1990's there has been little attempt to probe the wealth of information on other social forms, or to understand the terminology and theoretical approaches underlying many of the tools they borrow from other disciplines. However, since prehistory is precisely that – a period about which there is no written record upon which to base interpretation – it is essential that archaeologists acquaint themselves with the broadest possible range of

knowledge of social structures, and question many of the assumptions with which we all approach the unknown. This chapter has attempted to explore some of these assumptions, and to define terms, so that there is more possibility of approaching the prehistoric record with an open mind and clarity.

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<sup>1</sup> He offers no explanation for why female figures and bulls should suddenly appear as divinities, taking them as 'obvious' representations despite the large amount of scholarship questioning the divine nature of these figurines. He also elides huge swathes of geographical space and time, and argues backwards from Çatalhöyük to support his ideas.

2 In the nineteenth century, scholars like Bachofen and Morgan argued that matriliney, or descent reckoned through the female side, had temporal priority over patriarchy. This seems to be obvious since it has always been known who a person's mother was, but there was probably a time when paternity was not understood. However, the concept of lineage, rather than just immediate parentage or identity of mother and siblings, may itself be fairly late. Fox suggested that the basic or original family consists of a woman and her children, and that other forms of family are extensions of that theme, some of them dependent on the discovery of paternity. Modern anthropologists are unlikely to concede the priority of matriliney, seeing it as one of several options rather than placing it within an evolutionary framework. Nevertheless, although this is supposed to be an objective assessment, it is likely to contain a sexist bias, as most anthropologists have grown up in patriarchal cultures. Because matriliney is less common among living communities than patriliney, and because it does not produce a mirror reflection of patriarchy – men are usually involved at a 'political' level in matrilineal cultures, but it is the brothers and uncles of women, rather than husbands and fathers – it is seen as somehow peculiar. Thus Haviland, in discussing lineage systems, offers an explanation: "Apparently, the adaptive purpose of the matrilineal system is to provide continuous female solidarity within the female work group. Matrilineal systems are usually found in farming societies in which women perform much of the productive work. Because women's work is regarded as so important to the society, matrilineal descent prevails" (Haviland 1990: 276-7). Such a comment is interesting for two reasons – firstly, no explanation or reason is given for patriliney, which presumably needs no explanation; secondly, research has shown that, worldwide, women are responsible for around 75% of productive work. The issue here may be in categorising work as 'productive'. Haviland's problem may be in recognising the productive nature of women's work, especially in his own culture where, during the early modern period, with the establishment of capitalism, women's non-remunerative work was systematically removed from the field of 'work'. Marx identified the necessity to capitalism of women's unpaid 'servicing' of the workers in the mid-nineteenth century, and hence the productive nature of women's work, without which capitalist industrial societies would be unable to survive. Haviland's



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comments seem, therefore, to reflect the Western male discomfort with and bias against a system so different from his own, leading to his need to see matriliney as adaptive rather than possibly original (even if more than one type of descent pattern is 'original'). This criticism of his comments could only be supported by an appeal to zoological or socio-biological models, which consistently show the working of co-operative female groups in mammals of many types, including the primates, even if these models also see male 'political' power among primates. Although Haviland may be correct in commenting that women's work is regarded as important to those societies which use matrilineal descent, the converse is that women's work is valued in cultures which value women, and devalued in patriarchal cultures such as our own in which women are devalued. This is particularly relevant to the topic of this thesis, and the perceived high status of women at Çatalhöyük. Is status a result of lineage systems, or do lineage systems stem from status? Given the developments in DNA studies, it is possible that we will be able to establish lineage systems – or probable ones – on the basis of burials at sites which contain burials within buildings or possibly within grouped cemeteries. Indeed, as descent systems are frequently linked with marriage systems, it may be possible to study lineage even when burials are scattered, to establish whether the males or females are related. Although the current work at Çatalhöyük has shown that some buildings do not contain burials, and that the numbers vary enormously between buildings, this does not mean that lineage cannot be established. Indeed, the presence of very large numbers of burials in some buildings may well be related to lineage, as it certainly does not reflect a nuclear family.

Comments such as Haviland's are not isolated - see for instance Nanda 1987: 256, a female anthropologist repeating the standard view: "Patrilineality grows out of patrilocality, which is based on the common economic interests of brothers. Matrilineality grows out of matrilocality, which arises under special circumstances; when these conditions disappear, the kinship system tends to change".

<sup>3</sup> The marriage system of the levirate is one of these - upon the death of a man, his brother (or son if by another wife) takes in his wife. However, no marriage is required, and she remains the wife of her original husband, and any children she bears during her new 'marriage' belong to her dead husband. This appears to be an arrangement which allows a dead man to have more heirs (particularly if he previously had no son in a patrilineal society), even though everyone knows the biological relationship is not present. Similarly 'ghost marriage' among the Nuer occurs when a man dies before he can marry and beget male heirs. It is the responsibility of a younger brother to find a wife for him, and the children of the union belong to the dead brother (1980: 119-120). In the Trobriand Islands the biological role of the male in reproduction is not given cultural recognition, and paternity is established by marriage - that is, the woman's husband is the father of her children; and among the Toda of India, polyandry is practiced and biological paternity is irrelevant. Fatherhood is established by performance of a ritual (Nanda 1987: 234). Because of this, anthropologists distinguish between the two roles by using separate terms: genitor (biological father); and pater (socially-recognised father).



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<sup>4</sup> This role of bride-wealth is made explicit by Carol Hoffer who noted that among the Mende of Sierra Leone, whose women have a long tradition of holding high office and authority, “occasionally a strong-willed woman of a ruling descent group will make alliances with men of her choosing, refusing to have bridewealth given for her. Her children in this patrilineal society then adhere to her and support her as they mature” (Hoffer 1974: 175).

<sup>5</sup> “In general in the family (as in the labour-market) prestigious tasks are reserved for adult men, and conversely any task done by adult men is more prestigious than other tasks (or indeed than the same task) when done by women and children. It is often asserted, both by the actors and all too often by sociologists, that certain tasks are intrinsically of higher prestige (for example breadwinning) because they are functionally more important to the family; or that the division of labour is based on technical differences in capacities or abilities (for example physical strength or childbearing)” (Delphy and Leonard 1986: 62-3).

<sup>6</sup> “Anthropologists may be better advised to examine the remarkable capacity of kin-based societies to resist divisions of labour leading to class formation, to resist the lifelong exploitation of one class by another, and to foment rebellions that may threaten or even destroy archaic states, rather than assume they exhibit an irresistible drive toward class and state” (Bender 1990: 255-6).

<sup>7</sup> Rather than add nuance to Service or Fried’s terms, he borrows ‘transegalitarian’ from Clark and Blake (1989) to refer to societies that are neither egalitarian nor politically stratified. In such societies ‘aggrandizers’ are ambitious, enterprising individuals who strive for domination especially by economic means. They could be ‘Big Men’ or ‘chiefs’ or ‘elites’ in other terminologies.

<sup>8</sup> “Emphasis on death compensations and the management of warfare should be reflected in fortifications, armor, violent deaths, parry fractures, and settlement patterns. Emphasis on the control of brideprice payments can lead to the formation of residential corporate groups in extreme cases, possible female-oriented cults and figurines, and richly endowed adult female burials in cultures where wealth is buried with the dead. Use of child growth payments can generally be expected to lead to rich child burials in cultures where wealth is interred with the dead. Use of surpluses to obtain political power and some control of others’ products will involve the development of prestige technologies. Reliance on reciprocal and competitive feasts can result in the development of prestige food vessels, initial forms of public architecture, regional trade, and be expected to lead to wider regional trade networks, higher volumes of prestige goods, increased craft specialization, and, frequently, systems of numeration in physical form. Finally, the auxiliary emphasis on ancestral power to justify claims to supernatural abilities should affect burial practices, evidence for cults (e.g. the keeping of skulls), and the occurrence of special burial or cult structures.” (Hayden 1995:76).

<sup>9</sup> Bender 1990: 259-60 comments that “Power does not have to be manipulative. It can be the ‘power to,’ the equivalent of social action – power to produce effects, to

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create resources. But 'power to' can shade into 'power over'. Social action is socially circumscribed, and the 'power to' may be available to everyone at some point in her or his life. More often, it will be available to some but not to others. ....Power is masked by being ideologically mystified and legitimated. 'Power over' is justified, in kin-based societies, by "power from" the ancestors or the gods."

<sup>10</sup> Baird has identified 5 or 6 Aceramic Neolithic sites scattered around the alluvial fan but so far no sites definitely contemporary with Çatalhöyük have been found (pers. comm.) with the possible exception of the seasonal camp at Pınarbaşı which is not on the alluvial fan. There was settlement at Pınarbaşı contemporary with late levels at Çatalhöyük (Watkins pers. comm.). Baird has found several Early Chalcolithic sites in the alluvial fan area.

<sup>11</sup> Crete is also an island, of course, and it seems to have developed a 'palatial' style of social organisation which may have been similar to that of Mesopotamia. However, not only are we unsure of the significance of the 'palaces' but there is good reason to believe this development was inspired by contact with mainland Anatolia – and possibly the Levant – rather than being indigenous.

<sup>12</sup> If all we need for life is sufficient food, water and shelter, all these were present in any settlement or it would not be there in the first place. The acquisition of more food than is necessary, or more land than is necessary for food, is a peculiar concept. The suggestion that acquisition of surpluses only became possible with sedentism may be true (but may not) but again pre-supposes that acquisitiveness is part of human nature - despite the fact that for millennia people appear to have failed to fulfil this part of their human nature while they were mobile, even though they regularly returned to the same territories and could easily have stored things in caves for future use. To suggest also that the only thing mobile peoples would have stored is food, while sedentary people collected all sorts of other items, is absurd. In fact, research by scholars such as Binford (1980), Woodburn (1980, 1982) and Testart (1982) has examined the ability and desire among mobile peoples to store resources, and has documented planning, storage and delayed production.

<sup>13</sup> Once one troupe was discovered to hunt, this behaviour was sought widely, because it supports the claim that humans naturally hunt and naturally kill their own kind, producing warfare. Now that hunting has been observed more widely among chimpanzees, it is claimed that early scholars simply failed to observe this behaviour. It is not suggested that chimps – so close to us, and so adaptable – may be copying human behaviour seen in their forests, as a result of habitat and thus food pressure. It is possible that we have created behaviour in chimpanzees that we are now using to prove that our own behaviour is 'natural'.

<sup>14</sup> "It made early human development relatively easy to reconstruct as the gibbon's family life bears a convenient resemblance to that of modern Western man. Husband, wife, and children live together as a group, and when the children grow up they leave home (or are thrown out) and set up on their own. If this was how humanity started off, and how it has ended up, then the millennia in between can be

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filled in comprehensibly, even sympathetically, with a homely picture of a daily round in which the man goes hunting, the woman keeps house (or cave), and there is an occasional break in the form of a get-together with neighbors over the hill. Unfortunately for this comfortable reconstruction, polygamy has been far more widespread than monogamy during most of the five thousand years of recorded history.” (Tannahill 1980:20). Haeckel might have been more circumspect had he known that in some species of Gibbon the female is dominant over her mate (Poole 1985: 185).

<sup>15</sup> The ingenuity of some of the work presented at TAG 1994 – such as the suggestion that skins covered in red ochre were used by groups of women to disguise from men which of them was menstruating, in order to control access to fertile women, (Ian Watts’ paper) – does not overcome the total lack of supporting evidence nor camouflage the age-old male fear of female sexuality and belief in women’s proclivity to deceive men about sex. Leslie Aiello’s suggestion that women bartered sex for meat provided by men (and in return agreed to monogamy), because they needed meat protein in order to sustain the massive brain development of foetuses they were carrying which makes humans human fails to address the issue of how we developed such large and protein-hungry brains in the first place without the meat=sex exchange mechanism. (Although she has attempted to address this in her discussion of the Expensive Tissue Hypothesis, in Aiello and Wheeler 1995, the question of how it all started is still unclear). Her claim that women would be unable to collect/hunt the required meat themselves while encumbered by pregnancy and infants not only ignores much anthropological evidence concerning birth spacing and female economic activity among gatherer-hunter groups, but also implies that women worked in isolation, in direct contradiction of the theory of female conspiracy to conceal menstruation, which is part of the same explanatory umbrella. It is hard indeed to believe that women capable of planning group sex-strikes were unable to sort out a creche and baby-sitting rota!

<sup>16</sup> Dawkins introduced the concepts of memes in *The Selfish Gene*, and it has been developed by a number of biologists, notably Susan Blackmore.

<sup>17</sup> For instance, the 1989 edition quotes Peter Medawar as writing that “Richard Dawkins... gently and expertly debunks some of the favourite illusions of social biology about the evolution of altruism, but this is on no account to be thought of as a debunking sort of book; it is, on the contrary, a most skillful reformulation of the central problems of social biology in terms of the genetical theory of natural selection”.

<sup>18</sup> It is interesting that in his endnote concerning p45 and surplus DNA, Dawkins comments that “the latest edition of the Oxford English Dictionary lists a new meaning of ‘selfish’ as ‘Of a gene or genetic material: tending to be perpetuated or to spread although of no effect on the phenotype’”. Proud to be honoured in this way, he does not comment that his atypical use of the term ‘selfish’, which relates to emotional states or attitudes in humans, has required the invention of a new definition of the word. If he were not, in fact, altering the standard definition by

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using a term signalling intention for a supposedly neutral and unintentional organism, a new definition would not be required.

<sup>19</sup> It is worth noting that this is a society with matriliney and bilocal residence, both of which are more open to maintaining wider kinship ties than other systems and seem to be less associated with hierarchy than patriliney and virilocal residence.

<sup>20</sup> Thus Lockwood, in his discussion of gender and stratification theory in modern sociology: “since patriarchy refers to a quite specific historical form of household relationship and societal ideology, its application to modern societies is misleading and results in the concept losing any possible explanatory value and acquiring instead a merely liturgical character. This tends to preclude serious historical and comparative study of ‘gender stratification’ ” (1986: 18).

<sup>21</sup> John Stuart Mill was one of the early commentators to point out that if women were ‘naturally’ incapable of intellectual or economic endeavour, laws to exclude them would be superfluous (Mill 1970: 154).

## **CHAPTER FOUR**

### **THE DATA SETS: BACKGROUND, APPROACHES AND METHODOLOGIES**

#### **1: Introduction**

The aim of this chapter is to set the scene for the data-based examination of gender at Çatalhöyük which is at the heart of this thesis. It therefore contains a range of information and discussion relevant to the three following chapters, dealing in particular with the theoretical and methodological bases and issues for each of the three data groups I am examining. Because of the multi-disciplinary and multi-data approach I am using, it is not possible to provide a standard literature review or outline of methodology. Rather, these sections contain an overview of historical and recent approaches to the data sets, highlighting certain pieces of work as particularly influential or as especially relevant to my own research. There is also discussion of the theoretical and methodological problems and implications. Thus this is not intended to be an exhaustive study of previous work, but to provide a background to chapters five, six and seven.

#### **2: Anthropomorphic Figurines**

##### **2.1. General and theoretical discussion**

Anthropomorphic figurines were first discovered on prehistoric sites in Europe and in Western Asia during the latter part of the nineteenth century. The particular constellation of ideas current in the infant disciplines of the humanities and social sciences led to a widespread interpretation of these figures as representations of either a fertility goddess or a Great Mother (see Ucko 1968 chapter fourteen; Hamilton 1996a; Hutton 1997; and above chapter two, 54-56). These two concepts were not clearly delineated, and tended to be mixed together under the generic term



‘Mother Goddess’. The idea came largely from the acquaintance of scholars, especially Frazer, with the goddesses of the Classical world, and the recognition that these were rather reduced forms of more powerful goddesses glimpsed in the newly discovered Western Asiatic civilisations – figures such as Ishtar, Inanna and Astarte, as well as Egyptian Isis, and later Kybele. Although not all scholars agreed with these ideas, it was common for the literature to refer to anthropomorphic figurines as ‘mother goddesses’ in the early part of the twentieth century. The shift within anthropology, led by Franz Boas, against the concept of an original matrilineal and matriarchal state of human society brought some change (see above chapter two, 57), but since archaeology and anthropology had developed as separate disciplines in Europe, the American challenge to orthodoxy did not have the same impact in Europe and a wider range of ideas remained current.

Interpretations carry with them a lot of political and cultural baggage concerning social behaviour, and gender is an implicit part of that (Conkey and Tringham 1995; Hamilton 1996a; 2000b; Meskell 1994). It is therefore important to examine ideas within their context and to expose the social thinking that has gone with them. Boas was working in the immediate aftermath of a mass Women’s Movement which was claiming – and gaining – political, social and economic rights, and looking to the past to enhance those claims with any available evidence. This was also a time of immense social and political upheaval on a different scale: the re-drawing of the map of Europe and Western Asia, democratisation and the enfranchisement of the masses, and the establishment of a communist state in Russia. The popularisation of socialist and communist thought included knowledge of the Marxian view of history, and Engels’ views on the creation of the family and the position of women. It is against this background that the United States developed its image as a bastion of individualism and free-market capitalism against communism, and it is within this socio-political framework, rather than a rose-tinted view of neutral and objective academia, that the Boas school must be seen. While Boas may have been correct in stating that there was no living culture with a matriarchal matrilineal system, that need not mean that none ever did exist, and the limits of inference from the present to the distant past need to be respected with care. This is not to claim that Boas was



wrong, merely that absence of positive evidence is not evidence of absence and thus renders his conclusions open to contest. Nor does it necessarily have any bearing on the interpretation of anthropomorphic figurines, but since the goddess interpretation was based partly on a poorly defined concept of ancient matriarchy (see, for instance, Briffault 1927; Bachofen 1967; Frazer 1896; also above chapter three, 120-125), the two ideas are seen to either sink or swim together.

To a large extent the interpretation of figurines has been on a see-saw between the goddess and anti-goddess positions ever since. Those today who suggest they may be religious, or goddess figures, are presumed either to be naïve or to have a feminist agenda – or, increasingly, to be untouchable goddess cranks. Most of the alternative explanations offered have been frankly and blatantly sexist, and would not have been suggested had the figurines been largely male (for instance, their use as substitute wives and mothers when found in burials, as pornographic images, or models of women for sale. See Hamilton 1996a). It is hardly a co-incidence that the most sustained assault on the goddess interpretation came as the second wave of the Women's Movement got underway in the 1960's (Ucko 1968, see below p139-40). Ucko's highly influential work certainly contains a great deal of important and relevant material, but the main theoretical target was the interpretation of figurines both as female and as goddesses. It seems that, because they represent the human form, anthropomorphic figurines stir up deep passions and prejudices in a way that archaeological data rarely does; it is with figurines that we get away from dispassionate databases and come face to face with the people our discipline is meant to be studying.

Although the issue of whether or not they represent goddesses dominates discussions of prehistoric anthropomorphic figurines in Western Asia, I am not primarily interested in this aspect of figurines. I am concerned not with ancient religion, nor proving or disproving the Goddess hypothesis, but with understanding the gender structures at Çatalhöyük, and therefore I shall be considering a variety of ways in which the figurines can be 'read' for information concerning gender structures and human interaction. Nevertheless, the Goddess interpretation does

have major implications for understanding gender and therefore I shall assess briefly the evidence for Goddess worship at Çatalhöyük and how that affects an understanding of gender systems.

## **2.2. The Goddess hypothesis, Çatalhöyük and the wider archaeological record**

The goddess interpretation of figurines raises major problems which must have relevance to understanding society but are currently beyond the scope of this work due to the intransigent nature of the issues and data. These relate to an understanding of early religion in its broadest as well as detailed attributes: what it consisted of; when it started; what we can call religion rather than belief; what is a deity rather than a spirit or concept, etc. Any examination of these difficult issues is made more complicated at Çatalhöyük because in Anatolia there is a long tradition of powerful goddesses that can be seen when writing first appears and is still there two thousand years later. The earlier long tradition of figurines before the advent of writing need not represent the same thing, but is the basis of the strong argument put forward in some quarters for the existence of a Goddess-cult at Çatalhöyük (for instance, Cameron 1980; Gimbutas 1989, 1991; Davis 1970; Stone 1976). Indeed, the figurines from Çatalhöyük have consistently been regarded as Goddess figures by most commentators, although Mellaart also viewed some as votive objects. This has been one of the main evidential supports of the suggestion that Çatalhöyük was either a matriarchal culture, or that women at Çatalhöyük occupied a high position in society.

It is sometimes suggested that the worship of a goddess or goddesses is indicative of female power or matriarchy. In opposition, it has been pointed out that myths and legends are often explanatory devices and that there is no direct relationship between the activities or sex of a deity and the social position of real people (e.g. Ehrenburg 1989: 22-23), while it is often stated that the many images of the Virgin Mary do not indicate a high position for women in the Christian world although they could be interpreted that way if the Goddess school was followed. Moreover, it is clear that goddesses have been, and still are, worshipped in some cultures known to be patriarchal and in which women have few rights, and therefore simplistic

correlations must be avoided. So how can we build on the knowledge that the religions of some later prehistoric/early historic cultures (e.g. the Hittites, the Sumerians, the Egyptians, the Phoenicians) as well as those of antiquity had goddesses as well as gods, sometimes with preference given to goddesses, and that prehistoric archaeological sites seem to contain larger numbers of female than male anthropomorphic figurines?

Although the direct correlation between female images and female power must be abandoned, it is nevertheless clear that the archaeological record changes over time in a way that may reflect social change. For instance, in Cyprus the domination of anthropomorphic representations by sexless or female forms in the prehistoric periods (see, for instance, A Campo 1994; Karageorghis 1991; among many publications on the subject) is superseded by large numbers of male figures at Archaic period sites such as Ayia Irini (Gjerstad et al. 1935: 642-824). This is a time when documentary sources indicate the creation of kingdoms based on eastern models (Karageorghis 1982: 128-156 and references), and when almost all individuals mentioned within this context are male. Thus the development of male-oriented social structures may be paralleled by an increase in male imagery and a decline in representations of females, although in particular contexts (such as the worship of Astarte) female imagery is maintained. Similarly in the Classical world a mixed-sex pantheon was worshipped and images of deities of both sexes are found, but in the secular arena the public sculptures are largely those of males, a situation reflecting the genuine power of men and the institutional disempowerment of women through the use of laws. Nevertheless, this situation should not be read simplistically, as some women had influence, if not power, in the public sphere through their families, and statues of such women do occur. Interpretation always requires an understanding of context, and this is lacking in much of what is written about prehistoric cultures.

No known patriarchal culture worships a goddess alone, and no known monotheistic religion based on a male deity offers women equality with men. Rather, all known monotheistic religions with a male deity are patriarchal, often with extreme views

about the separation of the sexes and the inferiority of women in at least some important ways which debar them from taking part in civic society or holding power. Thus we can see a strong correlation between extreme male power and the monotheistic worship of a male deity. It is feasible, therefore, that a culture in which only a goddess was worshipped may also have given preference to women or the female principle, and that women may have had greater social status than men or have had special access to certain roles or powers. However, as the recognition of such societies depends heavily on the interpretation of female figurines as representations of a goddess or of goddesses, the existence of any such society remains unclear. Nevertheless, the consistent dominance of female and/or sexless representations over male representations in prehistoric contexts must indicate something about the social structures and relationships of the sexes/genders. If not, we would expect equal numbers of male and female figurines or sexless representations. In assessing the sex of figurines, we have to question which elements were used to indicate sex (see Hamilton 2000a) and not assume that these are obvious. It is also clear that the frequent occurrence of sexless figures must either indicate that sex is not important in many contexts, or that we have not understood the code in use at the time although the presence of some clearly male figures shows that, when necessary, male-ness could be and was stressed.

### **2.3. Interpreting anthropomorphic figurines**

In general, interpretations of figurines have not had a well-argued theoretical base. The 'mother goddess' or 'earth mother' view not only has shaky methodological roots but utilises under-theorised concepts such as 'fertility' with little thought for what the implications are. As Tannahill says of Palaeolithic 'Venus' figures:

"If the idea of fertility existed at all, it must have embraced not only conception but the avoidance of miscarriages and stillbirths, the conquest of infant mortality, and the ability to rear a child safely to adolescence. It would have been an ambitious sculptor who attempted to crystalize all that into a four-inch statue. If paleolithic man was interested in fertility at all, it was in the fertility of his food animals" (1980: 36).

In general, the concepts upon which interpretation is based have come before examination of the data. Thus images of whole women and of disembodied phalli have both been seen as representing generalised 'fertility' without any attempt to tease out the implications of completeness and fragmentation. Indeed, if interpretation of female images has been short on both theory and methodology, discussion of male imagery is virtually non-existent (Ucko being the notable exception, and he is more concerned with proving that male images exist than with exploring their differences.) As with the largely unexplored concept of 'masculinity' (see chapter three, 119), male imagery has been seen as uncomplicated and obvious – a phallus is a phallus, we all know what it is for – whereas really this needs to be problematised just as much as any other aspect of imagery. For instance, how does the disembodied phallus relate to ideology? Was it an object that was played with? Was it revered for the ability to give pleasure or was it related to the production of children? Does its disembodied condition mean it was not related at all to men, but was used in the abstract? In addition to phalli, male anthropomorphic figurines with genitals shown do occur (as well as some without genitals but with other sex indicators), but the same general interpretation of 'fertility' is often used for them, and the term 'ithyphallic' is used somewhat indiscriminately (see also Hamilton 1994).

As well as theory – which has so far been notable for its absence in figurine studies – context is an essential component in any reasonable interpretation, for if objects have meaning, the interpretation of this meaning can only be understood contextually. Find contexts for figurines tend to be varied: cemetery (inside or outside graves); settlement (in buildings or in rubbish); and surface find. At some sites all these contexts contain figurines, sometimes in similar conditions, sometimes clearly treated in different ways according to their respective places of deposition, while at other sites only one context of deposition occurs. In general, while context has had some bearing on interpretation, ideology has often over-ridden it, so that a goddess-person has had little difficulty in interpreting all figurines as goddesses regardless of find context, rather than using context as an enriching tool that strengthens and guides interpretation.

## 2.4. Case studies of anthropomorphic figurines

The most important attempt to consider figurines both theoretically and methodologically was made by Peter Ucko in the 1960's (1962; 1968), and it remains widely cited today. Ucko's approach was two-pronged: to examine the data objectively; and to use ethnographic examples to broaden the interpretive options available<sup>1</sup>. Ideologically he was strongly opposed to the 'mother goddess' interpretation, devoting considerable space to pointing out the assumptions, limitations and errors involved<sup>2</sup>. A major aspect of his critique was to assess whether anthropomorphic figurines from Egypt, mainland Greece and Crete (with some comparative examples from the surrounding areas) really did represent females. The recognition of considerable groups of sexless figures and small groups of male figures was of great importance to interpretation, although there are problems with some of the methodology used (Hamilton 2000a: 20-21). In particular, Ucko's suggestion that if sexless figures were counted as male there would be roughly equal numbers of males and females undermines the entire enterprise of reading the data objectively rather than ideologically, while his failure to pursue the laboriously located male figures suggests a loss of belief, and his resistance to accepting 'sexual triangles' as sex indicators, his dismissal of the 'child-wish' interpretation on the grounds that female children would have been more strongly desired than male children, and his preference for an interpretation of figurines as dolls (which he seems to regard as having little social significance) suggest that he had his own ideological motivations which interfered with objectivity (Hamilton *ibid.*). However, it remains the most sustained critique of unthinking interpretations and is by far the most widely cited and highly regarded work of this type to date.

Ucko did touch on the material from Çatalhöyük, under excavation as he wrote, commenting that: "Should the excavations at Chatal Huyuk eventually prove beyond reasonable doubt the worship there of a female deity, it still remains to associate Chatal Huyuk figurines with such a Mother Goddess worship and also to connect up Hacilar figurines with Chatal Huyuk figurines. Should the detailed and finely finished figurines of females with children, standing females with and without



various forms of dress, and all the other finely finished examples be accepted as representations of the deity, the evidence of the small crude and roughly pinched figurines will still have to be separately considered and evaluated” (1968: 438). His caution was not followed by those who have dealt with the material other than Mellaart himself, who regarded the pinched figures as votive objects.

Working a little before Ucko, Vivian Broman’s (1958; 1983) analysis of the figurines from Jarmo was innovative in attempting to interpret the material contextually rather than ideologically. Of the numerous female figures found in rubbish dumps and habitation debris, she suggested that their find context was accounted for by their use as ‘wish vehicles’, used for a specific moment in order to influence outcomes or express desires, and discarded afterwards. What those desires might be is unknown, but this interpretation ties the figurines to real people as well as to context, rather than merely to abstract concepts such as fertility or postulated religion for which there is no evidence. Broman offered the same interpretation for the figurines from Tepe Sarab and Çayönü (1990) based on the same contextual information, and this remains an important suggestion which is under-referenced in the literature.

A completely different approach to anthropomorphic figurines was that taken by Douglass Bailey, working on Chalcolithic figurines in Bulgaria. Opposing the psychoanalytic base of some Mother Goddess interpretations, he also points out that recent scholarship has demonstrated that the fertility of plants and animals is unlikely to have dominated the belief systems of pre-agricultural and early agricultural societies, so that both the philosophical basis and the archaeological context of figurines makes a ‘fertility’ interpretation untenable (1994: 321-3). Bailey sees figurines as representations of individuals at a time of increased social complexity amid increasingly permanent settlements. Using the parallel development of extramural burial to contrast with the domestic context of figurines, he sees these as two methods of expressing individual identity. He adds a gender dimension by suggesting that as there are more male burials identified and that they have more grave goods than female and unsexed burials, and as the figurines are

mainly female and are within the settlements, males are associated with the mortuary sphere and females with the domestic sphere, while 'asexual' burials and figurines occur so that 'asexual representation is unconstrained' (ibid.: 329).

Bailey's ideas are interesting, but his methodology – or at least the data set to which it was applied – is flawed. The fact that extramural burials do not occur before the Chalcolithic and that figurines are rare and less complicated prior to the Chalcolithic yet both become standard at that time does not make them comparable data sets. Certainly, they both deal with the human body, but in very different ways – one is physical remains and a social matter of essential disposal, the other is representational and optional. In addition, Bailey states that extramural burial in cemeteries is the only form of burial in the Chalcolithic, yet regards the greater number of male burials as a matter of identity. Since it is impossible that the natural sex ratio was so out of balance, he should be asking where the other females are buried. Are they elsewhere? Are they over-represented among the 'asexual' group (which is juvenile where ages are given)? Is there a problem with the sexing methodology used by the physical anthropologists? The use of the term 'asexual' is also problematic in my view: while it may be suitable for describing children (ethnography is full of examples of cultures in which children are regarded as sexless until a certain age or ritual, and it is likely that they would be treated differently in the mortuary record in terms of position of body, provision of grave goods, etc.), it is clear from Bailey's data that not only did some 'asexual' burials contain similar grave goods to male and female burials, but some children's skeletons of the same ages have been sexed. To claim that there are three sexual distinctions – male, female and asexual – or that the asexual group is part of the group that could be sexed, cannot be accurate if they are really the children who could *not* be sexed although others were. Similarly, the identity of the 'intermediate' group is not explained in the text. Another language quibble relates to ideological motivation. Bailey tells us that 44% of burials were male, while only one figurine out of 75 complete enough for sex identification was male, yet he states that "While females are *underrepresented* in the burial space, female identities are *most visible* in the domestic space. Conversely, while males are *almost completely*

*absent* from the settlement space, they *dominate* the cemetery and *control* all of the prestigious grave goods” (ibid.: 328, my emphasis). Given the percentages involved, one would expect that females would *dominate* domestic space and males be *most visible* in burial space, yet the language of domination is clearly a male preserve! Nevertheless, the suggestion that figurines are related to individual identity is worth considering, if a suitable methodology can be created to assist in this.

Elizabeth Goring also used a contextual approach to a unique deposit of figurines found in a bowl buried beneath the wall of a Chalcolithic building in Cyprus (Goring 1991a; 1991b). Looking at the range of images, postures, decoration and materials, coupled with an examination of use wear on the painted decoration, Goring came to the conclusion that the clay figures were probably pedagogic aids relating to childbirth, possibly used in initiation rituals. The very different stone ones were probably held in the hand during childbirth. She suggested that the collection of figurines might represent the ‘tool kit’ of a midwife, deposited in a ritual fashion once it was no longer required. This is one of the most complete and careful contextual analyses of figurines to date, but it must be said that it was aided by the unusual and atypically clear context of the finds. While such an interpretation cannot simply be borrowed for other groups of figurines, the methodology was careful and relevant.

The three most recent major contributions are at opposite ends of the spectrum. Jacques Cauvin is working in the old school of assumptions and ‘natural’ imagery in his argument that the creation of divinities, in the form of a Goddess and a Bull, lie at the root of the major social, economic and technological transformation known as the Neolithic (Cauvin 2000). Using a broad brush and drawing on Levi-Strauss’s work on myth and opposites, he wanders across the millennia, offering no explanation for why a Goddess is the obvious choice of divinity, but working backwards from the ‘evidence’ of Çatalhöyük and later to validate his interpretation of anthropomorphic figurines in Western Asia as Goddesses and seeing the bull as a ‘natural’ representation of virility. It is unfortunate, in my view, that a scholar who

urges us in his Introduction to think outside our own cultural norms, should support his argument with statements such as “The idea that the image of the wild bull signifies a brute force, instinctive and violent, is spontaneous in us and is without doubt universal” (p123) and comment that “The fact that, through Her, humanity and nature emanate from a common source, since human infant and young animal are associated with Her in Anatolia, can speak volumes on the novel metaphysical step of this period” (p72). His uncritical use of the data and lack of specificity in what is undoubtedly an interesting theme means that this volume makes no real contribution towards a contextual understanding of anthropomorphic figurines.

Mary Voigt’s contribution is another of those that disappoints in that it adds little in terms of theory or analysis (Voigt 2000). Restating her earlier detailed and successful contextual analysis of figurines from Hajji Firuz Tepe in Iran (Voigt 1983) and Gritille in south-eastern Turkey (Voigt 1985), recognising that central Anatolia has a different tradition from the areas of these two settlements (Voigt 2000:288), and in the knowledge that Çatalhöyük is being re-excavated in a far more detailed and contextual manner than the original 1960’s project, she yet cannot resist analysing Mellaart’s old data in the light of both her own material and recent discoveries in south-eastern Anatolia. In doing this she deals not just with the figurines, but with the large-scale sculptures and ‘shrines’, relating them to the ‘cult buildings’ and statuary at Nevali Çori. Ultimately this seems to be a wasted exercise, since she has no access to accurate contextual data from Çatalhöyük of the type that gave her useful insights into her own material, and looking at drawings and the better items on display in a museum can never provide full information on fragmentation and wear. Despite her interpretations of Hajji Firuz and Gritille figurines as vehicles of magic, she ties the Çatalhöyük figurines into the old network of shrines and deities propounded by Mellaart, making this seem a backward-looking text.

John Chapman’s (2000) work on fragmentation is a different matter. Utilising the concept of ‘enchainment’, whereby the production of an object creates links with the producer which are inalienable, and thus can create links and obligations between all

subsequent owners or users of the item, he examines deliberate breakage as a mechanism for cementing social relationships. With echoes of Talalay's work on figurine legs as tokens or records of transactions (Talalay 1987), and with evidence of parts of a single figurine being deposited in separate pits in Balkan sites, he posits the use of fragmentation with the possibility of reconstitution as a mechanism for regulating horizontal, corporate kin relations (p47, 61-2), although Chapman admits that he has found no real ethnographic evidence of a figurine being used in this way (p39). He also considers embodiment, and the symbolism utilised in figurines during manufacture. Rather than making simplistic assumptions about the sex or gender represented, he notes five sex traits in Hamangia figurines (four female – breasts, pregnancy, pubic triangle, big hips; one male – phallic headless neck), not all of which are used at one time, and considers the feasibility of manipulating gender in social exchange/enchainment/other activities through the fragmentation of these figures, for instance rendering them at one moment androgynous, the next female or male through removal of the neck (p78-9). In tying artefacts to the regulation of social organisation, Chapman has offered an interesting, powerful and exciting contribution to theory which is not confined to figurines, but deals with other types of object that are regularly found fragmented and with pieces missing in the Balkans (such as pottery), as well as human remains, which I deal with elsewhere.

## **2.5. Using figurines to understand sex, gender and society**

My own work on figurines has tended to focus on the questions dealt with in chapters two and three of this thesis. Should we equate sex and gender? Should we interpret figurines according to Western binary sex, or recognise more fluid or multiple sex and gender options? Which signifiers can be used to sex figurines? How can context assist in understanding the uses of figurines? What political and personal motivations underlie the way scholars interpret figurines? (Hamilton 1994; 1996a; 1996b; 1997a; 1997b; 2000a; 2000b). Where the Çatalhöyük figurines are concerned, I conducted a re-assessment of Mellaart's data which utilised modern understandings of these issues, placing the problematisation of sex/gender and the centrality of context – including fragmentation – at the heart of my discussions

(1996b: 215:229). Without having detailed information about find context available it was not possible to reach any conclusions, but it became clear that the range of form, completeness, and find context exceeded what was known from the general discussions by other scholars. Although Mellaart published the 'best' figurines fairly fully in his preliminary reports, no corpus has ever been produced. There is little doubt that a number of different interpretations is required to account for such a disparate data set, as Ucko insisted.

In getting away from simplistic understandings of sex and gender, questioning the use of modern concepts as applied to prehistoric artefacts (including our concepts of deities and religion), and recognising the limitations of our own experience in interpreting the past, it is possible that a greater range of information can be gained from figurines regarding sex, gender and society than any approach which regards their meaning as known in advance of any investigation and which assumes that a single meaning and use can be applied to all anthropomorphic figurines. These are images of people, and they may have been manipulated in a range of social situations within varied contexts. For instance, the change from sexless to strongly sexed figurines throughout the life of a site might be relevant to contested sex/gender roles and identities, as could a diachronic change in the proportions of male and female figures. Sexless figurines may genuinely be related to sex-free individuals, for instance children, or could have been used by those belonging to a third sex/gender; alternatively they may relate to a situation in which sex is irrelevant, representing 'people' rather than males/men or females/women. Aspects of dress and decoration may carry information concerning sex and gender which are currently – and perhaps forever – impossible to read.

Since I started speaking and writing on these themes in 1992, the equation of sex and gender has become less absolute within certain archaeological circles, and gender has become a common topic of research. However, there is still little in the way of data-based methodology available for figurine research which can be transferred between sites for the production of contextualised interpretations. I personally believe that any interpretation of anthropomorphic figurines must take



into account the widest possible range of other data, in order to build up a broader picture of society within which these images were created, manipulated, and discarded. That is, figurine data must be contextualised. Working from the artefacts alone is bound to end in, at best, a partial and unproved hypothesis, and most likely in error.

### **3: Burials**

#### **3.1. General and theoretical discussion**

There are a number of specific problems that affect burial data – as indeed there are with many types of data once assumed to be unproblematic. As Jensen and Høilund Nielsen point out, burials once provided the vast majority of archaeological data, and it was not until the twentieth century, and often the second half of that century, that settlement excavation became common, technologically feasible and methodologically reasoned (Jensen and Høilund Nielsen 1997). Until that time, burial data was widely regarded as a straight-forward reflection of society which could be read through a ranking of grave-goods and tomb or grave structure to provide information on status, hierarchy and society (*ibid.*). It could also provide a chronological framework through typological analysis. The idea that grave-goods were only one aspect, and perhaps a minor one, of burial data took a long time to arrive, and there is still no consensus regarding the best or right way to deal with the material.

Peter Ucko created a major stir in the burial camp with his important publication on the use of ethnographic data in the archaeological study of funerary remains (Ucko 1969). Ucko was concerned to point out that the importance of ethnographic information was not in discovering the peculiar things other people did and believed, but in broadening the options available to the archaeologist when considering burial – and other – data. This does not mean that archaeologists will be able to find a direct fit for their data if they trawl through the entire ethnographic literature; rather, it should make them aware of the wide variety of behaviours and beliefs that create

the archaeological record, and therefore the impossibility of reading burial data as a simple reflection of society. Far from it, for society is anything but simple, and some burial practices would produce a chaotic record for the archaeologist to interpret. Therefore far more sophistication is required, along with a broad acquaintance with possible options.

Lewis Binford pioneered the view that cross-cultural regularities exist between a person's status in life and their treatment in death, and that therefore social systems could be understood from burial data. He argued that two general components of status could be evaluated through mortuary evidence – the social persona of the deceased, and the number of people within the social group with duty-status relationships with the dead person – and that a correlation between the two should exist (Binford 1972: 225-226). Thus the more important the person, the more communal effort would go into the burial and the greater the symbols of status would be. He suggested that this would assist in assessing the nature of the society in terms of ranking and complexity, which might also relate to subsistence systems, and that in simpler societies the status distinctions would be based on general qualities such as age and sex, while in more complex societies abstract qualities will come to the fore. To assess the truth of his propositions he applied a range of statistical analyses which were becoming more possible with the advent of computers, establishing a new approach to burial data that would be common through the 1970's. While Binford believed that these analyses would shed light on social systems, he was interested only in macro elements such as ranking and stratification, and did not attempt to look in more detail at topics such as gender.

The ensuing crop of processual studies based on Binford's work similarly failed to approach gender and more complicated interactions relating to social structure, so that when, in 1978, Tainter published a review paper on mortuary studies of social systems which examined the state of burial archaeology nearly a decade after Ucko, nothing had changed. Although the number of statistical studies of burial data that attempted to understand social complexity in basic levels of stratification was impressive, these studies still did not attempt to move beyond bland hierarchies such

as chiefdoms and kings, and did not tackle issues such as sex, gender and age. Such variables seem too sophisticated to approach through these statistical tests as O'Shea found when he tried to examine kinship and ethnicity (O'Shea 1984). He was examining the mortuary remains of three neighbouring groups in the Plains area, about all of whom substantial ethnographic records existed showing differences in social structure and burial behaviour. His analysis was unable to distinguish ethnic groups, and he noted that:

“if ethnic differentiation were an important factor in the mortuary symbolism, one might actually expect it to be most clearly emphasized among adjacent groups living in the same environment. In the case of groups living in differing environments and with different economies, differences might well be attributable to distinctive social and economic structures rather than to the intentional symbolic designation of cultural identity” (ibid.: 300).

These processual methodologies dominated the 1970's and much of the 1980's in America and Britain, until in Britain they were largely superseded by post-processualism. The impact of post-processual approaches has been less noticeable in the area of burial studies than that of New Archaeology in the 1960's and 1970's. This is perhaps partly because of the emphasis on theory in British archaeology in the 1980's and 1990's, and also because of the less prescriptive methodology. However, the major impact has been in bringing into the archaeological project various elements which had previously been declared unknowable, among them gender, symbolism and other aspects of society which are expected to exist but have traditionally been hard to pinpoint in the material record. The development of new theories and methodologies has opened up whole new fields of study, with gender prominent among them during the 1990's. Nevertheless, few case studies on burials have been carried out with any rigour.

A notable contribution to studies of burial in Western Asia was the conference organised in Manchester in 1992 and subsequently published (Campbell and Green 1995). The wide range of topics covered many aspects of burial over a long period,

and of particular interest are the re-assessments of early prehistoric burial assemblages within modern theoretical frameworks, with context central to many of the interpretations. Many of the papers in this collection, representing conference presentations, are too short to be in-depth studies, but they point the way to further work which is much needed, especially in the area of theory.

Another recent contribution is Heinrich Härke's (1997) useful overview of approaches to burial data. In his theoretical discussion he picks out five key characteristics of burial data that must be contended with: they are fragmentary, incomplete, partial, conceptual and selective (*ibid.*: 22-23). While the first three apply to all archaeological data, the incomplete nature of the evidence is of importance to burials because we know that they are generally only one part of a complex ritual which starts with or even before the death, and may continue for years afterwards. Some of this information will never be retrievable through archaeological means, however sophisticated the methodology. The partial nature of the data relates to the status of burial as one of a sequence of events and interconnected rituals of both an individual life and a social and/or religious system. Thus the traditional emphasis on grave-goods only tells a partial story of a range of depositional options for artefacts, and a wider approach to the data is required. The conceptual nature of the data is linked to its ritual origin, and demonstrates the limited usefulness of processual methods which view burials as a direct reflection of social status through ritual behaviour, and also of purely contextual methods. He points out that Pader's contextual and symbolic study (Pader 1982) did not bring forth clear conclusions regarding social organisation or the symbolic meaning of various details, and concludes that this teaches us that "the context of burial data is not other burial data. They were created in an act of ritual, and therefore the context of burial data is ritual" (Härke 1997: 23). Finally, the selective nature of burial data is related to this ritual aspect: unlike settlement data, which might be an accidental record and will contain a much broader range of information, burials are the result of deliberate selection of depositional choices such as place, orientation, grave-goods, feasting, etc.

Härke supports the claim of post-processual approaches over processual or positivist ones to burial data as being the most likely to take account of the various types of information available, and divides them into main two groups: symbolic and contextual approaches, based on the idea that all human action is expressed as symbols and that these can be understood through recognising the patterning of symbolic actions in the archaeological record; and sociological approaches, which build particularly on Giddens' theory of structuration that stresses that society is not made up of individuals fulfilling pre-ordained roles but an interplay of rules and actions, with ideology providing the legitimation for the former (Härke *ibid.*: 21; Giddens 1979). In an attempt to overcome perceived weaknesses in these approaches (not least the fact that post-processualism, in bringing to the fore the subjective nature of both data and interpretation, is not prescriptive and therefore cannot provide a straight-forward methodology for others to follow) Härke has drawn on anthropology to suggest that a distinction be made between intentional data – the result of choices made by those who bury the dead, which might be constrained to various degrees by social norms, religion and ritual but which nevertheless include an element of choice; and functional data – skeletal information such as age, sex and health, which are not (normally) determined by choice and thus may be undistorted, providing unbiased data on the life and environment of the deceased. Other data falls between the two sets, for instance, technical information about grave-goods and environmental data recovered from grave-fill (Härke 1997: 24). However, he has also recognised that this separation may prove to be too inflexible, and that further work is needed.

### **3.2. Using burial data to understand sex, gender and society**

Burial data comes in a range of forms. As discussed above, grave goods were traditionally regarded as the main source of information, but added to that is the skeleton itself, the grave, and the broader context. These are rich data sets.

Grave goods, once so central to interpretation and identification, are extremely problematic data. As Piggott (1969: 558) pointed out, all tomb offerings are bound to have been socially selected, according to criteria that remain unknown today, and

where offerings were placed in a tomb these will in no sense represent a random sample. This means that artefacts found in a grave need not necessarily have belonged to the person they were buried with, and may have no relation to the sex, gender, age or other status of the deceased. Unfortunately, until recently grave goods were regarded as straightforward data, and were used regularly to sex the skeletons they were found with, based on the archaeologist's beliefs of what was appropriate for each sex, rather than vice versa. It is now clear that grave goods may be the least informative data set from burials. In the case of Çatalhöyük, where a strong link between sex and grave goods was postulated, it is now known that the situation was not as clear-cut as once thought since the skeletons had not all been sexed by experts (Hamilton 1996b: 242-262); furthermore, the current excavations have shown how difficult it is to relate grave-goods to particular individuals when burials were disturbed so frequently. Indeed, when burial was a semi-communal affair (that is, although many burials were individual, they were sometimes inserted into communal burial areas in ways that involved the re-organisation and disturbance of previous burials), we may be wrong to assume that private property in the form of grave-goods existed at all. Although some items such as bracelets and necklaces are obviously related to specific skeletons due to their placement on the body, little attempt seems to have been made to retain the link between an individual and other types of grave-goods when the skeleton was disturbed. Some grave-goods are not of the type to have been attached to the body and it is therefore difficult to assess whether they relate to a specific individual or to the whole group of burials.

The information to be derived from a skeleton is potentially far more revealing of status than grave goods. DNA analysis – still in its infancy and unreliable – will give more accurate information concerning the sex of the skeleton, an identification which relies to a greater extent than is commonly understood on intra-population differences rather than on any absolute measurements. It should also be possible to use DNA to reconstruct lineage patterns on a site such as Çatalhöyük where burials took place within buildings, although it is clear that the burial population of any given building does not represent the living population of that building (see chapter six). Information on health and disease may be a far better indicator of status and



wealth than grave-goods, especially since data derived from a skeleton is definitely related to that skeleton whereas how and why grave-goods arrive in a burial is uncertain and thus grave-goods may relate to the wealth and status of others rather than the skeleton concerned. Wear on skeletons, particularly on the joints, can help us to understand work stresses and patterns, including the presence or absence of a binary sex/gender division of labour. Isotope analyses offer exciting opportunities to look at diet and whether any sex differentiation in diet can be recognised, in particular whether one sex had greater access to wild resources and to meat. All these aspects can be used in an exploration of the social structure of sex and gender as well as other areas of status and hierarchy but several require specialist analysis or expensive scientific techniques and are therefore not commonly available. Some of these techniques are being tried at Çatalhöyük but, with the exception of wear analysis, the results are not yet usable.

The place of burial, including type of grave and associations with other physical spaces (graves or otherwise) can also be useful in understanding social organisation and gender. The arrangement of a cemetery, or the placement of burials within a building as at Çatalhöyük, may be informative in relation to family or larger social structures, and could potentially illuminate issues of lineage and inheritance (see below, 159-60 on the pattern of burial expected from different lineage systems).

### **3.3. Case studies on gender and society**

Susan Shennan's study of social complexity through analysis of the inhumation cemetery at Branč (Shennan 1975) is an important contribution to extrapolating a broader range of social data from burials than was common at the time, and it is also one of the major contributions to gender analysis of burial data although that is through accident rather than design, since she was searching only for evidence of stratification. Therefore I suspect Shennan's high-quality data could well support re-analysis with modern questions in mind, as well as modern techniques such as isotope analysis to recognise dietary differences, and investigation of pathologies which could inform about relationships and health. This might answer the questions

she could not decide, and would be a very useful exercise given the quality of her work and the shortage of well-excavated burials available for study.

Shennan was not explicitly interested in gender, rather she was concerned that instead of just assuming that the Bronze Age saw the arrival of stratified – probably patriarchal – society, the data should be examined for evidence of social stratification. Utilising a range of data sets – sexing by anthropologists, orientation, the side the body lay on, and grave-goods (which were given values depending on distance from source of raw material and energy expenditure in manufacture) she came to the conclusion that some form of stratification was in place at Branč, based on unequal access to ‘wealth’, and that this inequality was not related to sex. However, she was not able to decide what form it took, considering two possibilities: ascribed or achieved wealth, with either matrilineal or patrilineal descent. When cluster analysis was used to identify the richest graves, they were all those of females, and the ‘rich’ females had considerably more wealth than ‘rich’ males, while overall females were more likely to be ‘rich’ than males. She cautions that although this could indicate a matrilineal society in which females are guardians of group wealth, women could be displaying the wealth of their men, since the majority of wealthy females fall into the juvenile-adult and adult age groups, indicating that they could be married. This argument is never offered as an explanation for male wealth, of course, although perhaps it should be, particularly in the case of Branč. Shennan inclines to the view of ascribed wealth for two reasons: the presence of several ‘rich’ graves of male infants; and the fact that females – particularly ‘rich’ females – had a far better chance of surviving infancy than males. However, the two could be combined to present a different picture. The presence of wealth in the burials of male infants need not indicate that it was their personal property; rather, it could have been provided by their wealthy female relatives. As Shennan points out, wealthy older females may have had some of their wealth from a young age, but she also notes that there are very few ‘rich’ female infants, which suggests that the longer you live, the better chance there is of accumulating status and wealth. This would suggest achieved, rather than ascribed, wealth, some of it being given occasionally to infants who died. Shennan notes that females naturally

survive infancy better than males although more males are born<sup>3</sup>, but the difference in numbers is striking and could suggest a female-preferred society, although the presence of some 'rich' graves of male infants would indicate that they were nevertheless valued highly. A rough reading of Shennan's figure 4 suggests six females and 20 males in the 'infant I' category, with 11 females and 23 males in the 'infant II' category. She does not give age ranges for the two categories, but the rising number of female deaths in the 'infant II' category would argue against strong female-preference, as it is well-known that in strongly male-preferred societies female toddlers die at a far higher rate than males, generally from neglect, thus catching up with the male deaths in the first year of life (see Hamilton 1996b: 256 and references), and in a strongly female-preferred society we would expect fewer female deaths at this age. (The lack of relative dating information makes this harder to interpret, as there could be change within the lifetime of the cemetery, and high infant mortality could occur alongside high adult mortality, indicating epidemics.) However, the male:female ratio for the 'infant I' category is far greater than that expected generally<sup>4</sup> and a social explanation might be appropriate. Logically, the survival of females is of far more importance to the survival of the group as a whole than the survival of males, because a single male can be used as a 'stud' for a group of females, whose child-bearing capacity is limited by our generally single births and long gestation and lactation period. Therefore the care of female children could be regarded as a priority for the group.<sup>5</sup>

Another important issue in Shennan's work is the question of sexing of burials. She noted that while there was a general link between side of burial and anthropological sex, there was also a considerable discrepancy – 81% of females were buried on their left and 69% of males were buried on their right, according to anthropological sexing. She notes that Weiss (1972) had found a systematic bias of about 12% towards designating skeletons as male in traditional methods, and suggests that this accounts for the difference. She added that orientation agreed strongly with sex, stating that those lying E-W and NE-SW were mostly female and those lying W-E and SW-NE were mainly male, an association which increased when orientation was tabulated against the side the body lay on rather than using the anthropologically-

determined sex (Shennan 1975: 282). She then used the side of burial for sexing the juveniles for the analysis of grave-goods discussed above. Those that did not fit the pattern might well indicate the presence of more than two sex/gender categories at Branč, a topic Shennan did not consider. While 81% is fairly high for females, it still leaves a considerable shortfall, while 69% for males is only just over two-thirds. It is of interest to me that there is a greater discrepancy in males than females, although Shennan may well be correct in suggesting a bias in the anthropological methods. Could this have accounted for all the mis-matches? What of the 19% of females buried on the 'wrong' side? If the bias is towards finding extra males, this is peculiar. It could be accounted for if concepts such as robustness, and even assessments of height, were used to define males, thus resulting in gracile males being viewed as female. However, there could be a social selection of roles indicated here, with gender crossing sex either as a straight-forward swap within two options, or with extra gender roles available, and the greater number of male than female 'mis-matches' could indicate high female status. Of course, this must not be taken too simply, as in the present day a far higher number of males than females believe they are in the wrong body, and male-to-female transsexuals outnumber female-to-male enormously (although statistics have proved impossible to come by<sup>6</sup>), even though male status is far higher than female status. It is also important to remember that for centuries females have been known to 'pass' as men, but data on males passing as women for more than access to a forbidden sex object has not been documented to my knowledge. This has been seen as female access to male rights and privileges, rather than having a basis in sex/gender identity.

Liv Gibbs' work on prehistoric burials in Scandinavia (see also chapter two, 49), remains in my view an important paper although it has little to offer in terms of methodology for the analysis of the Çatalhöyük material due to the major differences in data type and deposition, while important in the context of a multi-data and diachronic study (Gibbs 1987). Utilising burial data to establish sex/gender associations with certain types of artefact, she carried this information over to an analysis of hoards, and examined both types of data diachronically in search of change over time. She then added information concerning domestic space,

settlements, rock art and figurines to suggest that the relative importance of male and female work and power shifted between the Mesolithic and the Late Bronze Age, and that the gender tensions created by this shift could be recognised in both the suppression by men of women's expressions of their roles and by the development of a counter-culture of women's symbolic representations of their own importance (Gibbs 1987). Unfortunately she was limited by the paucity of the data to producing a list of grave-goods sex-associated by the small number of skeletons sexed by anthropologists as either male or female, and extrapolating from those a probable list of sex-linked artefacts found in cremations. Although she recognised the danger of this methodology, she ignored it since there was no other possible option for sexing not only the cremations but also the hoards, the sex-associations of which were drawn directly from the burial data. This is unfortunate, since the low level of overlap between the two sets of material could equally relate to the differential disposal of the same types of material by different sexes – i.e. men could be buried with their weapons while women might place theirs in hoards. More important, perhaps, is that having recognised a substantial change in depositional behaviour as the Bronze Age advanced, notably the absence of male hoards and detectable female burials in the Late Bronze Age, she did not return to the difficulties of her original assumption regarding grave goods in cremations as the possible origin of the lack of female cremations (and indeed male hoards).

Paul Wason carried out an investigation into ranking in the past, in which he based his work on burials and used the Çatalhöyük burials as a case study (Wason 1994). This is a detailed and well-argued study, utilising a wide range of data to try to integrate middle range theory with a contextual approach, mixing together processual and post-processual archaeology. Ultimately it is difficult to assess his success, since he used Çatalhöyük as his case study but depended entirely on published information from the old excavations. As I have shown elsewhere (Appendix 1), the burial data is unreliable for a variety of reasons. In chapter seven of this thesis I explain in detail the results from the current excavations relating to burials, which not only confirm some of the problems I highlighted earlier but bring new ones to the surface for the first time.

Wason's concept of ranking was based on Berreman, as "to mean institutionalized status inequality, any hierarchy of statuses which are a part of social structure, and which 'extend beyond age, sex, personal characteristics, and intrafamilial roles' (Berreman 1981: 9)" (Wason 1994: 19). Thus this study is largely irrelevant to any investigation of the role of gender in structuring society in the past. However, he does discuss the question of gender briefly, noting that it has many of the attributes of ranking, and states that if there were a society with major gender-based status differences but no other hierarchy this would constitute a ranked social order – though re-iterating that not all status differences are really ranking (ibid.: 37). He believes that "substantial gender-based distinctions of prestige and authority" would be recognised by most of the methods used to infer ranking, presumably making it unnecessary to seek gender specifically (ibid.: 37), while recognising that it remains a matter for debate. He then makes a further distinction between kin/role ranking, which is non-stratified as it operates only within the kin group; and stratification, in which all members of a society are ranked relative to each other in a system used to allocate access to resources. (I would suggest that kin/role ranking might similarly be regarded as controlling access to resources.)

Kuijt's investigation of secondary burial rites in the Levantine Neolithic focuses on the removal of skulls of certain individuals and their collective re-burial (Kuijt 2000b). The practice of skull caching, as well as skull plastering and modelling or painting, has been reported from a number of Early Neolithic sites such as Jericho, 'Ain Ghazal, and Çayönü. Kuijt argues that, in the light of recent research indicating that social differentiation began to appear during this period (see chapter 3, section 4), secondary burial practices reinforced a collective and egalitarian ethos while other elements of society were moving away from this situation. Working with the concept of 'Houses' as supra-household groupings which interacted within a community in competition and co-operation, Kuijt suggests persuasively that these burial practices could mediate growing contradictions within society. Although Mellaart reported finding two human skulls apparently set up on platforms, and one with cowrie shells placed in the eye sockets, the skull treatment which is so common in the PPNB sites of the Levant and south-eastern Anatolia is little in evidence at



Çatalhöyük. A number of burials were made following the removal of the skull, however (chapter six), and although it is known from the current excavations that the ‘bone piles’ found by Mellaart do generally resolve into disturbed yet once articulated skeletons that were deposited as primary and fleshed burials, there is no doubt that burial was a communal affair, and that jostling, disarticulation, and probably deliberate sharing of buried human remains was a regular element of burial at the site. Moreover, Kuijt’s ‘Houses’ could well equate with the lineage groups I envisage for the site (chapter eight). To this extent, his discussions are relevant to an assessment of burial at Çatalhöyük even though the mortuary practice was significantly different.

Chapman’s work on fragmentation deals with the sharing of body parts for burial (Chapman 2000, chapter 5). Tying this into his theory of enchainment, he suggests the removal or movement of body parts “is a statement about the continuity of social relationships across the frontier of death” (p144). It may also be representative of what he calls the ‘dividual’ person “as a shifting amalgam of differing identities” (p145). This may be relevant to an understanding of the removal of body parts seen at Çatalhöyük, and which I suggest relates to sharing an ancestor among the living.

### **3.4. The uses of anthropology**

Ucko pointed out the uses of anthropological evidence long ago (Ucko 1969). Unfortunately, his demonstration of the apparently chaotic nature of burial practice from the point of view of archaeological interpretation, including the famous example of people who sometimes bury the dead with the opposite orientation than the desired one in the belief that once buried they turn themselves around and will therefore face the correct direction (Ucko 1969: 273), has led some archaeologists to abandon all hope and return to the old, tried methods based on assumptions.

Härke’s claim that the context of burial data is not more burial data, but ritual, requires us to use anthropology to understand what ritual means (Härke 1997: 23): what are its roles, functions and effects within and upon society. Anthropologists do not always agree, as the existence of various schools of thought would imply. Thus

structural-functionalists assumed that societies are in stable equilibrium and that all social institutions and practices have the function of maintaining that equilibrium while structuralists claim that societies are never in equilibrium, only social models are, although ritual can still have the role of maintaining the social model. Leach's study of the Kachin of Burma led him to conclude that ritual mediates between ideals and actual behaviour, with ritual representing the 'ideal' society (Härke *ibid.*: 23). Thus burial ritual would not reflect reality, but conceptual information concerning thoughts, ideas and intentions. However, the ideas reflected in burials have been selected (Härke *ibid.*: 24), and need not represent broader ideas in society, or the only ideas suitable for a burial context.

Finally, in chapter three I discussed various descent patterns from an anthropological perspective (above p159-60). As archaeologists, we regularly try to identify descent patterns from burial remains, but this is rarely done with the range of options in mind. Therefore it is worth considering what each type of descent system would look like in the burial record, and through the use of genetic information from skeletons when it is available. The most common patterns sought or suggested are patriliney and matriliney. In the archaeological burial record, a patrilineal burial ground would contain the remains of related men (brothers) and their unrelated wives, plus their sons and their unrelated wives etc. The daughters would usually have left the lineage and joined those of their husbands. Thus genetic tests would show that while all the males are related, the females will generally not be related to each other (although sisters can marry brothers, etc.) and will only be related to a small group of males. In contrast to this, the skeletons found in a matrilineal burial ground would consist of siblings of both sexes, plus the offspring (both sexes) of the women. Thus any genetic tests should indicate that all the individuals are related. This is not the pattern in a patrilineal system.

Moving to less recognised patterns, in a bilateral descent system individuals generally seem to have their own graves within a communal burial ground, as there is no fixed smaller group such as a lineage to demarcate one group from another. However, family tombs are obviously known in Western countries from earlier

centuries, although this tends to be among the ruling class in which patrilineal inheritance rules dominate. Thus married daughters of the group might not be represented, as they would be buried with their husband's family, and therefore a family tomb of this type is likely to represent that of a patrilineage, although probably a smaller number of individuals would be present. In a bilineal group, representation in the mortuary record is likely to depend on precisely how the system works, but as burials tend to be the responsibility of one lineage or the other, they would look like a matrilineal or a patrilineal group. For instance, among the Yako of Nigeria it is members of the matriclan who supervise a funeral and arrange for the disposal of the dead person's property, and moveable property tends to be inherited by matrilineal relatives (Nanda 1987: 242). If each matriclan has its own burial area, this will therefore contain the remains of both males and females all of whom are related genetically – a woman, her sons and daughters, and the daughters' sons and daughters, etc., but not the sons' children. In the absence of DNA evidence, some genetically inherited traits might be apparent on the skeletons, indicating matrilineal descent, but nothing in the burial record would indicate the bilineal nature of the society. It is not clear whether patrilineages ever take responsibility for funerals in a bilineal system, as anthropologists rarely seem to discuss place of burial in their explorations of kinship systems. If they were to do so, the mortuary evidence might indicate a patrilineal system if married women joined the patrilineage of their male partners/husbands (as is common), or a bilateral/bilineal system according to the size of the burial ground. In an ambilineal system the burial record will consist of both males and females, some of whom will be related by blood and others by alliance/marriage.

Guided by information of this sort, it might be possible to come to more secure conclusions about the descent patterns of the people of Çatalhöyük than have been offered so far on the basis of supposed position of the sexes within the buildings, 'richness' of grave goods, and special treatment.

## *Conclusion*

As with figurines, an understanding of cross-cultural practices will broaden the ability of the archaeologist to understand burial data, but it is not possible to simply borrow from other cultures and paste onto the past. However, anthropological theory as well as ethnography deals with a range of areas in which archaeologists fear to tread for lack of evidence – topics such as ritual and belief – and it is the ability of anthropologists to ask questions of people rather than simply of inanimate objects that makes it important for archaeologists to make use of their insights in order to approach a better understanding of the material record. Nevertheless, there are some major issues that anthropology cannot help with. In particular, we do not know whether an archaeological burial assemblage represents a whole or a partial population. When extramural cemeteries are used and both sexes and all ages seem to be present, as in Shennan's sample at Branč, we assume that basically everyone was buried there. At Çatalhöyük this is less clear, since some buildings contain large numbers of burials and others few or none. In addition, the age balance is not as might be expected, although the Hodder assemblage has a better representation of infants than Mellaart's. This has led to suggestions that only part of the population is represented by the intramural burials, and some people were buried elsewhere. I do not take this view myself, but the material is discussed in detail in chapter six.

## **4: Settlement Organisation – Spatial Structuring**

### **4.1. General and theoretical discussion**

Space is a component of archaeological data which is ever-present in the physical remains of settlements, but how space has been used and what the use of space might signify is rarely examined. In the 1970's the New Archaeology showed an interest in spatial analysis, but this was focussed largely on artefact and settlement distribution rather than on settlement organisation and the movement of people through space (for instance, Hodder 1978). Spatial analysis of artefacts will be discussed in the section on domestic space in chapter eight; here I am interested in the broader picture, and will consider how assumptions about spatial structuring

affect our interpretations of social systems. First I will consider the role of public spaces in archaeological definitions of cultural stages and our understanding of gender. I will then move on to examine concepts of private and public, domestic and industrial spaces, and their impact on interpreting gender structures.

How is the spatial structuring of settlements relevant to gender? The concepts of public and private space common in anthropology are important here. Women have frequently been assumed by sociologists, anthropologists and archaeologists to occupy largely the private or domestic sphere and to carry out most of their activities in bounded spaces such as houses and gardens (see for instance Åström 1992; Dikaios 1953:213; Morris 1985:264-90; Stewart 1962:290; Webb and Frankel 1995 as well as Ortner 1974; Moore 1988:21-4; Nelson 1997:131-149; Tringham 1990 among many papers dealing with this topic) although this is now being challenged within anthropology as, for instance, Parkin points out (1997:131). Naturally they generally move through open spaces to travel between houses, to collect water and firewood, and to forage, but most of a woman's work is thought to be private in its focus – water, firewood and foraged food are for consumption by the immediate family which consists of herself, offspring, partner and possibly parents and siblings. Public space is widely viewed as a largely male sphere, a place where community-wide decisions are taken, communal foods (especially meat) distributed by men, and trade and possibly religious activities may be carried out. Men, of course, spend time also in private space, but their activities are thought to have a substantial public focus, be it trade, politics or defence/war. In some cultures, men have a separate exclusive space which is both private in that it is used for living in, and public in that it is shared: the Men's House. This needs to be considered when examining 'female private space', particularly as anthropological studies show that Men's Houses exist in cultures with a strong sexual hierarchy in which women are associated with pollution dangerous to men. (This is particularly the case in some Pacific societies, with Papua New Guinea having some well-known examples.)

In this thesis I am examining cultures regarded as pre-civilisation, but because we have no clear understanding of what those cultures 'felt like' we inevitably interpret

them through models which are more familiar to us, which may be more recent but still ancient cultures. It is necessary therefore to relate the pre-civilisation cultures to those regarded as civilised, in order to recognise our paradigms. Standard archaeological definitions of civilisation entail certain cultural requirements: civilisation is implicitly hierarchical, involving a ranked or class society headed by a ruler assisted by public servants with administrative, religious and defensive duties. Literacy, craft specialisation and large-scale communal storage complete the suite of essentials. The existence of these elements is shown largely by the spatial structuring of a settlement, in the occurrence of 'non-domestic' spaces with specific functions: monumental religious buildings/temples; administrative buildings, preferably with archives; palaces – which function as the private residence of a ruler but also include public areas such as audience halls and may include communal storage. In calling these non-domestic, we must not confuse them with truly public spaces, for in general access to them is restricted although they may be seen as belonging to – and certainly built by – the whole community, while other forms of space may be open to the public at large in a general sense but used for specific purposes. Craft specialisation pre-supposes industrial space of some sort, generally (but not always) beyond that of a standard domestic dwelling due to the additional requirements of space for both work and storage. A concomitant of craft specialisation is production above subsistence level, not just of the specialised artefactual crafts but of agricultural and animal products, so that those not involved in food production may be fed. This requires substantial storage facilities both for food and for surplus goods (especially if they are to be traded). This is the basis of the non-productive specialisation of administration, and is an essential background to the creation of a professional army.

It is assumed that these 'civilised' societies are male-dominated, and that women will have mainly domestic roles based on child-rearing and food preparation for the 'family', whatever form that might take. The public and semi-public spaces are therefore imagined to be gendered spaces to a great extent. A number of early literate cultures in Western Asia (for instance, Mesopotamian, Assyrian, Hittite) as well as Egypt, provide evidence that this is a reasonable outline, although they show



some variation, and in detail gender structures were still under construction and the separation of tasks was by no means total<sup>7</sup>. Unfortunately, the earliest written records in Anatolia start around 1900BC and belong mainly to the Assyrian merchants living in Middle Bronze Age principalities rather than to the native population, although a number of documents do relate to the Anatolians<sup>8</sup>. In trying to understand the prehistoric societies of the Neolithic, Chalcolithic and Early Bronze Ages, there is little help in these written records – the distance in time is so great, and there is little or no evidence of cultural continuity. However, until recently it was frequently assumed by archaeologists that there was a gradual and linear progression of social organisation from small village communities to fully developed hierarchical civilisation (see chapter three, 89-95)<sup>9</sup>. Given the importance of space and specialised structures in definitions of civilisation, it may be relevant to examine the spatial organisation of earlier settlements in order to understand their social structures.

#### **4.2. Public and private space**

Public spaces can take several forms. They may be external areas, public buildings, or private buildings which contain public spaces. Intrinsic to a definition of public is a definition of non-public, i.e. private, space. Generally, private space is thought to be in the domestic realm, in the home, because of its clear boundedness, although private space could also exist outdoors – in the forest, on the sea, beyond the settlement – or in secret or controlled areas such as those dedicated to religious or ritual activity. Domestic boundaries may also include outdoor space – fields, a yard, the roof. These are bounded yet not fully enclosed. Notions of private and public, and what is appropriate to each, are culturally formed. While Western Europeans expect to find private space within their homes, in many cultures individual privacy is rare if not impossible within a house and must be sought outdoors. Privacy takes many forms according to context – it may mean sheltered from general view, beyond the rule of law, solitude, or going unrecognised in a crowd. Public space is similarly multi-faceted. To some, the family is private and beyond the family lies the public domain; to others, the family is a type of public arena. Some people never venture into the public world, but nevertheless move freely between domestic

spaces. The public and private, therefore, may be physical, conceptual or ideological in nature.

### **4.3. The anthropological debate**

The gender assumptions about public and private space mentioned above may or may not be correct, but it is important that they be made explicit so that they can be tested. Anthropologists have been debating questions of public and private/domestic in relation to gender at least since the early 1970's (see chapter two, 60-63) and it is clear that lines cannot be drawn clearly between the two spheres although there does appear to be some form of division in many cultures. Nevertheless, as gender has become an established topic of anthropological research it has increasingly become apparent that superficial rules apportioning the public world to men and restricting women to the private one are frequently undermined through a range of strategies, and that the more stringent the gender hierarchy, the more elaborate are the methods used to circumvent and subvert them.

A single example illustrates nicely the convoluted nature of gender, power, public and private and the dangers of taking social rules at face value. Margery Wolf's 1972 study of women in rural Taiwan, a highly patriarchal culture practicing female exogamy, shows that women have a range of coping strategies. "Women carry on as many of their activities as possible outside the house. They wash clothes on the riverbank, clean and pare vegetables at a communal pump, mend under a tree that is a known meeting place, and stop to rest on a bench or group of stones with other women. There is a continual moving back and forth between kitchens, and conversations are carried on from open doorways through the long, hot afternoons of summer." (Wolf 1972, quoted in Haviland 1990: 274-276). Although these women are officially controlled by men, and publicly have no power and are restricted severely to the 'private' or 'domestic' sphere, they nevertheless carry out this domestic life both outdoors in public, and communally. Is this then domestic at all? Is women's public life merely of a different kind to men's? Wolf demonstrates that women do indeed have public power, of a hidden form. As all women are incomers to the group, and therefore isolated, they have developed co-operative strategies and

are a source of support for each other. Based on this support network, women operate power collectively and subversively by talking about men who are not behaving properly. As men have to 'have face' in Taiwan, and this is identified as a state when no-one is talking about you, women have considerable power over their men. Essentially, male rules are clear and must be obeyed by men. Women must learn the rules but not stay within them while appearing to stay within them for the sake of their menfolk.

#### **4.4. Domestic versus industrial space**

Domestic space relates to the immediate household, and may be used for the production of a wide range of artefacts and consumables which can also be produced industrially: for instance, bread, pottery, chipped and ground stone tools, textiles. When these are produced on the household scale, they are regarded as domestic; when produced on a larger scale, they are industrial. It might be thought that the division of domestic and industrial space was therefore simple – domestic space is within a home and its related external areas such as yards; industrial space will be outside the home. In practice, it is more complicated. The idea of 'cottage industries' implies production beyond household requirements yet within the home, and in the archaeological record a wide range of products could come within this remit – beads, chipped stone tools, pottery, textiles, bread, woodwork, bone tools and basketry are obvious examples. It is extremely difficult, and generally impossible, to ascertain whether production in a dwelling was on the household or 'cottage industry' scale. Many ethnographic examples of household units producing pottery in the home are known in which there is often a division of labour between men, women and children along the lines of making, firing and decorating the pots, but not necessarily in this order. Such social arrangements cannot be seen in the physical remains alone, although a number of studies have been carried out attempting to understand kinship structures in the American south-west through a study of motifs on pots (for instance, Arnold 1978; Hill 1970; Plog 1978; Stanislawski and Stanislawski 1978).

What, then, of industrial space? Is this not easier to identify? Again, there are problems. For instance, what is the ownership status of industrial space and equipment? Is it public or private? It could be an area where everyone carries out certain dangerous or anti-social activities on a household scale – for instance, chipping stone, tanning hides, smelting metal, firing pots. Some activities have specific physical requirements, such as a hilltop location to harness particular wind sources. Is a river an industrial area if it is used for fishing, and where is the overlap between domestic and industrial fishing, particularly when groups of people work together and share out the catch? Does ‘industrial’ really relate to the use of exchange mechanisms, be they barter or money, rather than to quantity and surplus production?

### *Discussion*

In the foregoing I have tried to show that terms used blithely by archaeologists as benchmarks for types of social organisation, or as the underlying implicit concepts – terms such as public and private, domestic and industrial – are complex and value-laden words that need to be teased out and examined in depth before conclusions are drawn about broad social systems and structures.

### **4.5. Archaeological Case Studies**

Returning to the archaeological material, it must by now be clear that while it may be helpful to try to identify physical spaces in which private and public life took place, in the hope that it may assist in assessing the extent of a gendered structuring of space and how any such structuring of space reflects the structure of society in relation to gender and power, such identification will not be easy since the categories of public and private are by no means simple to define. Nevertheless, an attempt should be made.

Similarly, the identification of locations for the specialised industries which form the basis of hierarchical civilisation is a matter of import, yet it is far easier to recognise an archive or a temple than the field systems and artefact production centres.

Certainly, kiln sites are known, but the social organisation and usage of these facilities is less clear.

A few studies exist which have considered some of these elements. Verhoeven (1999) made a detailed contextual spatial analysis of the burnt level 6 at Tell Sabi Abyad in Syria (discussed in chapter 3, section 4). By analysing the find contexts of all types of material within two types of buildings – one composed of many rectangular cells; the other round, a couple of them with internal divisions – and in the spaces between these buildings, he came to the conclusion that the large cellular buildings were used for long-term storage by an absent nomadic population, while the round ones were houses for a small resident population. His dual occupancy theory is well-argued and enticing, positing as it does a large community using the same settlement differently and utilising separate parts of the site, though with almost certain cross-overs. The burning and abandonment of the settlement, prior to rebuilding after a short time, he associated with a community-wide ritual burial through fire of two people found on the collapsed roof of one building (Verhoeven 1999, 2000). To my knowledge this is the only study of space to come to such unexpected and clear conclusions regarding overall use of the area under study as well as details use of particular spaces within in. The burning of some buildings at Çatalhöyük make this a study of some relevance, although the context of that burning as well as the use of the settlement is apparently different. However, it is concerned primarily with understanding the use of internal, bounded space rather than the overall structure of the settlement.

Forest's interest has been understanding social organisation from the different layout of buildings rather than from the spatial organisation of settlement per se (Forest 1997). Looking at Ubaid domestic structures he considers two types which are not found together yet occur at the same time in different settlements, the simple tripartite building and the T-shaped elaborate building. He proposes that the simple ones houses nuclear families while the elaborate ones housed extended families, which was a reflection of changes in social structure. The return to simple houses is seen not as a return to a simpler social organisation but rather a step up in

complexity. Although this paper makes some interesting points, it is based purely on physical structure, and it takes a diachronic and multi-site view not available to me in my work on Çatalhöyük. However, the fact that there is strikingly little change in architecture throughout the occupation of Çatalhöyük is likely to indicate a stability in social form through much of the settlement period.

Kuijt has made an attempt to understand social organisation during the middle and late PPNB of the Levant by investigating settlement size and density, and the division of space within buildings (2000c). He proposes that population aggregation was the result of choice based on social organisation regulated by powerful lineages utilising communal ritual, rather than pressure on resources. The resultant population pressure led to increased division of buildings and the use of upper storeys both to provide 'private' space and to control access to space and resources. He sees the end of the large settlements as the disintegration of the power structure of competition, leading to lineages breaking away to establish new, smaller settlements. This is relevant to an understanding of overall social structures, but he does not attempt to look at the internal details of gender, the use of space, and the domestic/public arena.

Jon Last's interpretive approach to the use of space at Çatalhöyük, made by someone actually working at the site, is both refreshing and a terrifying challenge (Last 1998). Rather than analysing the spatial distribution of artefact types, or the organisation of the settlement, his challenge is to get inside the skin of the original occupants who lived and interpreted their world through the artefacts in their entirety. In particular, the 'art' cannot be disembodied from its frame (the house walls) or from the articulation of space through which the house occupants encountered and consumed it. It is an exciting attempt at bringing a total understanding of an ancient culture to a modern consumer, but it deals with the minutiae of experiencing daily life. I am attempting a rather different understanding of the use of space, taking a broader view yet with a narrower aim – the elucidation of gender and social organisation.



## **5: Conclusions**

In this chapter I have laid out the background to the analysis of data which occupies the following three chapters. The areas covered are disparate and complex. The three sets of data I am employing in this study require very different treatment, and have been used widely in archaeology often without any carefully thought-out or explicit theoretical base. Using selected case studies for the figurines and burials, and exploring concepts of space and some approaches to the issues, I have attempted to show the difficulties of using these data sets and the pitfalls that lie ahead.

Although problematising seemingly simple matters can leave one feeling on the edge of chaos, I have no doubt that it is only by demolishing the assumed and exposing the implicit that methodologies of substantive use will be developed. I shall test the opportunities for doing this in the next three chapters, but it will not be possible to create in one go answers to the range of issues discussed above.

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<sup>1</sup> Ucko's review of interpretations includes not just 'mother goddess' but tutelary protector (Maringer); fertility amulets; substitute wife (concubine) or servant figure; children's dolls/playthings - which he thinks could explain the low number of males; personal wishes/charms and abstract ideas (Broman on Jarmo); magic dolls representing a desire for children or relating to the health of children; pedagogic use in initiation ceremonies; commemorative figures placed in tombs; and tools of social ridicule (1968: 420-426).

<sup>2</sup> He points out that in the nineteenth century Mother Goddess identifications were only given to nude figures, whereas Mellaart used the same term at Hacilar for naked, semi-clothed and clothed representations. He also listed nine reasons why the Mother Goddess interpretation was flawed, of which the first four are broad issues relevant to any body of data and are quoted here: "First, those who have supported the Mother Goddess interpretation have either treated the male figurines as exceptions, discreetly ignored them or postulated a male associate of the Mother Goddess. Second, the occurrence of three groups of human figures, male, female, and sexless, among some figurine complements has never entered any discussion concerning the Mother Goddess. Whereas the males have been discarded as exceptions, both the figurines with breasts and also the figurines without breasts or penes have all been accepted as representations of the same Goddess. Third, the predominant use of clay for the manufacture of figurines from all areas is strange if

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they represent the Mother Goddess (unless some association...between the Mother Earth and the use of clay is assumed), for the representation of the major deity of the time could be expected to deserve the use of a more costly material....Fourth, no convincing explanation of the variety of human representations is offered by the Mother Goddess interpretation. (1968: 417). The third of these is extremely weak, as there are many prehistoric assemblages in which no 'rich' materials are used, and the concept of a 'rich material' is culture-bound and value-laden. The others are important issues.

<sup>3</sup> There are approximately 105 male babies born to every 100 female, and at the end of 12 months there are roughly 97 males to every 100 females, a male death-rate of around 7.5% . At Branč we do not know how many of the infants were contemporaries – it is possible that some died of an epidemic, and others were spread over some time, yet at 20 males to 6 females, or a ratio of nearly 3.5:1 at infant I level, we are way over that expected. Indeed, it is similar to the ratio postulated by Angel for Çatalhöyük, although that covered all juveniles. Even the ratio of 2:1 at infant II level is very high

<sup>4</sup> See note 3.

<sup>5</sup> Polygyny is always seen from the male viewpoint, as providing a man with status and lots of followers via a group of wives. It might well be more accurate, however, to consider its origins as a stud-collective whereby a group of females share the biological resource of a single male, while sharing the burden of feeding him. As polygyny is common in cultures where women own and cultivate the land this would make excellent sense, although now it is viewed as offering a man the chance to acquire land through his wives. In societies in which women were respected highly and warfare was not a problem there would be no need for a woman to have a male protector.

<sup>6</sup> Janice Raymond (1980), in her ground-breaking study 'The Transsexual Empire', tried to obtain statistics but was unable to do so. She points out, however, that surgery was developed for male-to-female transsexuals, and that little attention has been paid to female-to-male needs. While this is partly due to the low demand, she links it also to a reluctance on the part of the (male) doctors to create men out of women, while turning men into women is less problematic since women are socially inferior.

<sup>7</sup> For example, both sexes appear in records as scribes (Sumerians), traders (Assyrian merchants and Anatolians), religious officials (priestesses as well as priests occur widely), and rulers (Egypt, Anatolians).

<sup>8</sup> The publication of these documents is slow, and there is a huge backlog from Kültepe consisting of thousands of tablets.

<sup>9</sup> Although Renfrew (1987) has argued for linguistic continuity, this is purely speculative, and it should be remembered that language cannot be linked to material

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culture or ideology in the simplistic ways employed in the early part of the twentieth century. It is, therefore, irrelevant to this thesis whether or not linguistic continuity is eventually proven.

## CHAPTER FIVE

### ANTHROPOMORPHIC FIGURINES AT ÇATALHÖYÜK

#### 1: Introduction

Pieces of approximately 460 figurines have been found during the current excavations, of which 172 can be identified with considerable certainty as non-animal and as recognisable parts of human or humanoid figures, and those will be dealt with in this chapter. They occur in a range of contexts, both internal and external, and display varied characteristics. Most are fragmentary but a number are complete or almost complete. I shall also be including the figurines found by Mellaart in some of the discussions, 254 of which I have recorded in some way, although I have already treated that material in some depth (Appendix 1: 215-229). Many of the topics addressed in that paper will be considered for the present investigations, and it is hoped that conclusions will be drawn which are valid for both data sets. In 1996 I also dealt with the surface finds from our present work, and they will be included in this thesis where possible, although their lack of context creates difficulties.

A general discussion of approaches to and theory concerning anthropomorphic figurines has been covered in chapter four, 132-145. Here I will be using contextual and visual analyses to consider possible uses and meanings of figurines, particularly as they relate to understanding gender structures at Çatalhöyük. A contextual discussion of Mellaart's material is hampered by the lack of detailed information now available, but where possible it will be treated in the same way. The typology I use (Appendix 5) was developed in a fairly random way while recording Mellaart's material in 1995, and utilises both form and fragmentation rather than deciding in advance which would be the most relevant aspects for a typology. It has been added to as new forms, or generally fragments, have been recovered during excavation, and has proved to be flexible and useful in contextual analyses, although at first

sight it may seem confused. It is clear that a far more detailed typology could be made using this system, as more or less subtle differences could be recognised as requiring separate recording, and I make no claims that this is anything other than a pragmatic tool established while working in far from ideal conditions with limited equipment and time. Nevertheless, I have found it adequate for my purposes. Table 1 shows the number of figurines found in each space and building. I shall deal with the data in a number of different ways, dealing with types and with context.

## **2: Figurine types**

The figurines at Çatalhöyük come in a variety of forms. Indeed, the variety is so great that a simple classification cannot encompass the range, yet for my purposes I believe a simple classification is sufficient. I divide the figurines into three main groups – human, humanoid and schematic – while there are also a few which are natural rocks which approximate to a human form but have not been altered or have been altered only in very minor ways. Within each group there are several types in my overall typology, but this major tripartite division is almost certainly relevant to function as well as form, while my detailed typology takes into account fragmentation.

### **2.1. Humanoid figurines**

The humanoid figures have fairly simple and undifferentiated bodies consisting of a roughly conical base with or without divided ‘legs/feet’ and extending into a neck surmounted by a schematic head (e.g. figures 9 and 14). The heads vary in their detail from a basic triangular form with a pinched nose to those with headscarves, hats, puncture holes for the attachment of hair or head-gear, and facial features (e.g. figures 1, 10 and 14). A number of atypical figures which cross the humanoid/human boundary are mentioned below (p176-77). Although there is a considerable difference in size between the smallest and largest, most are approximately the same in size<sup>1</sup> and form, suggesting that they have the same use and meaning. They are all made of clay.

Perhaps the most important observation to make about the humanoid figurines is that they are all sexless in form. They represent generalised humans, sometimes with specific features which might well indicate more about their sex, age or other status but which cannot now be recognised or understood. The lack of physical indications of sex might be because they are clothed – the fact that some wear scarves or hats suggests this. This headgear might tell us something about social differentiation, but without other representations to guide us we cannot read it. At least, I cannot read it with the information currently available. There is a well-known figurine wearing a leopard-skin hat, of course, but although it is generally regarded as male, sex is not shown explicitly.

Mellaart found these figurines stuck in building walls and between houses, and regarded them as votives. My term ‘humanoid’ is intended to avoid a functional interpretation, but it is likely that Mellaart was substantially right, at least in some instances. However, many humanoids found in the current work were in open areas among deposits suggesting domestic refuse or building fill. These might well fit Broman’s (1983; 1990) suggestion of ‘wish-vehicles’ for those she examined at Jarmo – crude or schematised representations that were used for the moment, then abandoned. The making of the figurine might itself represent a wish or prayer of some kind, the fulfillment of which might or might not involve the retention of the item for some time. The large percentage of damaged humanoids (only 14 out of 140 are complete, although a number of others have just minor damage which could be accidental) could indicate a requirement to stop the action of the wish or prayer at some point by breaking the figure before abandonment. However, the majority of undamaged figurines are humanoid, and therefore it is clear that destruction was not always necessary. This points to a range of uses and meanings.

In the database, humanoid figurines are represented by types 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 30 and 32 (see Appendix 5).



## **2.2. Human figurines**

Human figures are more difficult to describe, as they encompass a broader range of types and, being generally found in a severely fragmented state, it is not always clear what form they took originally. To some extent, human figurines are defined by their difference from humanoid figures, due to the considerable standardisation of the latter. The human figurines found by Mellaart include a group of seated females with large breasts and placid faces, often with their legs crossed or to one side and arms across the chest, and these are widely thought to be typical of the figurines from the site. However, they were a minority; others were standing, and yet others were shown with animals. Many of the heads found during the current excavations are regarded as belonging to human figures because of the attention to facial features and hair, and the difference in form from the triangular heads with pinched nose so common on humanoids. Unfortunately, it is not possible to be sure what type of body they were attached to, and it is certainly possible that the human group ought to be sub-divided if only we knew more clearly what they looked like when whole. They are made of clay or stone.

Many of the famous human figures found by Mellaart were discovered inside buildings, which has assisted in their interpretation as religious images and the interpretation of the buildings as shrines. However, 25 of the 62 probable humans<sup>2</sup>, or two fifths of the total, have no building attribution on their records and were presumably found in open areas. Most of the figures found during the current work were in external areas, that is, spaces between buildings which were often abandoned buildings (see below, p179-80 and chapter seven).

In the database, human figures are recorded as types 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 16, 17, 21, 25, 26, 27, 28, 31, 33, 36 and 37 (see Appendix 5).

## **2.3. Humanoid/human cross-overs**

The distinction between human and humanoid figurines is not always simple. This is because a number of apparent humanoids have features normally found in human figures and absent from the vast majority of humanoids, so that there seems to be a

continuum of representation although it affects only a tiny number of figurines. In fact, it is only when complete figures are found that this issue becomes apparent, as most would have been placed in one category or the other if the heads had either been missing or were the only part present. Thus there is at least one example among the Mellaart assemblage of an apparent humanoid with breasts which is problematic (figure 9). This could be seen as exceptional, as an unusual emphasis on sex in a context in which sex is irrelevant because the humanoid figures represent generalised humans; or it could be an atypical representation of a female in a group known to all users to represent males; finally, it could be an unnecessary emphasis in a group known by all users to represent females. On the other hand, it could be seen as an unusually schematised human figure, in which the normal details of the body are ignored and only the breasts retained for emphasis. A similar problem arises in the treatment of several heads. While humanoid heads are normally fairly standardised as triangular blobs with pinched noses, occasionally sporting headgear or hair, a couple have been found with punctures for the attachment of other materials for hair or a headdress (figure 13), or for ear-rings. This treatment is known on a number of human figures, and isolated heads with this feature have been recorded as human (plate 1, top), but the discovery of such heads attached to humanoid bodies shows again the continuum of representation, and the difficulty of classification within our modern categories. A final area of cross-over is painted details. One of Mellaart's humanoids has what seems to be a cloak painted in black down the back of the body with a strap around the neck. Another has red streaks emanating from the nostrils (figure 9). With such low numbers, interpretation is particularly tricky.

#### **2.4. Schematic figurines**

The schematic figures are a tiny group of those from the current excavation, although Mellaart found a larger number of figurines which, while having human aspects, had not been adapted sufficiently to the human form to be regarded as truly human. Most were made of stone, and came from the early levels which we have so far only just started to investigate. This group also includes items such as phallic stones (e.g. figure 17). The boundary between this group and the 'natural' group is

blurred. For an investigation of gender, the first two groups are most important, but clearly phallic stones may be extremely relevant.

Schematic figures occur in the database as types 34 and 35, while type 29 is concretions or 'natural' stones with human aspects.

### **3: Material**

The vast majority of figurines found during current work are made of clay – some unfired, some sun-dried, most baked lightly, a few fired. The clay tends to be very fine, with few inclusions. Inclusions may be mineral or vegetable. A very small number of figurines are made from marl or plaster, which is extremely fine with no inclusions. Rather more are made of stone, although the Hodder team has found only a handful and they tend not to be detailed representations. However, Mellaart found a considerable number of stone figurines with elaborate detail.

It might be expected that the material in use would affect the type of representation due to the plasticity of clay as a medium, yet it is not quite that simple. When I reassessed Mellaart's material in 1995, it seemed that only after level VI did figurines depicting full-breasted large-hipped female forms occur, and these were all made of clay, a material which seemed to be used first for human figures in level VI and became the most common material after that time. So one could assume that the type of representation had been hampered by the material in use (stone) and that this factor explains the low emphasis on sex in pre-level VI figurines. However, clay was used for humanoid and animal figurines prior to level VI, and very elaborate stone figures of humans which do not emphasise sex were made during and before level VI. If complicated representation was possible in stone, presumably it would have been feasible to make full-breasted large-hipped figurines of stone if that had been the required imagery, although it would have been a more skilled job. Thus I suggested (Appendix 1: 225-6) that changing gender relations might have led to an emphasis on the mature female form which was most easily portrayed in clay,

therefore leading to a change in the dominant material for figurines. I would add now that this change in material might be related to a greater use of figurines and a wider range of people making them, so that the lower skill level needed to produce figurines from clay rather than stone could also have influenced the change in material. However, I must also add that recent work has produced a few fragments of full-breasted large-hipped clay figurines from below level VI, mainly from level VII contexts, and therefore my suggestion of a changing social ideology around level VI may have been premature. Only a larger assemblage drawn from the full range of levels at the site will answer the question of whether a changing ideology was responsible for this, or whether different ideologies were being represented by different makers and/or users of figurines, since most of Mellaart's stone figurines were found in only two buildings<sup>3</sup> and therefore may present very skewed data.

#### **4: Context of deposition**

Figurines have been found in a wide range of contexts. They occur both within buildings and in open areas, as well as between buildings and in the walls themselves. The vast majority of those from within buildings actually come from the infill, rather than being on floors, and a consideration of the soil matrix and other finds suggests that the infilling material may often derive from open areas (although in some cases it is almost sterile and may represent carefully broken-down and cleansed mudbrick). The place of origin of those found in open areas is, of course, unknown. In very few cases can the find context be regarded as the use context, thus the context of deposition may bear very little relation to the context of use, and may give no information of relevance to the meanings attached to figurines. This is completely at odds with the previous interpretations of Çatalhöyük figurines, most of which regard them as religious items found in situ in shrines. This is largely because Mellaart found a number of figurines in burnt buildings, some of which he viewed as shrines. However, although those figurines received a lot of attention in publications, many other figurines were found in different contexts – some not recorded on their labels, unfortunately, and therefore no longer known. Moreover,

he was not sieving all deposits as we do, and therefore had a very different retrieval rate, in particular where small fragments are concerned.

A more detailed examination of the context of deposition must be broken down in several ways: by building; by space; and by type of deposit. However, context has broader meanings too – thus fragmentation is an aspect of the context of deposition, as is the type of figurine in question. It is only when all these have been taken into consideration that we might be able to understand something of the meanings and uses of figurines at the site.

## **5: Numbers by context**

Table 1 shows the number of figurines found in each space and building. However, it is clear that since most figurines are found in secondary depositional contexts, largely in ‘midden’ or in post-occupation room fill, the number per building is probably irrelevant. The only times when the number per space may be relevant is in external contexts such as inter-building slots and open areas, and the rare occasions when figurines have been found in situ – or probably in situ – inside buildings. Of the 172 figurines found during the Hodder excavation, 6 were in spaces between buildings, 5 came from walls, 65 were found in open areas, 5 were unstratified, 2 came from Mellaart backfill, and the rest were from buildings. Of those from buildings, 58 were from deliberate room fill deposits, 5 from foundation/levelling layers, 4 from oven rake-out, 5 from wall/plaster collapse, 6 from fill of pits/cuts, 2 from the fill of a bin, and 6 from floors/make-up for floors. Of these, only those found on floors, in oven rake-out, wall/plaster collapse, pits, cuts and bins might be in situ and might therefore yield some information relevant to use and meaning. That leaves only 23 figurines from buildings which might give meaningful contextual information.

## **5.1. Floors**

Of the six figurines found related to floors, 4542.H2 is a poorly preserved fragment of a humanoid leg recovered from floor matrix or make-up in Space 171, Building 18; 6174.H1 is the base of a seated human figure found in a mixture of floors and floor make-up in Space 86, Building 3; 1416.H1 is a humanoid missing its head and right leg, from floors beneath the floors of oven F11 in Space 70, Building 1; 2801.H1 is four non-joining fragments of a humanoid from floors in Space 109; 5020.H1 is part of a humanoid head missing the face, found in a mixture of floors and floor packing/make-up in Space 170, Building 17; while 4011.H1 is a complete humanoid (except for a small chip on the base), recovered from a small area of accumulation or make-up on a floor in Space 155, Building 5. This last is the only figurine related to floors which might be in situ, and this could be reflected in its condition. The other pieces are all fragments which appear to have arrived in buildings accidentally as part of the imported materials used for constructing floors.

## **5.2. Oven rake-out/sweepings**

Five figurines were found in ashy deposits interpreted as oven rake-out or floor sweepings, and this is both likely to be a more secure context and a very interesting one in which to find figurines. Nevertheless, this is almost certainly a context of discard rather than use, as rake-out and sweepings are themselves discards. 4318.H1 is the partial head of a humanoid, with the face missing, found in ashy spreads probably associated with fire installation F438 in Space 164, Building 16; 4344.H1 is part of a humanoid lower body from a series of ashy rake-out or trample layers, also from Space 164; 5021.D1 (figure 7; plate 3, top) is a large, elaborate human-type head found in layered rake-out related to fire installation F538 in Space 170, Building 17; and 4256.H1 is a complete humanoid with slight damage found in rake-out in Space 163, Building 6. There is a clear difference between the fragmented nature of the first two of these, and the excellent condition of the latter two. The large head 5021.D1 is broken fairly cleanly from its body, which might yet remain in the deposits which were left to support the adjacent wall which was leaning badly – the head was found in the flotation tank rather than recognised in situ, so that its precise location is unknown. It is closely related to 5043.X1, discussed below. The



state of 5021.D1 and 4256.H1 suggest they may have been placed deliberately in the rake-out, or were associated with fire installations in use rather than just in discard.

### **5.3. Plaster/wall collapse**

Of the five figurines found in deposits regarded as collapsed walls or plaster, or within plaster removed from walls during excavation, 2252.H1 is a natural concretion with similarities to the human form, found in what seems to be collapsed wall plaster in Space 88, Building 3?; 3579.H1 is a humanoid leg found either within collapse lying on a floor, or within the floor make-up itself from Space 86, Building 3; 2233.H1 is also a humanoid leg from Space 86, this time from the collapsed plaster screen dividing spaces 86 and 158; 1630.X1 is a humanoid missing its head and feet, found in a mixed rubble pile in the south-east corner of Space 106; and 4140.H1 is a damaged humanoid head found among wall plaster fallen from wall F410 in Space 163, Building 6. These are all damaged and there is little evidence to suggest they were found in a context of use or deliberate deposition.

### **5.4. Fill of pits and cuts**

Five figurines were found in the fill of pits or cuts. Of these, 4339.H1 is a tiny, neat humanoid damaged on its upper and lower surfaces but otherwise complete, found in an ashy deposit along with pieces of clay ball, pottery and stone in a cut in the southern part of Space 163, Building 6; 4656.H1 is a tiny, complete humanoid-like figure found in the clay-silt fill of a post-retrieval pit in Space 170, Building 17; 1544.X3 is a humanoid body only, found within a mixed fill containing ashy lenses deposited in a cut which may relate to construction of Space 107, possibly to obtain midden material for making mortar; 1591.H1 is another humanoid body fragment from the clayey fill with charcoal patches found in a wall foundation cut in Space 107; and 3589.H1 appears to be the arm of a human figure found in a mixed deposit containing rubble and burnt material lying between platforms F170 and F173 in Space 86, Building 3. The first two of these five are obviously much better preserved than the others, but it is not clear whether they were placed in these cuts/pits deliberately, or owe their good preservation to their tiny size.

## **5.5. Bins/basins**

Three figurines were retrieved from the fill of a bin or basin. 6177.H1 is a humanoid body fragment split in two, found in the fill of a bin midway along the west wall of Space 158, Building 3. There is no indication that this was deliberate bin fill; 1905.H1 is a complete humanoid found in the rubble-type fill of a plaster-lined basin/pit F43 cut into platform F32 in the south-west corner of Space 71, Building 1; 5043.X1 (figure 8; plate 3, bottom) is a large human figure broken deliberately into two parts, both of which were present, and deposited in a basin-like depression in the floor overlying an oven in the south-west corner of Space 170. This belongs to a demolition phase and, considering the deliberate damage to the figurine immediately prior to deposition, this must be regarded as an *in situ* figurine with possibly ritual implications linked either to demolition or closure. Of these three figurines, the first appears to be an accidental inclusion, especially as there is evidence of collapse overlying the bin; the second may be deliberate, particularly given its completeness; the third is clearly a deliberate deposition. Hence even the presence of figurines in bins and basins is not a clear indication that they are *in situ*, and even 5043.X1 must be regarded as in a position of discard, however deliberate, rather than a context of use.

### *Discussion*

To conclude, there is little evidence to support the idea that the find context of most figurines has any relevance to their context of use or of initial discard. Most are in secondary depositional contexts which also contain a range of ‘domestic’ refuse, such as animal bones, knapped stone debris, clay balls, stone beads, bone tools and botanical remains, and only a tiny number are in contexts of deliberate disposal.

## **6: Types by context**

### **6.1. Humanoids**

The vast majority of humanoid figurines (types 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 30 and 32 in the database) found in the current excavations were discovered in external midden-type

or dump deposits, or in roomfill and foundation layers. That is, they were not in use contexts, and they were generally found amongst deposits, materials and artefacts regarded as rubbish or in soil imported for constructional purposes. There are a few exceptions: 1905.H1 was found in a plaster-lined pit amongst rubble, and it is not clear whether this was deliberate or accidental deposition; 4256.H1 was found in oven rake-out in Space 163, and again it is not clear whether this was deliberate, relates to use, or was accidental; 4339.H1 was found in ashy fill in a cut in Space 163, which could also be oven rake-out and 4318.H1 was in ashy spreads probably representing oven rake-out in Space 164; 2801.H1 was found in floor material, but this could be constructional or could reflect place of final deposition – which need not be deliberate; 5020.H1 was also in floor or packing material and 1416.H1 was from the floors beneath an oven; 3632.H3, 1518.H1 and 3720.H1 were from walls, but may have been in constructional materials for either brick or mortar rather than inserted into the wall as Mellaart thought; 1591.H1 and 1544.X3 were both from the fill of cuts and probably accidental inclusions.

One of the surprising features is that several humanoids from midden/dump or construction deposits are complete or only slightly damaged. Of the 141 humanoid figurines and fragments, eight are complete, while a further seven have only minor damage such as chips missing from extremities. Three of the complete ones come from unstratified contexts, but the remainder come from a range of dump, midden and fill contexts, only one of them being from a pit and a possible deliberate deposition. Although this is a small proportion, it shows either that figurines were discarded in open areas when complete and still ‘usable’, or that they were sometimes used in those areas and discarded in situ without damage. This is discussed further under ‘fragmentation’ (see below, p209-212). Of the remaining humanoids, condition ranges from nearly complete to small fragments, and is as variable as context.

40 humanoids are known from Mellaart’s excavations, the majority in good or fair condition since he was not using a sieve to retrieve small fragments. Of these, only four are recorded as coming from buildings, and the remainder must be assumed

largely to have been found in external areas ('courts') although Mellaart mentioned that sometimes they were found stuck into the walls of buildings. This supports the finding above that the place of deposition is unlikely to shed much light on the use and meaning of humanoid figurines, other than that they were regularly disposed of in a good, 'usable' state in outside areas. Further discussion of use and meaning will take place below (p212-17).

## **6.2. Humans**

24 or 25 figurines found during the current excavations have been classified as human, although this category is much more varied than the humanoid group. Again, they come from a range of contexts – pit/cut fill (3), external dumps (7), building infill (5), midden (5 or 6), floor/packing (1), oven rakeout (1) and unstratified (2). The only ones which appear to have been deposited deliberately are 5043.X1 and 5021.D1, both discussed above (p181-3). 5043.X1 was broken into two before deposition, with the head lying alongside the body in a position not possible if the figure had simply fallen over, and it was placed in a pit overlying an oven, in what the excavator regarded as a closure event during re-structuring of the building. 5021.D1 has a less clear context, but its great similarity to 5043.X1, and its proximity, suggest that it may also have been deposited deliberately. 5043.X1 is complete – though broken in two (the break being as fresh as possible given that it has been buried for some nine thousand years). Only one other human figure was found complete – apart from its detachable head, which is clearly not an integral part – and that is 2675.X1, which was found in a midden/dump-type external area outside Building 10. This does not appear to be a deliberate deposition, or at least not in its place of use. As with the humanoids, there does not seem to be much evidence of find context relating to use context, and providing substantial information regarding the meaning and use of human figurines.

Around 60% of human or human-type figurines found by Mellaart were recovered from buildings (see Appendix 1: 217-224). With the exception of one from a 'court', the remainder have no recorded context. Presumably the majority of those with no context were found either in external areas or on the surface of the mound.

Of the 46 human and schematic figures found in buildings, 32 came from just three buildings (AII:1 = 9, EVI:10 = 14, EVI:44 = 9), while 14 buildings each contained one figurine. This data appears initially to be very different from that from the current excavations, yet Mellaart dug more than 200 buildings, which puts the occurrence of figurines within buildings – especially large groups of them – in a context similar to our own, with one building containing two elaborate figurines of which one is certainly and the other possibly in situ as regards deliberate deposition, while the majority of figurines have been found in external areas. A number of elaborate figurine parts have been found in the fill of buildings during the current work, but there is little evidence that they are in situ.

### **6.3. Other**

A small number of figurines remains: four are concretions, two are phallic, one is schematic and four are too damaged to be assigned to a type. Again they come from a mixture of contexts but largely from secondary ones. One probably phallic figurine is made of clay and came from a burnt fill in the deep sounding pre-level XII B, while the other is a natural fossil found in room fill in Space 106 (level VII). Of the four concretions, three were found in building fill, and one in a burning event in the deep sounding. The unidentifiable fragments come from external contexts – an inter-building deposit, external dump and midden, and cut fill. These are clearly not contexts of use, but of secondary deposition. The one possible exception is 1187.H1, a triangular concretion with a rough affinity to a human female form, which was found in the lower burnt fill of Space 70 and might conceivably have been in use there when the building was burned.

Mellaart found small groups of concretions in buildings, in niches or storerooms, but these appear to have been stalagmites and stalactites with no particular resemblance to humans, although a number of schematic figures are concretions on which human heads have been carved. They were found both with and without human figurines, and Mellaart related their find contexts – especially niches – to mountain caves which had some relevance to the people of Çatalhöyük. Nothing similar has been found during the current work.

## **7: Numbers by type**

### **7.1. Humanoids**

It is clear that, in contrast to the general impression that human figurines are common at the site, the majority of figurines are humanoids – although the demarcation between the two groups is not simple, a fact which underlines the human aspects of the humanoids. (Humanoids have sometimes been viewed as animals – a number of those from the old excavations are inventoried as animals, and some of the current team members have believed that humanoids are animals or birds). Of the 172 non-animal figurines found during the current excavations, 140 are humanoid. It is not clear whether there is any significance in the two types of humanoid – with divided legs (types 1 and 4) or conical bases (types 2 and 5). 73 have divided legs and 28 are conical, and the remainder are unclear because they survive only as heads (23) or body fragments. The extent to which other details of humanoids should lead to further sub-division of this category is also unclear, as it is not possible to read the information they contain. Ten humanoids have headscarves, two others seem to wear hats or caps, while two more may have hair depicted. In addition, three have eyes incised and a further three may have one eye, and two others have no faces, just a hollowed area from which the face appears to have been removed. These details could relate to age, sex, gender, or status of some sort which cannot be understood from the level of data currently available, or may relate to the meaning or purpose of the figurines. Therefore it may be relevant to assess numbers of each type, but this is fairly meaningless without any interpretive framework within which to understand them. Perhaps these are the wrong elements to consider anyway – maybe size is a more important variable, and indeed size does vary greatly (although most fall within a fairly narrow range, see note 1).

Of the ten possible figurines found during the surface survey three and possibly four are humanoid. One of these, CH94:1, is faceless, with a flattened area where the face should be, and has a headscarf, hat or hair sticking out behind the head (Appendix 1: 234, fig 12.2.6). The three definite humanoids are all from sub-



surface units, so that although their precise contexts are not known they are likely to be substantially in their original area of deposition (see Appendix 1: 228).

Of the 30 humanoids from Mellaart's excavations for which I have detailed records, nine certainly and 15 possibly have headscarves (the 'possibles' may be indications of a hat or hair), four certainly and 11 possibly have hats/caps (the 'possibles' may be indications of a scarf or hair), and three may have hair shown. Two have eyes incised, two more have one eye incised, and a further four probably have one eye, while one may have ears indicated. Painted features also occur – one has a line of red ochre around the forehead and back of head, another seems to have black paint on its left side, and a third has a black cloak covering its back and head and fastened with a band around the neck.

### *Discussion*

The high incidence of headgear/hair indications in Mellaart's material compared to that from current work may relate to the good condition of Mellaart's finds, which is a product of excavation techniques at the time. Without information about find context, it is impossible to know if it also relates to place of deposition, and to meaning or function. The indication of just one eye on a number of humanoids is peculiar and its meaning is impossible to fathom at present. The existence of three faceless examples, all with scarves and two with a concave area where the face should be is intriguing, but again there is no contextual data which can help explain them at present. Mellaart found a stone human head whose face had been deliberately omitted or excised (Mellaart 1962, pl. IXd), so clearly this treatment was not restricted to humanoids but it is rare, and presumably significant.

### **7.2. Humans**

The human figurines found during the current excavations show great variety. The largest single type is heads, with ten examples, but these are themselves very varied and there is no way of knowing to what type of body they were attached. In general, heads are classified as human if they show more detail than is common on humanoids or schematic figures or are in a different style – they tend to have

features delineated, and many have punctures for the attachment of hair or head-dress. However, the existence of a humanoid figurine (2198.H1, figure 13) whose atypically-shaped head is covered in holes executed in neat rows around the back and sides and more randomly on top, and one among Mellaart's material whose typically humanoid-shaped head has punctures for hair/head-dress and ear-rings? (my number 528) does bring into question the assignment of all complex heads to human rather than humanoid figures. Again, this demonstrates the human features of humanoids and the lack of a clear division between the two groups. As the face is missing on 2198.H1 it is not known whether it also had more complex facial details than is normal on humanoids, which would blur the dividing lines even further – indeed, the atypical shape of its head means it would not have been counted as a humanoid if the head had been found alone, and perhaps it should be regarded as human. The ten heads consist of a phallic white marble head and shoulders with incised eyes and mouth/chin; three rounded clay heads with no facial features other than a nose; two large clay heads with punctures in the top for attachment of hair/head-dress and facial features indicated by punctures or incisions (one of these basically identical to the head of complete figurine 5043.X1); one medium head missing its face with punctures surrounding the face area; two medium heads with punctured ears, incised features and red pigment added (in one case to indicate a beard?), both broken in half vertically; and one small head with incised facial features, punctured ears, and a flat back. The head and shoulders of a large schematic figure was also found. The combination of great variety within the group and strong similarity between certain heads indicates that there might have been a number of specific and well-known types which were represented in this form for certain purposes, while some are generalised humans. In particular the strong similarities between the two half heads (4921.H1 and 4839.H2), one from Building 6 in level VIII and the other from the deep sounding in pre-level XII, suggests a long-lived 'ideal type' rather than accident; the similarities between 5021.D1 and 5043.X1 can be attributed to manufacture by and/or for the same person/people, as both came from the same building. With one exception<sup>4</sup>, punctured decoration of heads is not known from Mellaart's material, but is fairly common among the new finds.

The remaining human figurines include several seated forms – one fat ‘woman’ (with no breasts), complete but without a head, for which there is an attachment hole; four similar apparently female lower bodies; plus one sexless seated figure. There is also a large sexless standing figure, two or three bases of standing figures, as well as two human bodies missing the head and limbs/base, and a detailed miniature upper body and head with punctured decoration. Three limb fragments, and a possibly phallic figure (unfortunately too fragmentary to be clear) complete the list. This variety of form and pose is similar to the range of human head types mentioned above. While some are like those found by Mellaart, several are completely new to us.

Five to seven human figurines were found during the surface survey (see Appendix 1: 227-229). These consisted of a stone head with incised facial features; three standing figures – two clearly female, the third surviving only as a base but identical to one of the female ones; the torso of a possibly cloaked figure, sexless; and two further possible torso fragments, also sexless.

The human figurines from Mellaart’s excavations display a range of styles and poses. Although most are generally seen as female, a number are sexless, including some usually thought of as either male or female on general stylistic grounds. Clearly female figures do dominate the assemblage however, with 23 seated, 11 or 12 standing and one torso, as well as two seated with animals and one standing with an animal, and one double figure. One multiple figure seems to show two females, a male and a child. Males are rare, with two seated on an animal. Two more generally believed to be male have no real evidence of sex and are classed here as sexless, along with one seated and five or six standing sexless figures and one standing with an animal (normally viewed as female). There are also six heads, two bases of presumably standing figures, and three unfinished or uncertain stone figures. Within this broad range, there are certain stylistic groups – for instance, seated females with large breasts and stomachs; or a group of stone figures of humans and leopards or leopard skins found in one building; but even within these groups there is variety of pose and subject, and the range outside these groups is so

great as to render most too individual to be classified other than extremely broadly as I have done here (and in the database) – for instance, as standing or seated. Thus the usefulness of counting figurines by type is unlikely to outweigh the difficulty of deciding on which grounds to base a tight typology. It is interesting when figurines which are clearly related to one another in some way are found in the same building, but the two examples given above show that the similarities might relate to pose, subject, or even material. While it may shed some light on use and meaning, it is only when a large number of figurines of one type is found that numbers seem to be relevant, leading for instance to the separation of humanoid from human figurines in this work even though it is clear that there is some overlap between the two groups.

### **7.3. Schematic**

Few schematic figurines have been found during the current work, and none were identified from the surface survey material. Mellaart found a considerable number of figurines which could be classed as schematic, in a variety of types ranging from a concretion with one end carved to resemble a human head, to a stylised human body with a full complement of features such as breasts, limbs and facial elements indicated but in a non-naturalistic way. These consist of five female figures (three standing, two seated), one male (seated), six sexless (four standing, two seated), one or two phallic and two mixed female and phallic figures. Again, the variety indicates that attempting to count figurines by type is a fruitless exercise, as the range is too broad to help with understanding the uses or meanings of figurines.

### *Discussion*

It is clear that figurines come in such a range of types and exhibit such variety both in broad imagery and in detail that counting specific types is not only too problematic to be worthwhile, but is unlikely to offer any insights into the uses, meanings and purposes of figurines at Çatalhöyük. While there are some obvious general types among the material, unless there is some way of understanding which features might be the more relevant to note, sub-dividing these types into specific groups will lead to a fragmentation of the data group beyond any useful level.

## **8: Similarities by context**

There are several different contexts within which figurines can be examined for information relating to use and meaning – the excavation unit, feature, space, building, phase and broad level from which they come. These will offer different types of information, but all are potentially useful. Here I will look at similarities of style, unusual material, or peculiar features between figurines found within the same context, in search of clues as to meaning and deliberation behind deposition.

### **8.1. The excavation unit**

The excavation unit is the smallest context of analysis used at the site, and ideally represents a single depositional event (but see note 12 to chapter one). As figurines are rare, the great majority of units contain none, yet a few units contain multiple figurines and this must be relevant in some way. On the whole, it appears to relate to disposal rather than use. Altogether 37 units contain more than one figurine but only 16 of these have more than one identifiable part (excluding 4116 and 4709, which are groups of unstratified objects which do not necessarily originate from the same deposit), eight each from internal and external areas.

Starting with internal deposits, Building 2 has three units with multiple figurines: 1579 (Space 117, mixed collapse/demolition) has two humanoid bases which vary considerably given that both are humanoid; 4465 (Space 117, building fill) has three unusually shapeless humanoids which are roughly made and bear a stronger resemblance to each other than to most other humanoids and a fourth possibly human base which is rather similar. All four are made of the same fine marl/plaster and form a group; and 1664 (Space 116, demolition dumps) contained fragments of two human figures which are very different from each other but each fairly unusual. All these deposits post-date the abandonment of the building, yet the similarity of the 4465 figures to each other is striking and suggests that they were made as a 'job lot' and perhaps deposited together deliberately during the infilling of the building.

Building 3 has three units with multiple figurines: 2207 (Space 86, infill, arbitrary layer) has three humanoids, two of which resemble each other with a rare strong forward bend of the body as well as being of the same general type (unfortunately, as one is missing its head, the upper parts cannot be compared), while the third is an unusually dumpy figure; 2229 (Space 86, ashy middeny fill) has two humanoids, both with incised eyes – a scarce feature – and headscarf, and both broken through the neck in roughly the same place (one body was found, the other is missing); 3552 (Space 158, ashy rubble/midden/debris) has three humanoids which display some variety. Again, all these units represent secondary deposition, yet those within Space 86 contain figurines which have strong resemblances through atypical features which suggest they did not end up in the same unit by accident.

Unit 4321 (infill, at the horizontal interface of Spaces 159 and 173) contains five apparently humanoid figures. All are atypical, two seem to resemble each other strongly as far as can be understood from their fragmentary state but are unlike any other figures and may be human rather than humanoid; one is unintelligible and may be part of a human figure or something else completely; two are heads, one fairly normal humanoid, the other surprisingly large and animal-like while having humanoid features. The wide variety argues against them being a deliberate group, while the similarity to each other and difference from other figures of 4321.H1 and 4321.H4 suggests they were made together and deposited deliberately.

Unit 4325 (arbitrary layer of infill, at the horizontal interface of Spaces 163 and 170) contained two figurines: one is a fragmentary natural pebble in the shape of a female body, the other a shapeless humanoid similar to the atypical ones from 4465 in the adjacent Space 117. Their presence in the same unit appears accidental, but the similarity of one to those from 4465 is interesting since they are so close geographically and temporally.

Turning to units from external areas, unit 1315 (Space 73, burnt inter-building deposit) contained a humanoid and a human fragment. They seem unrelated and have no special features.



Open area Space 105 has two units with multiple figurines: unit 1041 (basal midden) had three, two of them humanoid fragments, the other uncertain but possibly a human head. There are no similarities between them; unit 1073 (consolidation dump) contained four figurines, one of them a human or atypical humanoid head, the others humanoids, one of them atypical. There are no important similarities.

The large open area Space 115 had three units with multiple figurines, although these are not straightforward: unit 1832 (midden) contained two figurines, both humanoid, and as one is a head and the other is missing the head, no similarities can be recognised. This unit is recorded as equivalent to unit 1668 further north, and 1668 contained one humanoid with an atypically backward-leaning body which should probably be counted with the others as belonging to the same general deposit; unit 4102 (block of midden left in 1998) produced two figurines, an unusually shapeless humanoid and a large featureless human or humanoid head with strong resemblance to the head of the humanoid figure. This unit is clearly part of another one or more excavated in 1998, but no attempt was made by the excavator to identify it/them and therefore it is not possible at present to discover whether these figurines should be looked at alongside others; unit 4121 (dump/midden) contained 13 figurines, all apparently humanoids of various shapes, sizes and styles. Three are atypical: two heads – one very rounded and perhaps human rather than humanoid, one peculiarly flattened; one complete, with incised eyes and indication of arms, a feature which would normally move it from the humanoid to human category and perhaps should do in this case, although it is an indication rather than proper arms. These atypical figurines do not resemble each other. Unfortunately, 4121 is not a normal unit – rather, it is the midden remaining after the 1998 season, removed as a single unit at the start of the 1999 season for reasons of speed rather than archaeological accuracy, and therefore it contains an unspecified number of separate depositional events and should not be treated as a single unit for analytical purposes.

Space 181 has two units with multiple figurines: 5290 has ten, four probably parts of humans and the others humanoids all different from each other; 5292 has two figurines, one human, the other probably phallic.

## *Discussion*

Of the 16 units with multiple figurines, four contain figurines which have unusual features within the group as a whole yet are similar to each other, suggesting that they were made at the same time or for the same purpose and were deliberately deposited together. These four units all occur within buildings but in contexts of apparently secondary deposition, and this raises the possibility that the infill of buildings was not entirely random but that specific deposition of items was carried out during the backfilling operation and that these items could carry ritual significance of some kind. It should be noted that most of the figurines from these deposits were damaged.

### **8.2. Features**

A feature is a collection of excavation units linked in a variety of ways. While features are generally construction features such as walls, platforms or fire installations, they can also be burials and other structured groups. Thus features may have no relation to each other, and although they have objective boundaries, they are used largely for conceptual ease during analysis. Ten figurines were found in features, and each was found alone. The features range from walls and the structure of an oven to pits. Although a couple of these seem to be in situ deliberate deposits, there is no general significance to be attached to the discovery of figurines within features as there are no unifying factors, nor are there any clear differences between figurines found within features and other figurines.

### **8.3. Spaces/rooms**

The space is the next level of grouping used for units, and it is possible that figurines from within the same space will demonstrate similarities suggesting manufacture by the same person(s) or for the same purpose. As spaces are either internal or external, it is also possible that there will be a substantial difference in the type of figurine found in different kinds of space, as well as the condition and number. I shall consider the internal spaces first, then the external spaces, dealing only with those with multiple figurines. Mellaart's figurines can also be considered when it is

known which room they came from. Spaces linked by openings in the walls, or vertically, are grouped together.

#### Internal spaces/rooms

Two figurines were found in Space 70, one humanoid (just possibly male, in which case it is unique so far), the other a natural stone resembling the female form. Space 71 produced three figurines, all humanoids (one possibly human) and all different. A further two were found in layers covering both Spaces 70 and 71, one complete miniature standard humanoid, one tiny fragment probably belonging to a human figure. There are no special links between these figurines, although those from Space 71 are particularly carefully made.

Space 86 contained 10 or 11 figurines, three or four of them human with no specific similarities and seven humanoids. Among the humanoids there are two sets of within-unit similarities (2207 and 2229 see above p193), the other three being quite different – in fact, two are quite unusual while the third is a standard head. Four figurines were found in Space 158, all humanoid but with no specific similarities apparent. Space 89 produced two figurines, both probably humanoids with no particular similarities.

Space 106 contained three humanoids, of which two were unusually large fragments but there were otherwise no special features suggesting unity as a group. Three figurines were also found in Space 107, all humanoids missing the upper body/head but with no specific similarities between them. A humanoid neck/head was found at the boundary of Spaces 107 and 108.

Space 116 contained four figurines: two humanoids (one only a base) and two humans, with no similarities between them. 12 figurines were recovered from Space 117, two of them bases of probable humans, the rest humanoid. Of these, the group of three atypical humanoids from unit 4465 discussed above (p192) – and indeed the fourth figurine from this unit, which is a possible human base made from the same unusual fabric (marl/plaster) but is much larger than the others – are the only ones

showing specific similarities suggesting unity of manufacture and/or use. The rest demonstrate a considerable range of forms. A further humanoid from the boundary of Spaces 117 and 115 is slightly unusual but has no particular similarities to any from Space 117.

Space 154 produced two figurines, one a humanoid body, the other a humanoid/human head (3049.H1) which is unusual but similar to a much larger one from Space 115 (4102.D2).

Space 164 contained three figurines, all humanoid fragments showing considerable variation and no obvious unity.

Five or six figurines were found in one unit (4321) at the horizontal interface between Spaces 159 and 173, and two of them are strikingly similar to each other and different from other figures (see above p193). Space 173 contained two figurines, both human heads with punctures for ears (one also has punctures depicting facial features and a possible beard, while the face is missing from the other so that comparisons are difficult) and with some similarities in shape. Although their fragmentary state makes the closeness of similarities difficult to assess, the general similarities are emphasised by their difference from most other human heads. As one was found in the dry sieve and one in flotation, precise find-spots are unknown and therefore any clear relationship between these pieces is uncertain. 4793.H1 is from the bricky fill of a bin whereas 4921.H1 is from bricky roomfill covering the whole space and thus overlying the bin too. It is therefore possible that both could have been placed in the same matrix, and they could have been close together or far apart.

Space 163 contained three humanoids, two of them (4339.H1, 4256.H1) distinctively unusual and similar miniatures of roughly the same dimensions, colour and quality. Units 4339 and 4256 are spatially close to each other and both are ashy deposits related to a fire installation, suggesting that the similarities between the figurines found in them are not accidental but reflect a use related to the fire

installation. This also indicates that they were found basically in situ. Two figurines were recovered from the horizontal interface between Spaces 163 and 170, one a rough humanoid, the other a natural stone resembling the human form. There are no similarities between them. Space 170 had four, five or six figurines. Two of them (5021.D1 and 5043.X1 discussed above p181-3, 185) are almost identical and unlike any others found so far at the site, although the use of punctures to create facial features and ?hair attachment is found on several other figures. The other pieces bear no resemblance to these two – one is a unique humanoid-type (4656.H1), one a faceless humanoid, a third is a possible stone schematic head/neck with no parallels, and the last a piece of punctured clay which could be part of a figurine but may not be.

Mellaart's AII:1 had seven human figurines in its main room, five of them clearly very similar in style (although with minor differences), the other two completely different (Mellaart 1963, pl. XXIII, XXIV). AIII:1 contained two figurines, one human, one probably a human with animals (Mellaart 1962, pl. VIIIC; 1967, fig. 49). In IV:4 there were two human figurines of unrelated type (Mellaart 1962, pl. VIIIb, IXa, b, c). Three figurines come from EVI:25, all totally different from each other (Mellaart 1963, pl. XXII).

13 figurines were apparently found in the main room of EVI:10 (Mellaart 1963, pl. XIX-XXI). Two are very similar, showing people standing behind leopards. Two more are often grouped with them because of their association with leopards – one riding a leopard, one with a leopard-skin hat. However, these are not related stylistically – on simple iconographic grounds one could link the person riding a leopard with another showing a bearded person riding another animal. Two other figurines – both schematic, one with considerable human detail – are phallic, although they are very different from each other. Two more schematic ones are standing figures with hands clasped in front of the body, which could link them. The remainder are all different. Similarities can, therefore, take a range of forms – style, imagery, shape and material. All the figurines from VI:10 are made of stone, which may be relevant to the variety of shape.

Eight human figurines were found in EVI:44, all different from each other (Mellaart 1964, pl. XV-XVI). Six were clustered together with concretions and stalactites, but they have no particular similarities and indeed display great variety. All are of stone. Two figurines come from VII:24. They bear no resemblance to each other.

### *Discussion*

From this overview of the figurines found within spaces it is clear that in some cases there are general similarities, in a few there are striking unities of style which contrast strongly with the main figurine complement, and there are others in which no links can be found between the figurines found within the same space. Several reasons for this variability can be suggested, in particular the different depositional processes leading to the figures being found in the same space; stylistic changes over time; and the use of broad types which occur in many contexts. Thus the general similarity of most humanoid figurines to each other, which is the basis of their identification, will also lead to a similarity between many humanoids found within spaces. However, major differences from the main assemblage do occur, suggesting that clusters of atypical figurines may have been made by the occupants of the buildings in which they were found, and this likelihood is much stronger when they occur in similar contexts within the space or in close proximity to each other.

### External spaces

Space 73 contained three figurine fragments, two of them very curved humanoids which could be similar to each other but whose fragmentary state makes this unclear. They come from deposits of building rubble, one lot very burnt (1315), the other with burnt material in it (3061). The 3061 figurine is very burnt on one side, suggesting that either it was within the burnt material or else the burnt material was added to the deposit when still hot. Space 153 produced fragments of many figurines from unit 3021, a number of them unassignable but seven recognisable as pieces of humanoids. Two others came from different units – an apparently phallic humanoid-type figure (3053.X1) and a hunched humanoid (3044.H1) with similarities to one of the 3021 humanoids which leans forward strongly. Two more



are untypical in other ways – 3021.H27 is a large humanoid base with backward tilt; 3021.H9 is a large composite leg for attachment to a humanoid – a unique item so far, although parts of composite human figures are known. There is thus considerable range and variability in this group, all but one of which come from the same deposit of ashy infill/burnt building rubble<sup>5</sup>. There is some similarity between the Space 73 and Space 153 humanoids in the strong forward bend displayed by several.

Space 105 produced 12 or 13 figurines, of which two or three are parts of humans and the rest are humanoids. Two humanoids have a similar peculiar shape and pattern of breakage, although they are slightly different sizes (1051.H4, 1057.H1), but as 1051 is an arbitrary layer and neither piece was recognised in the field, their findspots are not known so there is no information about whether they could be connected. The rest of the figures show great variation. Space 115, the eastern end of which underlies Space 105, contained 24 or 25 figurines, three or four of them human, the rest humanoid. No specific similarities can be seen other than those within units discussed above.

Space 181 must be divided into levels, since normally a space number is changed as a new level is reached but that did not happen in the deep sounding. Thus levels have been applied retrospectively. The first stratified group belongs to pre-XII A: four figurines were found, all of them dissimilar – two are humanoids, one is a probable human made of stone, and one an elaborate human head. In the pre-XII B deposits 12 figurines were found, 10 of them from one unit (5290). They exhibit enormous variety, although the level of damage makes them difficult to assess. Six appear to be parts of humanoids with no similarities between them, one seems to be phallic, and four are humans of very different types.

### *Discussion*

The figurines from external areas seem to have fewer similarities between those found within the same units than those from internal areas. This would suggest that the external areas are places of random discard, possibly used by a range of people,

whereas there is some suggestion of more structured and deliberate deposition in internal areas.

#### **8.4. Buildings**

Buildings are sometimes single-roomed, but are generally made up of two or more spaces. It is therefore worth considering whether the figurine complement of a building shows any peculiarities that suggest a specific purpose, or manufacture by a single person or for a particular occasion.

Building 1 has nine figurines, and all are different from each other. There is nothing to suggest any type of unity in purpose or manufacture. Most are damaged, and only one has any special features (punctures on the head).

Building 2 has 18 figurines, and again all are different. Two display unusual features, but they are not related to each other. Indeed, there is extreme diversity of style.

Building 3 is difficult to define, as so far only Spaces 86 and 158 can be shown to belong to the same structure although this may not be complete<sup>6</sup>. In addition, excavation is not yet complete. The 18 figurines from these two spaces show considerable variety, although a few striking similarities in figures found in the same units have been discussed above. Overall, there is no unity in the assemblage from Building 3, and several styles of humanoid representation are apparent.

Building 5 has four figurines. All are humanoid, but beyond that they show no unity of form – rather, there is great variation.

Building 6 has five figurines from the current excavations, which dealt only with below-floor remains. Striking similarities by Space have been dealt with above; there is no link at all between those found in Space 163 and those from Space 173, which are completely dissimilar. None of the figurines excavated by Mellaart have been attributed to this building.

Building 16 has three figurines, all of them more different from than similar to each other. This is the remnants of Mellaart's IX:8 and none of the figurines from his excavations have been attributed to this building.

Building 17 has six figurines, all from Space 170. The extraordinary similarity between two of them has been discussed above, but the others are completely different both from these two and from each other.

Striking similarities are apparent among certain figurines found by Mellaart within specific buildings. Thus a group of four figurines with leopard imagery was found in VIA:10. However, as discussed above (p198), while two of these are very similar in form, the others are linked purely through imagery rather than form and one – the 'boy on a leopard' – could with equal ease be linked instead to other figures riding animals. This group has no clear relationship to the other ten figurines found in the building. It may also be of interest that this leopard-group was not found in one of the buildings with leopard sculptures on the walls, as might have been expected.

Of the nine figurines found in AII:1, five show strong similarities suggesting that they formed a deliberate group. These are the seated large-breasted females for which the site is famous. The fact that these five were discovered grouped around a hearth obviously reinforces the idea that they were made as a single unit, over-riding the differences in stance and size which are apparent. The other figures from this building do not share the iconography, and presumably were made for different purposes or at a different time. This building offers the strongest evidence for purpose of all the structures at Çatalhöyük.

During the surface survey, two almost identical figurines were found in adjacent scrape squares (CH93:30 and CH94:32, see Appendix 1: 233-4). They have no strong similarities in form to any other figurines from the site, and I suggest that they were made by the same person and were probably deposited in the same building. However, due to the nature of the work we were carrying out, and the fact

that one of these figures was kicked up by a mattock and its place of deposition is therefore not known, it is impossible to be certain about this.

### *Discussion*

There is enormous variability in the number of figurines found in each building. This was already clear from Mellaart's excavations, but it was possible that this was partly a product of his excavation method. The sieving of all units by the current team has not changed this situation dramatically.

Very few buildings have collections of figurines which appear to form a coherent group in terms of form or iconography. Although there are striking similarities on occasion, they are a small minority.

## **8.5. Levels**

The term 'level' was used by Mellaart, and although the present team has found that the site's stratigraphy is more complicated than suggested by Mellaart's terminology, it has been found useful as a general way of relating our excavations to his. This makes it possible to look at broad trends in material culture within the two sets of data knowing which items are roughly contemporary, and this is likely to be an important way of considering style, use and meaning of figurines.

### Pre-Level XIIC

This is the earliest level from which a figurine has been recovered. Only one fragment has been found, a clay faceless humanoid with headscarf (5323.H1, figure 1; plate 2, left). Humanoids occur throughout the lifetime of the site, but this is particularly large.

### Pre-Level XIIB

This group contains mainly humanoids of a standard style, some of them well-made. There are also humans, one with slip – a rare occurrence, one standing, and one perhaps seated, showing that considerable variety existed at this early date. There is one possibly phallic item. Also either from this level, or from pre-XIIA, is the

earliest flat humanoid – an unusual style in which the figure is flattened side-to-side presenting a very slim-line front view (4709.H4, figure 2).

#### Pre- Level XIIA

This small group has standard humanoids, a human base, and the earliest elaborate human head, with pierced ears and traces of paint or possibly a slip. The earliest stone figure also dates to this level – what appears to be the base of a standing human figure, although its fragmentary state makes it impossible to be sure what type it belonged to, if it really is part of a figurine (4868.H1, figure 3).

#### Level XII

This is the earliest level reached by Mellaart, and he found only one odd-shaped irregular probable humanoid. The current team has also found just one poorly-made humanoid with lots of vegetable temper. Both are made of clay.

#### Level XI

Mellaart found no figurines in this level, and the current team has discovered just one humanoid.

#### Level X

Mellaart had a single unusual roughly spherical human-type head with all features shown as incisions. The current team has found no figurines in this level.

#### Level IX

There are no figurines from Mellaart's excavations of this level. The Hodder team has found plenty of humanoids in a range of styles, including a miniature non-self-supporting T-shaped one (4656.H1, figure 4), and a second 'faceless' one with headscarf similar to, but smaller than, the one found in level pre-XIIC. There are also several human forms including the first 'fat female' types for which the site is famous – one buttock with patches of red pigment (1664.X2, figure 5), and a possible base – as well as a tiny stylised human with stub arms and head punctures (1664.X4, figure 6), and the two almost identical large figurines discussed above

(5021.D1, 5043.X1 – figures 7 and 8; plate3) with multiple head and face punctures. There is also a possible schematic figure in stone.

#### Level VIII

Mellaart found five figurines in this level: three standard humanoids; one standing tubby human; and one bizarre human/humanoid cross-over – although it has a normal humanoid form, it has breasts (one modelled from the body, one appliqué – itself a bizarre feature), stub arms, head punctures and red streaks emanating from the nose (ÇHC 686/2, figure 9). The current team has found a range of humanoids, including one with an outsize head, one with incised eyes, one with what seems to be details of stitching on a hat although it could merely depict a hair-style (2899.D1, figure 10), and some schematic humanoids. There are several human heads with punctures for attachment of hair, material or ear-rings, including a large unbaked one cut from its body which has facial features incised (2739.H2, figure 11).

#### Level VII

Mellaart's assemblage contains several standard humanoids and one schematic human with punctured head, all of clay. In addition there are three stone figures: one seated 'fat female', one male seated on an animal, and one unfinished stylised female. The Hodder team has found a range of humanoids, some large, some tiny, and some hunched styles. There are also occasional human heads, and for the first time a few fragments that look like human limbs – arms or possibly legs. These are all made of clay. Only one stone figurine has been found, a phallic head and shoulders<sup>7</sup> (4116.D1, figure 12, plate 1, bottom).

#### Level VI

A large part of Mellaart's figurine assemblage comes from level VI, including many of the best-known pieces. He found 11 humanoids, mainly standard in form, many with headscarves, one with incised eyes; and one with head punctures; and there are 13 human figures made of clay, comprising a range of shapes, mainly voluptuous seated females. One of these is painted with a geometric pattern (Mellaart 1963, pl. 23a). There are also 25 or 26 stone figurines, of which five show humans with



animals, seven depict possible males, three or four are phallic (two of these also strongly female), two are multiple humans, and seven are highly schematic. Postures include standing, sitting on animals, sitting on a seat. They show considerable detail both in form and decoration<sup>8</sup>.

Because the Hodder team started work in Mellaart's old trench at level VII, and due to the difficulty of matching up levels between the South and North eminences, it is not possible to be certain that we have any level VI figurines, although some from the surface survey must belong to this period<sup>9</sup>. Building 1 seems to equate roughly with levels VI or V on the basis of analysis of the lithics and ceramics. The figurines found in and around this building are almost all humanoids, although one had punctures covering the head and this should be counted as a human/humanoid cross-over (2198.H1, figure 13). One natural stone approximating to the 'fat female' form was also found, as well as one possibly phallic clay item.

#### Level V

Mellaart found three figurines in this level, all made of clay: one cross-legged 'fat female', one humanoid with red paint around the forehead, and one human/humanoid cross-over – a classic humanoid form but with breasts and arms.

As with level VI, it is unclear whether we can equate any of our finds from North Area with Mellaart's levels. Building 3 may be level V; it seems to be slightly later than Building 1 anyway, although Building 1 may belong to level VI rather than level V<sup>10</sup>. It has produced many humanoids in a range of styles, including two with incised eyes (2229.D1, 2229.D2, figure 14). There are also a few human bases, an arm, an unusual head, and two large sexless torsos. A big-breasted torso (6260.X1, figure 15) with a head almost identical to one from level VIII (1652.H2, Space 115) was found in an animal hole and is therefore really unstratified, but it may belong to the same level as the rest of the figurines from Building 3<sup>11</sup>. All the Building 3 figurines were made of clay.

#### Level IV

Mellaart's excavations produced four figurines from this level: two made of clay – a standing 'fat female', and a cross-legged seated female with a painted design suggesting a leopard-skin dress/ with red neckline or separate necklace (Mellaart 1962, pl. VIIIb); and two made of stone – an elaborate standing voluptuous female, and a totally schematic figure rather similar to humanoids in shape.

Building 10 may be level IV or III (probably closer to III). One seated fat but breastless figurine made of clay was found outside the building (2675.X1<sup>12</sup>, figure 16), and a schematic/natural stone figure with red pigment painted on it also comes from here.

#### Level III

Mellaart found five figurines in level III: two are humans made of clay, one reconstructed as a female holding two leopard cubs; the other three are stone – a large head with some details carved; a cross-legged seated 'fat female' of the type normally made of clay, and a tiny triangular pebble carved to represent a seated 'fat female'.

#### Level II

Mellaart's level II excavations provided the second large group of figurines, with 14 found. Most were made of clay, and they include six 'fat female' figures of the kind regarded as typical of the site, as well as several completely different forms – a head with obsidian eyes, and the most famous figurine of all, the 'birthing' one seated on two felines, as well as two standing females, one wearing a short skirt. There are also three stone figurines: a standing female, and two unfinished pieces which are very unclear.

#### *Discussion*

This brief overview of figurine styles and materials by level does show some element of change over time. Humanoids occur from pre-XIIC to V, when they seem to end – but in the absence of excavation by the Hodder team of buildings later

than level V, this end date is based heavily on Mellaart's data and may be inaccurate<sup>13</sup>. There is a great range of humanoid styles, but the level of fragmentation precludes any statistical assessment of the frequency of each style or of change over time. The humanoid/human cross-over figures come from levels VIII to V, and each is rather different from the others. These figures are apparently rare, although they can only be identified clearly when they survive complete or nearly complete. There is a good chance that a number of heads treated as human, and bodies regarded as humanoid, actually belonged to cross-over figurines but this cannot be ascertained unless both parts are found and can be shown to join convincingly.

Human figures occur from level pre-XIIB onwards, although they are rare before level VIII. They become common in level VI, and dominate in level V, after which humanoids seem to cease. The form shows great variety: even the 'classic' 'fat female' seated figures come in a range of styles, with legs crossed, to the side, stretched forward, or bent underneath; with hands at breasts or on knees; with or without a fixed head (some have holes for attachment of a head); with or without breasts (although the majority have breasts), occasionally with decoration. Many others are standing, and of these some are slim, others have large bulging stomachs. Standing figures seem to pre-date seated ones, although a possible seated figure was found in level pre-XIIB, the first definite one is from IX. A few humans are shown with animals, mainly in level VI, the earliest is from VII, and a possible one in III is the latest by far. Just two or three show more than one person, and these occur in level VI. Male figurines are rare, and biological sex is never shown. Rather, identification depends on hair, beards, and shape of torso – not very safe indicators (see Hamilton 2000a). The earliest male figure comes from level VII and the latest from VI, suggesting that this is a short-lived motif, although it may relate more to the needs or ideology of specific groupings (households, lineages, clans, etc.) since they were found in a very restricted number of contexts<sup>14</sup>. Elaborate human-style heads with punctures, incised features, and use of pigments occur first in level pre-XIIA and run right on to III or even II (which has a large head with inlaid obsidian eyes and a hole for attachment to a body). These complex heads vary enormously in

size, ranging from c10mm to 50mm high, and have widely differing elements indicated and emphasised. Some are fairly naturalistic, while others are extremely stylised.

Phallic imagery, which has not previously been recognised at this site, does exist but again is rare. One possible phallic object of clay was found in level pre-XIIB<sup>15</sup>, a natural phallic stone in level VII, and two phallic figurines in level VI. An unstratified phallic figurine also probably belongs to level VII. At least three and possibly four of Mellaart's level VI figurines are phallic, though two of them are equally strongly female, demonstrating mixed sex symbolism. Schematic human figures occur mainly in level VI, with just one in level IV.

By far the most common material for figurines is clay, and this is used for humanoid, human, human-humanoid cross, and phallic figures but not for schematic ones<sup>16</sup>. Stone is fairly rare, and is used for human, schematic and phallic figures but not for humanoids. The earliest stone figurine comes from level pre-XIIA, and the latest from II. The Hodder team has found hardly any stone figures<sup>17</sup>, but among Mellaart's assemblage they dominate the human representations and make up half of all level VI figurines<sup>18</sup>. As with male images, this may relate to specific makers or users, since most of Mellaart's level VI figurines came from just three buildings. Other materials are rare – a head found by Mellaart has obsidian eyes; a slip has been found on a couple of figurines; pigment is used occasionally, sometimes just a patch of colour – as in the earliest occurrence, on a level IX figure; sometimes in a painted design, first seen in level VI. Red, presumed to be ochre, is the most common pigment; black is also used.

## **9: Fragmentation**

The vast majority of figurines found by the Hodder team are broken, as are many found by Mellaart. I have already discussed fragmentation in my analysis of Mellaart's material (Appendix 1: 219-221), from which it is clear that broken

figurines were found in buildings alongside complete ones, suggesting continued importance and curation. This may be particularly the case with human heads, some of which show considerable detail. The discovery of fragments of two elaborate human heads in Space 173 may be a result of such curation; alternatively, they might have been broken deliberately and each half been stored in a separate building. This idea would suggest that importance was attached either to the image, or to the process of making it, which outweighed or outlived its fragmentation.

Only nine undamaged figurines have been found by the Hodder team, although a number of others have very minor damage. It is worth looking briefly at the information about these undamaged figures. Three are stone – a concretion found in heavily burnt building fill (1187.H1); a phallic fossil found in a dump within a building (1505.X1), and a phallic ‘bust’ that is unstratified (4116.D1). It is likely that their condition owes more to their material (stone) than to their place of deposition. Of the remaining six, four are humanoids found within buildings (2552.H1 in foundation fill; 1905.H1 in a pit or basin let into the floor; 4011.H1 and 6014.H1 – no information is currently available about find context, and each has a small chip of damage), while the other two were in external areas (humanoid 1073.X1 from a consolidation dump containing domestic refuse; human 2675.X1, complete but without its detachable head, from a dump containing domestic refuse). In addition, humanoid 2207.X6, found in room fill, has just the tip of one foot missing. It is clear that neither place nor broader context of deposition can be the main factor in the preservation of these figurines, since even those from within buildings have a range of context. Six of these figurines are humanoids, whereas it would generally be expected that greater care would be taken of human images (especially if they represented deities as is frequently suggested). Only one complete human figure has been found, and this was in a deposit containing domestic refuse and dumped outside a building.

One further figurine should be considered here. 5043.X1, a large human figurine, was deliberately broken prior to deposition<sup>19</sup> and the head was placed alongside the body in a basin dug into the floor above an oven in what appears to be ritual closure

activity during re-modelling of Building 17. Thus in some ways this should be counted as a complete, but not whole, figurine. It is feasible that the damage was not deliberate at all, but that the figurine got broken at the time of the restructuring work and was therefore deposited in the pit rather than remaining in use. However, the damage was not severe – the figurine was broken into two large pieces which could easily have been stuck together again. The fact that the break was at the neck may simply be because this is the most fragile area, but could also relate to the common separation of head and body found in the assemblage at large, including the modelling of separate heads and bodies with peg holes for attachment, and the retention of body-less heads as well as the mending of broken figurines<sup>20</sup>. The discovery of an almost identical head nearby, also broken from its body (which was not found) raises questions about meaning and purpose, but also about fragmentation. To break one figurine could be a misfortune – to break two looks like purposefulness<sup>21</sup>! The lack of a second body may relate to excavation methodology rather than deposition, which leaves part of the issue unanswerable at present (see above, p181-3, 185), but the condition of the break suggests similar depositional practice to that for 5043.X1.

The vast majority of figurines have been found broken. The extent of damage is extremely variable – some humanoids are missing a ‘foot’ or have a broken headscarf, while many are broken through the neck and only either the body or the head is found, while some of the larger ones have damage at several points. Human figures are commonly found badly fractured, perhaps just a limb or the base of a body survives, and a number of the heads are broken in half. Although some of this damage was probably accidental and even post-depositional – in particular loss of headscarves and ends of limbs – some seems to have been much more deliberate. For instance, to break a head fairly precisely in half suggests purposeful action rather than accident, particularly as this tends to involve breakage through the thickest part<sup>22</sup>. As with the complete figurines, the level of fragmentation seems to have little relevance to the find context, although the smallest fragments tend to be found either in external dumps or in building fill, suggesting that these are secondary depositional contexts or that the deposits have been re-worked or subject to activity



or weathering which might have increased damage to figurine fragments beyond its original level.

### *Discussion*

Almost all figurines found by the Hodder team are broken, as are many found by Mellaart. This includes apparently 'in situ' figurines found in buildings, some of which seem to have been broken purposefully immediately prior to deposition while others appear to have been retained in use despite their damaged state. On the other hand, some complete figurines have been found in external areas, although the vast majority of figurines from external areas are fragmentary. Because of the different quality of Mellaart and Hodder data, the two groups are not directly comparable in terms of context, and even using the Hodder assemblage alone it is not yet clear what influenced fragmentation. However, it can be said that depositional context is not only largely secondary, but that it does not have a primary causative role in either protecting or damaging figurines. Rather, a number of reasons may have been involved in the different levels of completeness found, and these probably relate to the uses and meanings of anthropomorphic figurines.

## **10: Use and Meaning**

As discussed in chapter four, the traditional interpretation of anthropomorphic figurines at Çatalhöyük is that they represent a goddess or a suite of deities. However, in my view there is little basis for such an interpretation. Moreover, a 'deity' interpretation addresses neither issues of use nor of meaning beyond the most general view of them as involved in religious ritual. My interest is in gender and social structure, and in using figurines to understand these aspects more clearly, and even if I believed they did represent deities, this would take us no closer to understanding these areas. Before moving on to possible uses and meanings that *can* be recognised, I shall set out briefly the problems with the 'deity' interpretation.

Any assumption that the figurines represent deities involves a belief not only in some form of organised religion, but also in the presence of shrines. I have explained in chapter one why the 'shrine' interpretation has little support from the evidence, and figurines form one strand of this evidence. First, not only were figurines not found in most buildings regarded as 'shrines', but they *were* found in a number of buildings regarded as domestic dwellings. Moreover, many were found in external areas among 'rubbish'. Second, although many of the human figurines found in buildings in the 1960's were undamaged, some were broken, as were many of those found outside buildings by the Mellaart and Hodder teams. Religious material is not generally treated in such a cavalier fashion, but tends to be either curated or disposed of in an organised and protective manner. Third, the representations range from natural stones through seriously schematic images and generalised humanoid figures to elaborate and highly developed human forms. Thus there is little likelihood that they represent a clearly defined group of deities.

The topics dealt with in this chapter give some idea of possible approaches to use and meaning. It is clear that there are several different broad types of figurine, although there is some level of continuum between them. This suggests that there were probably several different uses and meanings attached to the varied forms, and these might also have overlapped to some extent. Although different materials could account for some of these differences, overall there is no reason to believe that the use of stone rather than clay was behind the variation in imagery, although the natural and schematic figures are of stone and all humanoids are made of clay. Rather, the choice of material is likely to relate to use and meaning rather than simply – or at all – to form. Some of the most detailed and elaborate figurines are made of stone, and therefore the use of stone did not restrict the imagery that was possible. On the other hand, most of the 'voluptuous' or 'fat female' figurines are made of clay, which is plastic and therefore far better suited to this form. The majority of these figures are also from the later levels, and this may also be relevant.

Context has to be regarded as one of the most important pointers to use and meaning, and the extensive discussions above have demonstrated that the vast

majority of figurines found by the Hodder team have been in secondary depositional contexts which give little insight into the original context of use. Mellaart found far more figurines within buildings in apparently 'in situ' contexts, but without the detailed excavation and recording procedures in use by the current team it is difficult to be certain of this in many cases, and impossible to correlate the contexts of 1960's finds with 1990's finds. Even those figures which the Hodder team suggests may have been 'in situ' do not appear to have been deposited in contexts of use – rather, humanoid 1905.H1 in the pit/basin in the floor of Building 1, and human 5043.X1 in the basin in the floor of Building 17, both seem to be in positions of discard – in the case of 5043.X1 certainly deliberate, with 1905.H1 less obviously so, but contexts of discard nevertheless. The most useful aspect of contextual deposition has been the occurrence of two almost identical human figurines – 5043.X1 and 5021.D1 – in one building in close proximity to each other, and the discovery of two basically identical figurines from a similar area in the surface survey. These indicate the probability of household, personalised or localised production and use, and may relate to meaning. The presence of so many figurines in external areas or in building fill indicates a great deal of random disposal, although there are cases of groups of unusual figurines in building infill which suggest deliberate deposition as part of the closure of a structure. These also seem to have a lower than normal rate of damage, which could relate to this purposeful deposition and therefore to use and meaning.

A combination of material and fragmentation may be relevant to understanding use and meaning. If breakage was an essential part of use – for instance, if the making of the figures was the important part and was related to magic or wishes of some kind (as suggested by Broman for the Jarmo figurines, see chapter four, 140), breaking them might also have been important for ending the magical action or wish. This might explain why most – but not all – humanoids, which are mainly generalised representations of people although a few have specific features which might relate to particular individuals, are broken. Presumably there were cases in which the action of the magic or wish was intended to continue, or the time to end it had not arrived when it was buried. It might also explain why the humanoid figures

were made exclusively of clay. To make them of stone would have created much greater difficulty in destroying the images.

Other plausible interpretations of the humanoid figures are protective images, or personal items relating to aspects of life. These could have been used in various rites of passage, or given at birth, and might have been destroyed for a range of reasons within this usage – for instance, at the change from one life role to another. Again, such explanations would allow for a number of humanoids to survive intact, if certain roles or activities were never undertaken or entered upon. The use of humanoids as votives, suggested by Mellaart, is covered by the idea of wish-vehicles (above). A use in sympathetic magic, suggested for stabbed animal figures, is also possible – perhaps related to the birth of children or the health of any individual. Again, these could involve the eventual destruction of the image, although this is not necessarily required. The existence of three humanoids without faces – from which the faces appear to have been excised during manufacture – certainly suggests a magical meaning, although it could also reflect an extreme form of generalisation, the opposite of the high level of detail found on a handful of humanoid figures.

Finally, some archaeologists have regarded the humanoid figures as part bird, because of the long beak-like nose (for instance, many of them are catalogued in the museums at Ankara and Konya as ‘kuşadam’, or ‘birdman’; Ian Hodder often refers to them as ‘birdmen’ when showing visitors around; and several members of the team have felt they are part-bird). Personally I find this unlikely, since we are dealing with small figures with the main facial feature being a simple pinched nose, and there is little scope for making it less beak-like at that scale. However, it is feasible that some level of totemic representation is involved here, given the occasional occurrence of large birds at the site in both figurine and painted form. Now that it is clear that excarnation of burials did not normally take place, the old explanation of vulture imagery is no longer relevant, and this makes a ‘bird-man’ interpretation of humanoids even less credible.

Some of the interpretations suggested here for humanoid figurines could also be offered for the human images. However, the use of recurrent forms, particularly in level VI – for instance, males riding animals, or groups with leopards or leopard-skin clothing, suggests that these might either represent ancestors or totems of families, lineages or clans. This seems the most likely explanation for the two almost identical figurines found in Building 17, although why they should have been abandoned during re-modelling of the structure is unknown. Certainly this is more reasonable than to suggest they were deities which were abandoned. It also makes sense of the fact that both sexes seem to have been represented although many images (including 5043.X1) are not sexed and a few appear to combine both sexes. The humanoids, on the other hand, are not sexed so far as can be ascertained at this time. The puncture holes in some human heads might have been for the attachment of hair, but they could also hold feathers or other materials which might also be related to totemic aspects, perhaps from the animal world.

The occurrence of almost identical figurines across a huge time span suggests the existence either of ideal types or of site-wide imagery, although it could be lineage or clan based, or relate to ancestors. Examples of this are the faceless humanoids, which occur in levels XII and IX as well as one from the surface (probably VI or V); and head 1652.H2 from level VIII and the head on bust 6260.X1 from Building 3 but unfortunately unstratified. Moreover, although humanoids exhibit great variety and represent a very generalised human form, similar versions can be found throughout the life of the site, rather than any clear development of form taking place over time. Alongside these similarities and continuities are great variation in form of both human and humanoid figurines, suggesting household rather than specialised production and probably a lineage or clan-based imagery rather than a unified Çatalhöyük imagery based on deities.

A final point is that Çatalhöyük figurines are never shown doing anything – other than riding an animal – unlike some elsewhere (for instance, a few Hacilar figurines are shown holding babies; and rather later a considerable number in Cyprus are depicted carrying out a range of activities including making things and giving birth).

This offers us few clues about use and meaning, other than to suggest that activity is not what they are about. In particular, the paucity of birth scenes<sup>23</sup> makes it unlikely that they were primarily concerned with childbirth and human fertility. This lack of activity argues in favour of an ancestor or totem interpretation.

### *Discussion*

The use and meaning of figurines at Çatalhöyük is uncertain, but there is little doubt that more than one use and meaning was involved. A careful examination of context, material, fragmentation and imagery leads to a number of possible interpretations, but these do not include their use in organised religion. Rather, they are likely to have represented ancestors or totems (human figures), and been used for magical, non-religious ritual (e.g. rites of passage etc.) and/or votive purposes (humanoid figures) and discarded once they were no longer of relevance or to put an end to their magical action.

## **11: Sex and Gender**

Given the interpretations offered above, what can we learn of sex, gender and social structure from a study of figurines?

The most important point concerning sex that has become apparent to me whilst examining figurines from Çatalhöyük is that many are sexless. The majority of the assemblage, from both Mellaart's and Hodder's work, consists of humanoid figurines, and these do not show sex in an obvious way (although as I mentioned above, it is possible that aspects such as whether or not divided legs are shown, and the style of head, including use of scarf or hat, do in fact carry information about sex or status of some sort). This needs to be emphasised because it is widely believed that the figurines from Çatalhöyük – and from many prehistoric sites – depict female bodies exclusively or almost exclusively. That is simply not the case. Even when just the human figures are considered, sex is not always shown, or is under- rather than over-stated. This topic has already been addressed for the Mellaart assemblage



(Appendix 1: 225-226), from which it seemed that the overt sexing of figurines began in level VI on rare occasions only, but that after level VI not only were no male figures found but emphatically female figures made up at least half the data set<sup>24</sup>. Of Mellaart's 36 level VI figurines, only six are 'fat females' while another six are regarded as male and four are phallic. Several others are female but without the large hips/buttocks and/or breasts seen so commonly in the later levels, and some are sexless. Thus there is certainly a change of emphasis around levels VI and V. However, the Hodder data set includes a few 'fat female' figurines from before level VI – one from level VIII, two from level IX, and a possible one from pre-XIIB. This demonstrates that the type was in existence before level VI, although perhaps only occurring rarely. On the other hand, the 'in situ' large figurine from Building 17 is sexless, as are several large figures from the early levels found by the current team.

It may be that all our data – Mellaart's and Hodder's – is skewed by very localised production, with imagery based at a household level, so that a single building can contain figurines which appear to contradict or overthrow broad themes. However, in general it can be said that strongly sexed figurines are in a minority, particularly in the early levels, and that they become far more common in the latest levels of the site. Moreover, all the strongly sexed figurines are female, and the male and phallic figures all occur in levels VII and VI. This situation suggests to me that there is a change in sex/gender ideology during the lifetime of the site, and that the change is centred on level VI although aspects of it started earlier. This change may relate to other developments at the settlement at that time which were discussed in our 1996 publication<sup>25</sup> such as intensification of agriculture and domestication of animals, leading to a reduction in utilisation of certain zones of the landscape as hunting and gathering declined. Such major economic shifts would have had profound repercussions in both the social and ideological spheres, which may be reflected in the figurine imagery among other things<sup>26</sup>. The move from sexless and lightly sexed figures (i.e. females with small breasts and/or hips, or males marked by shape of torso or indication of a beard) to strongly sexed female figures, and the loss of male and phallic figures after level VI, indicate that an ideology related to sex/gender and

possibly concerned with the role of women (but perhaps concerned just as much with the role of men) was altering, and that figurines were utilised to portray this ideology and perhaps to broker it.

What this ideological change consisted of is difficult to understand. The 'fat female' figurines depict confident, mature women, in poses that suggest elders (particularly when found 'gathered in council' as in AII:1) rather than women groaning under the weight of pregnancy. The lack of images of babies also argues against the pregnancy suggestion<sup>27</sup>. However, Angel (1971: 79-80) did suggest that the burials showed evidence of demographic change, with an increase in the ratio of women to men<sup>28</sup>, and possibly lower survival rates of children leading ultimately to the abandonment of the settlement. If there were indeed plummeting birth and survival rates, an emphasis on childbirth and human fertility might make sense, but it has yet to be proven, and the imagery does not convince me. However, change in the sex ratio might be related to changing iconography and ideology, as women became the dominant force in society through sheer numbers. Angel calculated that on average the female lifespan at Çatalhöyük was one and a half to two years longer than during the Upper Palaeolithic. Although average female lifespan was still four years shorter than the male, it would have allowed a consistent improvement in their role as carriers of culture to the next generation (Angel 1971: 80, Table 1<sup>29</sup>). In combination with a changing sex ratio in favour of females, this could have had a gradual but major effect on the role of women within Çatalhöyük culture which is reflected in the iconography of the figurines. If the changing economy led to a closer focus on the settlement and the house, this might also lead to a change in imagery, but this will be discussed in chapter eight.

Any consideration of the increasing depiction of female bodies and growing emphasis on the sexing of these bodies during the lifetime of the settlement must go hand in hand with a consideration of the representation of males. As I have said above, there are no male or phallic figurines known from levels later than VI, although there is obviously the possibility that this is a result of skewed data at present. Most of the male and phallic images come from level VI, and they deserve

proper attention. Male figures are never shown with primary sex characteristics. Rather, they have been identified on the basis of apparent beards, curly hair-styles, lack of breasts, slim hips with broad shoulders, and pose. Specifically, several are shown riding animals, which tend to be regarded as bulls<sup>30</sup> although they have no horns – a peculiar oversight given the frequency of cattle horns as symbolic features within buildings, so that perhaps they are generalised animals, or sheep<sup>31</sup>. If these images are accepted as males, which seems reasonable in the context of the low level of sexing on the female figurines they are found with, the significance of the association with animals must be considered. The suggestion, made above, that a significant economic change took place around levels VII and VI resulting in a reduction of hunting and gathering, and a closer focus on the settlement itself, might explain the loss of images of males with animals – indeed the complete lack of male figurines – after level VI as the capture and domestication of animals became less relevant and animal husbandry became firmly established. The loss of male imagery is not complete, since the two ‘hunting shrines’ covered in wall-paintings showing wild animals and humans, most of whom are identified as male, date to levels V and III, but this transfer of imagery onto the walls could be viewed as a transfer of knowledge from the present to the past, that is, into mythology<sup>32</sup>.

The phallic images are more complex but just as important. Although there are very few, they are extremely varied in form, ranging from a fossil that looks like a penis and has not been modified to carry any other human imagery (1505.X1, figure 17), through phallic, sexless ‘bust’ 4116.D1 (figure 13), to complex figures depicting both sexes – one phallic figure carved to show drooping breasts (ÇHÇ 167, figure 18) and a schematic triangular apparently female figurine which is nevertheless phallic when viewed from the back (ÇHÇ 465, figure 19) and is reminiscent of the well-known two-sex figurines from Sotira in Cyprus (Swiny and Swiny 1983) and Tepe Yahya in Iran (Lamberg-Karlovsky and Meadows 1970). This mixed imagery suggests that sex was not as dichotomised during the early levels of the site as it became after level VI. Had it occurred alongside the overtly female figures of the later period, it would seem anomalous, but within the context of lightly-sexed figurines it fits well.

The fact that most figurines are sexless must be relevant to any understanding of sex and gender at Çatalhöyük. It is reasonable, perhaps essential, to separate the humanoid figures from the rest, since they are a fairly unified group that clearly represents generalised humans and seems to have had a different function or role within society – although what that function or role consisted of is not clear. It is possible that they are sexed but in ways that cannot now be understood, but even if other indicators were being used, this in itself suggests that sex was not the most important aspect of the figures. While it could be argued that the lack of femaleness is indicative of maleness, such a line of reasoning not only works from negative evidence, but suggests that maleness would have been regarded as a negative characteristic – that males are non-females. This, of course, is in line with Cucchiari's postulated origin of the sex/gender system (see chapter three, 106-8), but given the existence of both male and phallic imagery alongside humanoids – including the possibility of a phallic figurine in pre-level XIIB, it seems unlikely that this is a correct reading of the Çatalhöyük iconography. However, humanoids occur from the earliest levels of the site until level V, and it is probably not a coincidence that they seem to disappear at the same time as the male and phallic figures. Indeed, the 'humanoid with breasts and arms' is from level V, and may represent an attempt to continue the humanoid tradition within an altered sex/gender ideology. Turning to the human figures, there is a clear move away from ambiguously or lightly sexed figurines towards strongly sexed female figures. Although lightly sexed figurines occur occasionally from level V onwards, this is really an absence of breasts on figurines which have large hips and stomach.

### *Discussion*

Overall, the evidence from each group of figurines combines to suggest a major change in sex/gender ideology at around the middle of the existence of the settlement, specifically between levels VIII and V, with the strongest evidence coming from levels VI and V. This change may well reflect much broader shifts in the economy of Çatalhöyük, seen also in a range of industries. How these all fit together to give a picture of social structure will be discussed in chapter eight.

## **12: Conclusions**

An exhaustive study of the contextual information available for the figurines indicates that the majority were not found in their place of use, and that many were probably in secondary depositional contexts rather than even in primary contexts of discard. Therefore there are only rare instances in which find context can indicate use or meaning, although it is possible that some discard practices were related to building closure. An examination of fragmentation suggests that damage may be related to use and meaning as much as to the accident of post-depositional processes.

However, as one would expect, it is a study of form and iconography that offers the most information relevant to sex, gender and society. This includes an examination of similarities by context that suggests that, where human figurines are concerned, production was on a household/lineage/clan basis and involved specific, rather than site-wide, imagery possibly referring to ancestors or totems. The humanoids appear to be a more unified group, but they also show great variation and this may also relate to the unit of production, but the low rate of discovery 'in situ' within buildings makes it more difficult to assess whether differences and similarities have a household basis. There is no doubt that the different broad categories of human and humanoid reflect different uses and meanings, and each group may itself contain figurines made for a variety of purposes.

There is clear evidence of a growing emphasis on the 'fat female' figure, and a loss of non-female imagery after level VI. Far from supporting the belief that the figurines represent goddesses within a matriarchal society, the shifts in the iconography both in terms of the representation of the female body and the abandonment in the later period of non-female images indicate that this may be a matter of social and economic change (suggested by changes in other aspects of material culture such as the pottery, knapped stone, and faunal assemblages), rather than religious ideology. How this links to other evidence from the site to build a picture of the type of society that existed at Çatalhöyük is discussed in chapter eight.

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<sup>1</sup> Of the 14 complete humanoids, the smallest is 13mm high and the largest 68mm, but these two are exceptions. 50% fall within the range of 29.4-35.8mm. The list is as follows: 13; 18.7; 21.8; 23; 23.5; 25.9; 29.4; 29.7; 30; 31.1; 32.1; 34.5; 35.8; 68.

<sup>2</sup> The distinction between human and schematic figures is extremely difficult to make as there is some degree of stylisation in most human figures and some human element in all schematic ones. Therefore any count is fairly rough, and each investigator would probably draw the lines slightly differently.

<sup>3</sup> These were VIA:10, which contained 14 figurines, and VIA:44, the 'Leopard Shrine', which contained eight human figurines.

<sup>4</sup> This is a schematic human with an oblong head covered with punctures in no obvious order, unlike the organised rows of holes found on a number of heads from the current excavations, and may not represent the same thing.

<sup>5</sup> 3021 and 3053 are in fact parts of the same deposit. 3021 was initially dug as one unit, and was later seen to consist of four layers. Thenceforth it was dug as four separate units, one of which is 3053.

<sup>6</sup> Spaces 87, 88 and 89 were originally thought to be part of Building 3, and this may be correct, but no crawl-holes or doorways have been found linking any of them to Spaces 86 or 158, or to each other, and the presence of a double wall between the two groups – which runs beyond the western wall of Space 158 suggests that these may have been attached to another building to the east or west. Indeed, the three spaces may not all belong to the same building. Therefore the figurines found in these areas are not included in the analysis of Building 3 at present.

<sup>7</sup> This figurines probably belongs to level VII but is unstratified. It was found during cleaning of the high section about Mellaart's building XII:25 and is thought to have come from the level VII stratum.

<sup>8</sup> Most of these figurines are illustrated both by line drawings and photographs in Mellaart's preliminary reports, Mellaart 1962, 1963, 1964 and 1966.

<sup>9</sup> A number of figurines from the surface collection and scrape squares appear stylistically to belong to level VI – see the discussion in Appendix 1: 233-236.

<sup>10</sup> There is no reason to assume that building levels in the North and South areas will equate completely. Mellaart believed that whole areas were rebuilt at one go as communal enterprises, partly as a consequence of disastrous massive fires, and partly because it would not be possible to build piecemeal in a settlement with this layout. However, even if this were true – and it may well have been necessary to rebuild considerable areas at one go for practical reasons - this is unlikely to have applied to the entire mound. Therefore there may not be a level in the North that equates precisely with any level in the South. We can only offer approximate contemporaneity based on artefact analysis.



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<sup>11</sup> As most of the figurines were found in building fill, in particular in a sticky black midden-type deposit, they may belong to a later period than the building itself and any 'in situ' figurines. This is the case with all the buildings, of course.

<sup>12</sup> Although this figurine has an X-number, this is the result of a misunderstanding by the Thessaloniki University team, which had recently joined us at the site. The figure was found in the dry sieve and therefore does not have a 3D provenance (as an X-number should indicate) but it definitely came from an external area characterised by 'domestic rubbish'.

<sup>13</sup> Excavation of Building 10 has been stalled for the past three years due to permit and funding difficulties experienced by the team from Thessalonika which is working on it. Excavation should resume in 2001, and excavation of a building of level II or III by a new team from Poland is also due to start in 2001. This should make it possible to assess more thoroughly whether or not humanoid figurines continue to that late date, although given the rarity of figurines overall, we cannot rely on data from such a small sample as reflecting accurately the situation across the whole site.

<sup>14</sup> These are one from VII:21 riding an animal (beardless and with small breasts shown), two from VIA:44, one possibly bearded and riding an animal, one schematic body with bearded head; one from VI:25, beardless, seated on a stool; and four from VIA:10: a concretion with bearded head, a bearded adult riding an animal, a beardless 'youth' riding an animal, and a beardless adult wearing a leopardskin hat.

<sup>15</sup> Unfortunately this is too damaged for me to be certain what it is. If a figurine, it seems phallic. It is possible that it is something else – it does resemble some of the later potstands in some ways, but these occur only in the latest levels of the site.

<sup>16</sup> Clay is also used almost exclusively for zoomorphic figurines, which are not the subject of the current study. Stone images of animals are very rare, although Mellaart found a stone vulture head and a stone vulture, and several mixed human/animal figurines are made of stone.

<sup>17</sup> So far only five or six stone figurines have been found by the Hodder team, and of these three or four are natural concretions, fossils or pebbles which have been selected for their resemblance to the human form and sometimes possibly slightly adapted to re-inforce the human aspects. Because of this, it is difficult to be sure at times whether stone items are figurines or natural occurrences.

<sup>18</sup> Altogether Mellaart found 39 stone figurines out of an assemblage of 116 human, human + animal, humanoid and schematic figures, roughly one third of the group. Almost all stone ones are human or human with animal.

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<sup>19</sup> The break on each piece was fresh – that is, it was clean, with just slight traces of soil and plaster clinging in some places, and absolutely no sign of abrasion or of exposure in its broken state.

<sup>20</sup> For instance, Mellaart found a large head in VI:44 alongside elaborate figurines, one of which – a human with leopard – had been broken and mended in antiquity.

<sup>21</sup> 5021.D1 also has a fresh break, indicating purposeful and possibly protected deposition rather than dumping, which tends to lead to abrasion and wear of broken surfaces.

<sup>22</sup> The discovery of broken figurines in Franchthi Cave led Lauren Talalay to suggest that they may have been used as contracts, and that each party to the contract took part of the figurine away with them as evidence (Talalay 1987). I am not suggesting a similar purpose here, but the breaking in half of figurine heads followed by their possible curation – two such were found in Space 173, the ‘store-room’ or ancillary room of Building 6, but the specific find contexts are not clear – might reflect a sharing of important cultural property which might also be seen in the sharing of skeletal parts of dead relatives, discussed in chapter six of this thesis. Such an idea cannot be proved on the current evidence, but it is a possibility that can be borne in mind for future interpretation should relevant data be found during future excavation.

<sup>23</sup> A single figurine from Çatalhöyük is said to depict birth. This is the most famous of all, the female supported by two felines, found in a grain bin in building AII:1. This interpretation is not accepted by all scholars, but even if it is correct, it is just one figurine and belongs to the late period of the site when imagery seems to be changing – as does the demography (see Angel 1971).

<sup>24</sup> Of the 26 figurines found by Mellaart in levels V to II, 10 are ‘typical’ seated ‘fat females’; 3 are standing ‘fat females’, 2 standing figures have bulging stomachs but small breasts, 3 seated figures have emphasised hips or stomach but small or no breasts. Of the remainder, 1 is a standing slim figure, 2 are heads only, 2 are unfinished and unclear, 2 are humanoid/human cross-overs, and 1 is a schematic stone figure.

<sup>25</sup> See in particular the contributions on the lithics (Conolly 1996a) and ceramics (Last 1996) as well as my own comments about both figurines and the materials used for beads found in burial contexts (Hamilton 1996b), and Hodder’s synthetic conclusions (Hodder 1996b). All analyses seem to point to a change in production methods and product types which may start around level VIII but seems to be complete by level VI. This may be tied in with a slight tendency for a clustering of ‘progressive’ forms or a concentration of stock within more elaborate buildings. This will be discussed more in my concluding chapter.

<sup>26</sup> This may also be reflected in other imagery – Mellaart’s excavations uncovered the greatest density of wall-paintings and wall-sculptures in levels VII and VI.

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While this may be partly a product of the quantity of buildings excavated in these two levels, there does seem to be a reduction in this type of imagery, and in the expression of ‘complexity’ or symbolism in the more elaborate buildings after level V. On the other hand, the two most famous series’ of wall-paintings, thought to be related to hunting – and certainly related to human interaction with the animal world – date to levels V and III, and it is possible that these commemorated a hunting past which had become far less important in daily life than in the earlier levels. The reduced occurrence of deer teeth on necklaces from the early levels, when they are fairly common, to post-level VI when they are not only rare but are also largely fakes made of bone (Hamilton 1996b: 246-248, tables 12.7, 12.8), may also reflect a changing role of hunting and a new relationship with the animal world.

<sup>27</sup> It is sometimes argued that generalised human figures might represent babies, and therefore some people might think that the humanoid figurines are candidates for this role. However, the degree of elaboration found on some of these images, and the types of clothing indicated, mitigate against this suggestion and there is no question in my mind that these cannot be regarded as ‘baby wishes’.

<sup>28</sup> Angel puts the sex ratio as follows:

Levels XI-VIII	5M:2F
Level VII	22M:25F
Levels VI and V	40M:70F
Levels IV-II	11M:22F.

<sup>29</sup> Angel’s sexing does not always agree with Ferembach’s. For a comparison of the two, see Hamilton 1996b, table 12.9.

<sup>30</sup> One is identified as a leopard, on the basis of drilled spots and body form.

<sup>31</sup> Sheep certainly do not carry the same glamorous associations as bulls to the Western mind, but we now know that sheep/goat makes up the mainstay of the meat diet, not cattle as originally reported. In addition, Mellaart reported that some of the cattle horns found in elaborate buildings were in fact cow rather than bull horns, and this has also been found by the Hodder team. Moreover, the association of males with bulls in Western ideology need have no application to prehistory in general and Çatalhöyük in particular; it has merely been naturalised as part of our gender ideology and iconography.

<sup>32</sup> See also note 25.

## CHAPTER SIX

### BURIALS AT ÇATALHÖYÜK

#### **1: Introduction to the Data**

In the following chapter, I shall discuss the data from both Mellaart's and Hodder's excavations at the site, although I shall concentrate on the current work since I have already published a comprehensive discussion of Mellaart's data (Appendix 1). In analysing both Mellaart's and Hodder's data I shall attempt to deal with a number of topics which have either been issues of contention since the 1960's or which I believe are relevant to a modern discussion: the distribution and placement of skeletons within a building according to sex and age; the presence or absence of grave goods by sex and age; the use of pigments; and the possible implications of unequal numbers of each sex, including discussion of family and social structures. The current team is using a range of analytical techniques, including DNA and isotope analyses, and these will also be mentioned. General matters of theory and methodology concerning working with burial data have been covered in chapter four and the background to current views based on Mellaart's excavations is outlined in chapter one.

At Çatalhöyük all burials appear to be inhumations, which makes sexing much simpler. Of course it is possible that other forms of disposal were used, and we have not found the remains. Isolated human bones do occur in a considerable number of deposits, and occasionally a cluster is found. While those on the surface may simply represent erosion of later buildings which have disappeared, the others are harder to explain. The question arises, therefore, whether some people have not entered the burial record in the 'normal' way and other methods of disposal were used which we are not able to trace – at least on the mound itself. Given the complexities of estimating the original population it is impossible to say whether or not we have enough bodies.

### **1.1. The Hodder data set**

Mellaart's data inevitably presents us with problems due to the date of the work – both because excavation, recording and methods of analysis have changed a great deal, and because of the loss of information at various stages in the intervening three decades. On the other hand, the data provided by Mellaart, with all its current difficulties, was plentiful, with over 200 buildings excavated in four seasons, most of them containing burials. Only one building has been excavated completely during the new project at Çatalhöyük, in addition to total excavation of parts of several others, and partial excavation of some whole ones (Appendix 2). This situation is due partly to working within Mellaart's trench but on a smaller scale and stepping in as depth increases, resulting in parts of buildings becoming inaccessible, as well as carrying out further work on buildings originally excavated by Mellaart. It is also due to the modern and complex system in use, with a professional team rather than workmen doing all the excavation, and the numerous scientific analyses which are being carried out, necessitating far slower progress than was common in the 1960's. This gives a far smaller data set than Mellaart had, and therefore any conclusions to be drawn will be limited. However, the quality of the new data is high. Burials have been found in Buildings 1, 3, 4, 6, 17, 18 and 23, and internal spaces 109 and 112 and also in external spaces 115 and 181. (See Appendix 2 for descriptions of spaces and buildings.) The discovery of burials in external areas which contain midden-type material was completely unexpected, as Mellaart (1964: 92) stated that burials did not occur in such places<sup>1</sup>.

### **1.2. Terminology**

Terminology for ages of skeletons can be confusing, and in this work while the terms 'juvenile' and 'child' may be used generally to denote pre-adults, more specific terms are also used: neonate applies to a baby up to seven days old, baby applies up to a year old, infant is aged one to five years, juvenile aged five to around 10-12 years, and adolescent around 10-12 to 15-18 years. Adult ages are given as young, mature and old. It has become increasingly clear in recent years that ageing of skeletons is more complicated than had been thought and that broad categories are more useful than ages in years for adults (Molleson et al. 1993; Aykroyd et al.

1999). Juvenile ages may be assessed quite accurately on tooth growth and bone development.

For ease of discussion, initial examination of the data will be divided into the Building 1 material (by far the largest group) and the South Area, with a note on BACH1. Following this, a number of topics will be discussed looking at all the data together: genetic relationships, orientation, completeness, grave furnishings, special treatment and health.

## **2: The Building 1 Data**

Building 1 is the only building to have been excavated completely by the current team, and it contained the largest number of burials yet known from any building. Parts of at least 64 individuals have been identified, deposited either as primary or secondary burials, beneath platforms, floors and in the foundations. They deserve detailed treatment. The position of the burials can be seen in plans 8-12, with the feature numbers indicated, and details of each burial can be found in table 2.

Building 1 consisted initially of two rooms, spaces 70 and 71 (although current re-evaluation suggests that space 70 was always divided into two spaces, see Appendix 2), but even while it was being constructed six or seven burials were placed in the foundations. In the northern part of the building, roughly half-way along the length of the north wall and mid-way between the wall and the centre of the room, was double burial F211 which contained the skeletons of a mature adult female (2527) and a neonate or very young baby (2532) placed on top of the skull of the adult. These burials were probably the earliest in the building, lying within the third foundation layer. Roughly mid-way along the north-south wall dividing spaces 70 and 71 (F3) and lying just east of the wall was the burial of an elderly male (2529, F209) within a clear grave cut. This burial seems to be slightly later than F211, lying within the second foundation layer. At the southern end of wall F3 were the burials of three neonates, one possibly premature, placed in a line immediately to the east of wall F3. They appeared to have been buried in a layer which pre-dated the



construction of the wall, yet their positioning against it suggests they may have been buried immediately after the wall was built. Although placed in a line, they were not evenly spaced: one (2515, F208) was placed close to the south wall of the building, then there was a space before the other two (2197, F206 and 2199, F205) were deposited where the crawl-hole between spaces 70 and 71 would be. There was room for another baby in the gap, and it is possible that a fourth burial was expected but did not take place, but most likely this gap relates to the structure of the crawl-hole. Although they were so young, and were placed in the foundations, the neonates appear to have been given the same treatment in burial as many older people. They had not been excarnated, and both F205 and F206 had traces of probable grave cuts, suggesting that they had not just been dumped in the fill<sup>2</sup>. These burials are in the layer following that in which F209 was made. A seventh possible burial in the foundations (2510, F210) was that of a nine month old infant slightly north-east of F211, of which only the skull had survived the digging of graves at a later date. It is the latest of the foundation burials. Although these burials were made in the foundations of the building while it was being constructed, it is not necessarily correct to call them 'foundation burials' in the common sense of burials with a ritual connection to the construction of the building. It may simply be that they needed a burial place at a time when normal grave areas (platforms) were not available. However, the presence of three neonates in a row along one wall suggests patterning of a specific nature, as does the particular placement of all the burials in areas other than those used by burials beneath platforms.

Once the building was completed, it had several phases of occupation and restructuring. (Final decisions on phasing must await the publication in 2002, but here I am using the phasing worked out by Gavin Lucas after the 1997 season.) From the burial aspect, what is important is that Space 71 – the main room of the building – had three platforms (see plan 9), in the south-west and north-west corners, and mid-way along the east wall (east-central). Although the south-west platform was constructed over the area where the three neonates had been buried in the foundations, no burials were placed beneath or within this platform, which seems to have been used for food preparation and was in the 'dirty' area of the room.

However, the other two platforms seem to have been designed to cater for burials from the start, and burials occurred beneath both of them during the first phase of occupation (phase 2 of the building). Burials F200 (skeleton 2115) and F212 (skeleton 2119) were made beneath the east-central platform, probably as a double burial or at least planned together even if 2119 was placed in the ground first, a question which could not be answered due to the repeated re-cuttings for later burials which obscured possible relationships. 2119, a juvenile buried with five bone rings on one hand, and 2115, an elderly female, lay in almost identical flexed poses in separate scoops in the ground at the same level, almost certainly both contained within a single large pit. The situation in the north-west platform is far more complicated, due to the many re-cuts and redeposition of skeletons and the difficulty the excavator experienced in understanding the stratigraphy. It appears that the initial inhumation was that of an elderly female 1955, but that this was largely dug up when 2169, an adult male, was buried in F204. 1955 was then redeposited alongside and on top of 2169, picking up a new number during excavation of 2506 for the long bones, which were buried alongside 2169. F204 also contains a number of disarticulated bones from another individual (2195) whose place in the sequence has not been identified. F207 contains a single skeleton, a baby buried apparently on top of 2506 but before 1955, an almost impossible feat since 2506 and 1955 are the redeposited remains of the same individual. Burial F47, which cut F207, contained the remains of infants 2125 and 2168, as well as disarticulated bones 1989. F207 was also cut by F202, which contained the skeleton of a baby (2105). All these burials belong to phase 2 and were made around the same time as F200 and F212 beneath the east-central platform, although it is not possible to understand the relative chronology of these four burials as there is no way of linking them.

Some time later, in the second phase of occupation (phase 3 of the building) burials started in a new part of the room, the north-central floor adjacent to the north-west platform, over the area containing burials F211 and F210. Burial F30 contained the double primary inhumations of an elderly female (1424) and a baby (1950), along with the disturbed or redeposited bones of several individuals (1425.1-4 and 1426.1-

2). F45 contained a single primary burial (1992) and F40 was another double burial of an infant (1912) and a baby (1950). The relative dating of these burials is not known, as all were cut into the same layer but without cutting each other. Two graves were also cut at this time into the north-west platform, first the rather shadowy F42 containing skeleton 1484, about which there is barely any information other than that it might comprise parts of two or three juveniles, then F38 which cut F42 and contained parts of up to 17 individuals, of whom four were basically complete. No burials appear to have been made in the east-central platform during this phase.

A small number of burials was made in all three areas during the third phase of occupation of the building (phase 4). In the north-west platform two graves were cut: F41, containing the articulated skeleton of a baby (1916); and F36, a plaster lined grave containing a child (1495). A single burial (F49) was made in the east-central platform containing the partial skeleton of an adult ?female 1995. Two burials were made in the north-centre floor. F44 is straight-forward, containing a double burial of two infants (1940/1959 and 1951/1960) and the disturbed remains of baby 1935. F31 is of particular interest as it contained the secondary interments of at least five individuals, all partial and largely disarticulated, in addition to the primary burial of infant 1498.

The final three graves belong to the fifth occupation phase (phase 6). One was made in the north-west platform (F35) containing the single, primary burial of a child (1913). The other two (F28 and F29) were cut into the east-central platform. By this time a major re-structuring of the building following a massive fire had resulted in the east-centre platform (F37) being turned into a separate room, excavated as Space 110. Thus the database contains burials from Space 71 and Space 110 which actually come from beneath the same platform. A sequence of burials was made overlying F49, which itself overlay the large pit made for F200 and F212. Grouped as burial F29, this masks a number of separate burials, the cuts for which could not be traced extensively after the removal of the uppermost skeleton and were only faintly discernable at the edges of the large pit. The remains of probably ten

individuals have been recognised from the disarticulated remains which had been redeposited within the cut when the latest skeleton was buried, an adult male (1466) articulated and complete except for the skull and atlas bone. The final grave-cut (F28) occupied the northern end of Space 110 and contained a single skeleton of an elderly male(1378). It may well be significant that this final grave was single occupancy, whereas the remainder of the platform was taken up by a large grave re-used throughout the life of the building and containing the remains of at least nine people, four of them primary burials, in three different occupation phases. The space for this last grave must have been left as part of a long-standing plan that it should be used for a specific burial, although it is not possible at present to decide whether it was for a specific individual, or for someone holding a specific office or role within the family or lineage (for instance, last surviving child of the founder of the building, or last surviving member of the senior branch of a lineage etc.) Either way, their death may have brought about the abandonment of the building and the construction of a new one, although this is by no means certain – abandonment may have taken place upon the death of the first person to be buried in the succeeding building. Moreover, the relative dating of F28 and F35 is not known, and therefore it is possible that F35 was in fact the final burial.

### **2.1. Spatial distribution of burials in Building 1 by age and sex**

As stated above, there is a distinct suggestion that the northern end of the east-central platform (F37)/Space 110 had been left vacant from the very start of burials in this area, specifically for the final burial. This would certainly be in line with Mellaart's belief that the east-central platform was the main platform where the most important burials were made, but his view that adult females and children were buried in the area, and that the burials were more likely to be accompanied by grave-goods than those in other parts of the house, is not borne out by these findings. Altogether the remains of 19 individuals were found beneath the east-central platform/Space 110. As table 3 shows, not only were both sexes found here, but no young children were buried in this part of the house.

The floor space east of the north-west platform (called north-central floor, or NC in the tables) was occupied by parts of 21 or 22 skeletons buried during phases 2 and 3 of the occupation of the building, as well as three burials made in the foundations. As can be seen from table 4, those individuals deposited during the occupation of the building consisted of adults probably of both sexes (with females predominant). There was severe fragmentation of skeletons, so that one adult was represented by a single femur and another by a few oddments. Only one complete, articulated adult burial was found – an old female – and another disarticulated one was largely complete, also female. There was a high occurrence of youngsters in this area, and they appear to have been under the age of five or into their teens, with a gap in between. This gap could prove to be of interest, as is the lack of neonate burials beneath the platform. The three foundation burials made in this area before the platform was constructed consisted of an adult female (old) and two babies, which falls into the same general pattern of age and sex, although one of these babies was a neonate, as were three in the foundations in the south-west.

In contrast to the apparent predominance of female adults in the north-centre, the north-west platform had three adult males (one young, one mature, one old) and one adult female (old), all roughly complete skeletons (but one disarticulated), while a fifth adult is represented by a few bones only and is of unknown sex. The remainder of the 28 or 29 individuals are juveniles (seven babies up to a year old, three infants up to five, 13 juveniles aged five to ten, and one adolescent). This area was used for burial from the first phase of occupation of Building 1. The high number of juveniles is striking, and again there are no neonates, while older children are well represented and adolescents rare, unlike under the north-central floor.

### *Discussion*

A number of unexpected features were brought to light in examining these burials. First is the lack of evidence of excarnation of the majority of skeletons – an issue not discussed in detail in this work, as there is little to say. Certainly primary fleshed burials occurred for all ages and both sexes. Second, it is clear from the foregoing that burials of both sexes occur in all areas, so there is no evidence for the sex

segregation posited by Mellaart. Third, adults occur in all areas, so there is no clear age segregation as suggested by Mellaart, who believed babies were generally buried under the east-central platform. Babies occur in two burial areas in Building 1, but notably not beneath this platform, although the lack of children under the age of c10 in this area may be fortuitous, as Mellaart clearly did find babies here and this is not a judgement requiring specialist analysis as sex is. Finally, the discovery of burials in the foundations was completely unexpected. These consist only of adults and babies (mainly neonates), but both sexes are represented among the adults. The position of these burials – away from the platforms used later for burial – is of particular interest.

In a search for patterning, we need to look for other information that might explain why people were buried where, rather than segregation by age and sex, and two areas which will be discussed later are ‘wealth’ and relationships. First, however, I will look at the distribution of burials by phase, age and sex.

## **2.2. Phase of burials by age and sex**

Table 4 details the burials by phase. During the construction of Building 1 (phase 1), seven burials were made in the foundations (above). The first was an adult female with a neonate, followed by an elderly male, then three neonates, and finally a baby around 9 months old, but all must have been placed in the foundations within a short space of time<sup>3</sup>.

During phase 2, burials were made beneath the east-central and north-west platforms. No cross-dating between the two platforms is possible. The only burials belonging to this phase beneath the east-central platform were those of an elderly female (2115) and a juvenile (2119) who might be male (in a ‘double’ burial). The north-west platform burials consisted of an elderly female (2506/1955.1) and a baby around 6 months (2141) in separate graves, followed by a mature male (2169), two babies around one year (2125, 2126/2168) and parts of a juvenile around six (1955.2) in one grave which disturbed 2506/1955.1, and a baby around one year (2105) in a separate grave.



During phase 3 no burials seem to have been made in the east-central platform but two or three graves were cut in the north-west platform (the situation was rather confused during excavation). Skeletal remains numbered 1484/1479/1989/1961 appear to constitute a juvenile aged around 8, possibly male, and this grave was succeeded by a series of inter-cutting burials all recorded as F38 and containing a mature adult male (1924), a juvenile aged around 8 (1922/1939), and the disarticulated and fragmentary remains of ten more juveniles (see table 4). The fragmentary nature of many of the skeletons suggests they were either buried earlier and disturbed, or were brought from elsewhere, but the stratigraphy was obscured by the frequent re-cuttings. The north-central floor received burials for the first time now, a baby (1992), a double burial of two infants (1950 and 1912), and double burial of an elderly female (1424) and a baby 1450) along with the disarticulated remains of two infants (1426.1, 1426.2), a juvenile/adolescent (1425.1) and four adults (1464, 1425.2, 1425.3, 1425.4). Again, the disturbed and fragmentary nature of these remains suggests they either predated and were disturbed by the burial of 1424 and 1450, or they were brought from elsewhere and placed in the grave.

During phase 4 at least one burial was made in the east-central platform, a young adult female (1995), but a number of disarticulated remains found in the later burials overlying this may also belong to this phase. A single burial was made in the north-west platform, a baby (1916). The north-central floor has two graves dating to this period, the double burial of two children aged around 5 (1940/1959, 1959/1960), one possibly male, together with partial remains of a baby of six months (1935), and the burial of a baby around ten months (1498) accompanied by the partial torsos of an elderly female (1934/1481/1489), two young adults (1483/1481, 1491), and two adolescents, possibly male (1481, 1482/1481). The confused numbering illustrates the disarticulated state of the remains. The surface of these bones has evidence of weathering. Spinal columns are the last things to decompose, and this is clearly the secondary burial of bones which had been exposed at some time and lost all peripheral elements before being brought to Building 1. These are the only certain secondary burials found at the site so far during the current work, apart from a skull in Building 6, and their presence in an area of the house only recently used for burial

may indicate the movement of a family group, for instance, back to a lineage building after an absence.

Phase 6 saw a single burial in the north-west platform, a child (1913), and a single burial of an elderly male (1378) and multiple burials in a single re-cut pit (F29) in the east-central platform. F29 contained one mature male (1466), and parts of one elderly male (1949), one young adult male (1963/1949), one adolescent male (1467/1928/1364/), one young adult female (1470), one elderly female (1364.1), and five other adults sex unknown.

### *Discussion*

The initial burials in the foundations and beneath the two platforms were those of adult females with juveniles. Two were double burials, although they took different forms – in the foundation burial, the juvenile was a neonate placed on the head of the adult; in the east-central platform a the juvenile was around 10-12 years old, and two separate scoops were cut in the base of a large pit so the each body occupied its own area but they were placed in basically identical poses facing the same direction, giving a strong impression of deliberation and relationship of some kind. However, the first burial in the north-central floor was a juvenile. Subsequent burials are dominated by juveniles and include both sexes where this can be determined. It is just possible that 1995 (F49) was deliberately placed over 2115, rather than 2119, because they were both female, but this may be fortuitous or have another reason such as specific relationship which cannot be recognised at this time. The succeeding burials in the east-central platform were all adult (with perhaps one adolescent) and were dominated by males – although half have not been sexed – and the two latest burials were males. One (1466) may have received some form of ritual treatment (see below p263-4). The final burial in that platform was an elderly male, while the final burial in the north-west platform was a child.

Juveniles dominate in every phase but the last, and particularly in phase 3, and ten of the twenty-three adult burials (or twenty-five if including the foundation burials) took place in phase 6 – although it would be more accurate to say phases 4 and 6, as

many in F29 were redeposited and their phase of original deposition is not known. This would make fourteen adults buried in phases 4 and 6 when those from other areas are added. This is a clear majority of adults buried in the later phases, while a huge majority of juveniles were buried in the early phases. Of these, roughly equal numbers of babies were buried in the foundations (5) and phases 2 (5) and 3 (5-7), with a slight drop in phase 4 (3); infants are mainly in phase 3 (3-4) with a drop in phase 4 (2); older juveniles belong mainly to phase 3 (8-9) with two in phase 2 and one in phase 6; and the few adolescents belong to phases 3 (2-3 – 1 ?female), 4 (2, ?male) and 4/6 (1).

Adults of various ages are spread throughout the phases. It is noticeable that old adults occur in every phase (see table 4). The large number in phase 6 indicates an ageing population towards the end of the building's life (although some of these might belong to phase 4 originally), and it also suggests a fairly healthy population once adulthood is achieved. The figure of five female and three male is in line with modern-day expectations, although a further two or three have not been sexed. Mature adults are not common (table 4). The fact that three out of five are male, one female, one unknown, is again in line with the slightly greater life expectancy of females shown above. Young adults are only slightly more common than mature. Here one would expect an excess of females due to death in childbirth, but that is not apparent. This is discussed in chapter eight. The low level of more precise ageing and sexing amongst this group is a result of the fragmented nature of the remains.

Overall, there does not seem to be any clear pattern regarding phase, sex and age in these burials. The final burials in the east-central platform and north-central floor were of adults, but that in the north-west platform was a child. The earliest burial (in the foundations) was an adult female (with a baby), as was the first beneath the east-central platform (accompanied by a juvenile) and probably the first in the north-west platform (although baby 2141 could conceivably have pre-dated 2506/1955) and the latest was probably an elderly male. With only one building, it is impossible to say whether this has any specific relevance. If this pattern were to be repeated

commonly, it would still be unclear whether it is the death of a male or a female which precipitates the establishment of a new building – that is, whether it is last in the old or first in the new that is most relevant. In any case, this presupposes that a death is the cause of starting a new building, whereas there could be completely different reasons for such a radical activity. The age spread – babies, children, young and old adults – in every phase, especially the occurrence of old adults in every phase, certainly gives the impression of an extended family or several families using the building throughout its life, whether or not they actually all lived in it, which seems most unlikely given its size.

### **3: The South Area**

The South area contains a number of buildings which were partially excavated by Mellaart and partially by the current team (see chapter one and Appendix 2 for details).

#### **3.1. Building 6**

Building 6 consisted of a main room, space 163, and an ante-room, space 173 (see plan 4). Space 163 was furnished with three platforms – one in the south-west corner, one in the north-west, and another adjoining it, filling the north-central wall area and reaching almost to the east wall but not quite. Nine burials were found in space 163, but they were not beneath the platforms (but see below). A further burial was found in space 173. All the burials occupied separate graves, and there is no sign of the disturbance of skeletons or the ‘bone piles’ or secondary burials seen in Building 1 and familiar from Mellaart’s excavations.

Mellaart had previously excavated this building, and from his publication it would seem that he did not excavate any burials<sup>4</sup>. However, Angel’s records show three skeletons from VIII:10: a female aged 26, a male adult, and a child aged six. Ferembach does not mention these, but notes a mandible of an adolescent aged 14<sup>5</sup>. The archive report states that the floors had already been excavated by Mellaart, and

the south-west platform truncated (Farid 1999). Two burials lay within the area of the south-west platform but the cuts were only found when they were excavating the foundation infill. Farid says these burials (F428, skeleton 4406 and F476, skeleton 4427) were probably cut through the platform, but given that the platform is made of the same material as the infill, yet the cuts were not found in the basal remains of the platform, I am inclined to suggest they were made during construction of the building and before the platform had been made. This would mirror the situation in Building 1, where burials were made in the foundations beneath the south-west platform but not below the platform itself during the occupation of the building. Mellaart found few examples of burials beneath the south-west platform. We cannot find out now whether those few were in fact placed in the foundations rather than in the platform, but it is clearly possible. The south-west platform was obviously an original feature of the building, and this area has generally been suggested to be one used for food preparation – something borne out by the Building 1 excavations. Why burials should be placed in this area during construction but not during the lifetime of the building is unclear, but presumably relates to the function of the area during occupation. At present it does not seem possible to understand why this would not apply during the construction phase, but when more data is available it may become clearer. Unfortunately no information is available about the relative dating of the burials in this building, due to the truncation of the floors by Mellaart. Only in one case, where one burial cuts another, can we see the order.

The lack of burials beneath the two northern platforms seems peculiar initially. However, this part of the room seems also to have been occupied by ovens and associated features in the early phase(s) of occupation, and if the explanation for the low number of burials beneath south-west platforms is correct (i.e. they were used for food preparation) this would explain the failure to use the northern platforms for burial at this time. Rather than using the platform area, the burials were made beneath the floors. This in turn might indicate that they took place during the early phase(s) of the occupation of the building. However, a platform with hard-baked ovens lurking beneath the surface might have remained out of use for simple practical reasons related to digging through the oven bases. It is unlikely that there

was a 'moral' objection, since in Space 170 a burial was found placed on the base of an oven in just these circumstances (although that burial was in the south of the room). The plaster covering the north-central/north-east platform is reported by Farid to have been truncated by Mellaart, but since some of it remained and no Mellaart-period pit is reported, it seems unlikely that Mellaart removed a burial from here.

There is some confusion over when the burials were made<sup>6</sup>. My feeling that F460 was cut into infill rather than through the floor is supported by the finding of owl pellet material in the grave fill. The adjacent structure, Space 116 (part of Building 2) had many deposits of owl pellets while it fell into ruin, and it is possible therefore that backfilling material for the grave was brought from an adjoining open site while Building 6 was under construction. If the building was already finished, with a roof and floors, the importation of such material would have to be a very deliberate act of special significance rather than simply backfilling the grave with the spoil produced by digging it, which is what is apparently seen elsewhere<sup>7</sup>. Owl pellets along with many mouse bones and a number of other features (discussed below p264-6) were found in another grave in this building, F513.

#### Spatial distribution of burials in Building 6 by age and sex

The graves were mainly spread across the central floor area between the platforms, apart from the two beneath the south-west platform (table 5). These two consisted of burials of babies (F476, skeleton 4427 and F464, skeleton 4406). Mid-way along the west wall, close to the wall, was F492 containing the unusual burial of a young adult male missing the skull. In the centre of the room F442 contained the burial of a neonate and was cut into the fill of F460, which contained the undisturbed skeleton of an adolescent male. Also roughly in the centre of the room were F494 which contained a baby and F513, the burial of a mature female. In the centre of the north-east quadrant of the room was F487, the burial of a neonate, and beyond the north-east platform against the east wall was the burial of an infant (F475). All the burials were primary, and the only disturbance was from animal burrows.



It is immediately apparent that there is a very high proportion of babies in this assemblage. Only two adults were found, one male and one female, plus one adolescent (male), with the remainder all under 18 months. Therefore no patterning can be established as far as distribution by sex is concerned (unless we can find other indicators of sex – see below), nor is there enough data to consider distribution by age other than to say that two babies were buried below the south-west platform, probably before its construction.

#### Phases of burials in Building 6 by age and sex

Unfortunately the excavation of the floor levels by Mellaart has left the data too limited for phasing to be established. However, no evidence appears to have been forthcoming for a single burial to be cut down from the floors – at least no grave cut was seen to originate at the level where excavation started; rather, all appeared during excavation of the underlying infill of the earlier Building 17. This suggests that all the burials were made in the foundations, which appears to be extraordinary as all are primary burials. The only phasing information available is that neonate 4328 was buried after adolescent 4394. As discussed above (p241), the owl pellets in the soil covering both 4394 and mature female 4615 are most easily explained if the burials were made before completion of the building. One explanation would be that the individuals buried here were not related, but all happened to die while the building was under construction and were therefore buried in its foundations. However, there is absolutely no evidence to support such a suggestion; to the contrary, there is evidence suggesting a genetic relationship between a number of them. One is left therefore with two possibilities: either that some of the graves were indeed cut from the floor at a later date but the evidence has been obscured; or that all the deaths occurred in a short space of time, perhaps from an epidemic, although two babies probably died of thalassaemia (see below p267-8 and Appendix 4). Of course, as explained above, parts of four skeletons seem to have been excavated by Mellaart from higher levels, suggesting that at least some people survived into the lifetime of this beautiful building, but nothing more is known about them.

A final burial was found in the adjoining room, Space 173. This was the skeleton of a neonate (4927, F537), buried in precisely the same way as the others. Why it should have been placed in a separate room is unclear, as there was certainly room for such a small grave in space 163. The grave was tight against the wall dividing the two spaces, and was very shallow – only around 9cm deep and apparently untruncated. It was cut into the lower occupation deposits in Space 173, at the border of the ‘clean’ and ‘dirty’ floor areas, and sealed by later floor and make-up layers. Although at a similar overall depth to burials of babies in Space 163, its clear stratification makes it likely that it was buried during a later phase. If all those buried in Space 163 are indeed in the foundations and pre-date the occupation of the building, it is possible that this is the reason for F537 to be sited in Space 173, as the platforms were occupied by ovens and no burials are known to have been cut into the floors. However, there are still Angel’s skeletons to account for, and these must belong to a later phase.

### **3.2. Building 17**

Four sets of human remains have been excavated so far in Space 170, the main room of this building. However, any analysis will be incomplete as further burials are thought to exist beneath the northern and southern floors, and indeed the lowest floors have not yet been excavated. The remains so far uncovered are the skeleton of an elderly female (5169, F563) buried beneath the south-central platform in the remains of an underlying oven; two infants mid-way along the east wall – one of 18 months (5177, F564) and one of 6-9 months (5357, F576); and the cranium of an adult female in a post-retrieval pit in the north-west corner (5022). The three graves all belong to the second of three occupation phases and were cut through phase two floors, while the cranium was deposited during the abandonment phase when the roof was dismantled and the walls filled in for the construction of Building 6.

### **3.3. Building 18**

Neither Angel nor Ferembach records any skeletons from this building (Mellaart’s Shrine X:8), although Mellaart’s report indicates that burials were found in level X,

at which level only two buildings were investigated that season (Mellaart 1964: 92). I can find no record of any grave goods from this building.

One burial was found in 1999 in Space 171. This was a neonate, possibly stillborn, buried in the south-east corner apparently when the south-west was occupied by a fire installation. This might explain why it was not in the south-west, an area we are becoming accustomed to finding neonates buried in.

### **3.4. Building 23**

Again neither Angel nor Ferembach records any skeletons from this building (Mellaart's Shrine X:1), nor can I find records of any grave goods, although clearly at least one of X:1 and X:8 was referred to by Mellaart (1964: 92).

Two burials were found in Space 178 in 1999. They were a baby of four-five months (4861, F544) at the north end of the space and a foetus of seven or eight months development (4853, F543) in the north-west corner. The stratigraphy is not clear, but both are said clearly to have been buried during the occupation of the building, and F543 may cut F544, providing minor phasing. The burial of a foetus in the same manner as full-term babies (in this case, in a basket, as was 4861) is of particular interest, suggesting that it was regarded as fully human.

### **3.5. Space 109**

A single skeleton was found in this space, which is the south-eastern quarter of Mellaart's EVII: 19, a medium-sized single-roomed building. His plan shows a possible platform in this area with an oven on it against the south wall and a hearth on its north-west corner. To its west is a large platform, and to its north another platform with a bench dividing the two, abutting the east wall. Neither Angel nor Ferembach records any skeletons from this building, although Mellaart did state that burials were found in all houses and most shrines.

The skeleton was that of a neonate, placed in a cut behind the oven in the narrow space between the oven and the south wall. There was some confusion over its

stratigraphic position, but it appears to have been cut from below the earliest floors, and thus lies in the pre-occupation phase of the building.

### **3.6. Space 112**

This is the southern half of Mellaart's small Shrine EVII: 9, the floors of which he had excavated. His plans seem to show a platform along the north, another along the western side running from the northern platform to the south wall, and another in the south-east corner with a hearth or oven on it, leaving only the middle third of the eastern half of the room without platforms. Eleven sets of human remains have been found during the present work, and more are known to run north of our trench, making this another incomplete data set. All seem to belong to an early occupation phase. Neither Angel nor Ferembach record any skeletons from this building – but that does not mean none were found here.

#### Spatial distribution of burials in Space 112 by age and sex

Details of the Space 112 burials can be found in table 6. Three skeletons were found beneath the remains of an early phase platform in the south-west corner which was partially built-over by a later inner wall supporting the slumping west wall of the building. The earliest was a neonate (2362, F251), disturbed slightly by the subsequent double burial (F84) of an infant and a juvenile, possibly male. All these pre-date the construction of the platform and are therefore to be placed in the building infill or foundations. A fourth juvenile, aged between nine and adolescent (1884) was buried in a grave which may lie within the platform area or beyond its uncertain northern limit (F83)<sup>8</sup>. In the north-west corner of the trench (i.e. mid-way along the whole building), close to the east wall, was the skeleton of an infant (2728, F258). No cut could be found, so this may also have been placed in the foundation fill. Roughly in the centre of the trench were the burials of infant 2842 (F274) and a mature adult male (2886, F277), while further west of these was the double burial (F89) of a mature-old male (2056) and an old female (2058). Back to the south of the room, the disturbed skeleton of a baby (2779, F265) was found in the foundations/building fill, and the incomplete skeleton of a neonate (2017) was found behind oven F96 in foundations/building fill covering the oven.

As elsewhere, it is apparent that juveniles dominate the assemblage, but the age spread is better than in Building 6. The presence of neonates in the south, and young children under the south-west platform, all in the foundation layers, is similar to the situation in Building 1. The three adults are all in the centre of the trench, but this is within the southern half of the building.

#### Phases of burials in Space 112 by age and sex

All the burials appear to pre-date the earliest floors in the building. F89 was partially overlain by a plaster floor; F251 and F84 are stated clearly to pre-date the platform in the south-west; no cut could be found for F258 which was in foundation infill. Nevertheless, some burials have been assigned to an earlier and a later phase<sup>9</sup>. Certainly the south-west platform was partially built-over by an additional inner wall, so those burials must belong to the earlier phase, but no closer phasing has been established. As in Building 6, if the burials all pre-date the floors this raises questions about how long it took to construct a new building, if so many primary burials were made in the foundations. The same applies to Building 1 with its row of three neonates.

### **3.7. Space 115**

Rather surprisingly, a burial was discovered in this large midden-type open area. Unlike the occasional human bones which occur in a wide range of deposits, this was the complete articulated skeleton of a young adult male (3368, F285). The burial had no features distinguishing it from those in buildings other than its unusual situation. However, examination of the skeleton showed immediately that the individual suffered from a severe systemic bone disease which had led to fractures and great loss of teeth. It is possible, therefore, that this was an outcast member of society who could not obtain burial in a house, although I am not convinced of this especially as we have seen that even a foetus could be buried in the same way as anyone else, without 'earning' a place. It is perhaps more likely that either he died of a serious illness which was regarded as too dangerous for admittance to a building, or else he had no close kin. If his bone disease was inherited, he may have

been the only survivor of a diseased group, and therefore had no 'natural' place of burial.

### **3.8. Space 181**

A burial was also found in this open area, at a depth below level X. It was the disturbed and badly preserved skeleton of a sub-neonate (4828, F525), a foetus at near full term or a premature delivery. The burial was similar to that of full-term babies, and unlike 3368, no pathology was apparent. Again, why the burial should have taken place in an external area rather than a building is unclear<sup>10</sup>.

### **3.9. Space 168**

This is the eastern end of Mellaart's EVII:6. In 1995, when cleaning for the establishment of our 20 x 20m trench, skull fragments were found partially covered by a wall and accompanied by grave goods. In 1999, upon removed of the wall, the skeleton of a five-six month baby was excavated (4215, F417). No skeletons from this building are mentioned by Angel or Ferembach, nor have I traced any grave goods from here.

## **4: The Bach1 Area**

So far Building 3 has been incompletely excavated, and most of the skeletons are intrusive, belonging to the Roman or Byzantine period. Although a number of human bones have been found in the Neolithic deposits, they are mainly disarticulated fragments. Of particular interest are two skulls, 3529.X1 and 3529.X2, which were found placed together and facing one another on the floor of the main room, Space 86. The first is a male aged 10-12 years, the other a young adult female. The significance is not clear, but this seems to have been a deliberate deposition prior to abandonment of the building.

Burials are also known to exist under the north-west platform of Space 86 (originally the west-central platform before the screen wall divided off the western



end of Space 86), and so far one has been excavated, the skeleton of a child aged around three (6237, F617) and a number of disarticulated bones of adults have been removed from an earlier cut. Further burials are known to lie below these. Two juveniles were found buried below the north-west corner of the floor close to this platform (6681, 6682). The burial of a single mature adult male (6303) was found beneath the north-east platform, in agreement with Mellaart's findings for other buildings. As further burials are known to exist, no analysis of this group can be carried out at this point.

## **5: Genetic Relationships**

### **5.1. Building 1**

Given the amount of speculation there has been about social structure at Çatalhöyük, and in particular the possibility of a 'matriarchal' system or some form of female dominance at the site, the burials are clearly an area in which I would like to tackle such basic and emotive issues. In particular I would like to know what a residential unit of people consisted of, and whether descent was matrilineal, patrilineal or other. Unfortunately, the DNA studies which are required for a final answer are still in their infancy, and although DNA samples have been taken from most skeletons, the results so far have been disappointing. However, a number of skeletons showed pathologies which could indicate genetic relationship, and clearly this is a matter of great interest when assessing sex and gender issues. Three separate pathologies recognised through standard examination indicate that some of those buried in the same building were related genetically, in addition to evidence of genetically-transmitted anaemia (see below p267-8). Specifically, female 2527 buried in the foundations has a well-marked supra condylar fossa in the humerus, which could be genetic<sup>11</sup>. Females 2115, 1995 and ?1467, and male 1378, all buried in the east-central platform/Space 110, also display this, suggesting reasonably strongly that they are related to 2527 and to each other. Enamel defects in two or three individuals buried in the north-central floor may also indicate that they were related to each other and to 2527. There are also two cases of spondylosis, which has a

genetic predisposition (Molleson and Andrews 1997). Overall, the indication is that the skeletal data represent a family of some sort, and it appears that the burials in the three separate areas represent different branches of a larger family, all of whom had some right or reason to be buried in Building 1 although they cannot all have lived in it given the number of individuals represented (a minimum of 64, although many have only a few elements present).

## **5.2. South Area**

Several skeletons from Building 6 have pathologies which indicate that they were related genetically. This reflects the situation in Building 1, suggesting that those who were buried in this building were related. Two babies (4427 and 4438) have marked anaemia, almost certainly thalassaemia which is transferred genetically, and is also probably the cause of death given their age (see below, p267-8).

In Space 112 several skeletons also have signs of anaemia (1885, 2728, 2033 and possibly 2056). While this occurs commonly at the site, it may also indicate a genetic relationship between those buried in Space 112. In addition, 2886 exhibits supra condylar fossa of the humerus, as do five skeletons in Building 1, and as these are the only examples of this probably genetic defect found so far, it is feasible – though rather far-fetched and impossible to test without DNA evidence – that this could indicate a relationship between 2886 and the inhabitants of Building 1. There is not space here to discuss the possible implications of the genetic relationships suggested by this data. However, they are discussed in chapter eight in an exploration of possible descent models. These can be used to postulate systems of social organisation at Çatalhöyük.

## **6: Orientation and Position of Body**

The sex of a skeleton is usually the first question asked. Because of the difficulties of sexing juvenile and incomplete skeletons, it is sometimes possible to sex them through the recognition of differences between the orientation or placing of each

sex. A major difficulty with this approach is that it relies on a binary sex/gender system (see my comment concerning Shennan's study, p154-5) and we do not know whether such a system was in use at Çatalhöyük, nor whether any sex/gender system in place was binary or offered more options and roles. For instance, it must be remembered that in many societies children do not belong to adult sexes until they have reached a particular age or passed through a specific ritual. Children may constitute a separate sexless group, or a separate sex, until that time. Therefore even if there appeared to be good correlation between side of burial or orientation and sex among adults, it would not necessarily have any relevance to juveniles, especially infants. Similarly it is well-known ethnographically that gender roles need not be fixed throughout adult life. Thus post-menopausal or widowed women in some societies move into a differently sexed zone, sometimes taking on male roles, sometimes a third sex, while virgins or unmarried men might have special powers which can render them dangerous, or men can move between female and male roles as they move from adolescence to adulthood (see chapter two, 35). A correlation between sex and side of burial or orientation could only help with understanding the situation at Çatalhöyük if this was either absolute, with no exceptions, or almost absolute with other indications that the exceptions were indeed crossing sex-gender boundaries to either belong to the gender of the other sex, or to operate in a third or fourth gender role. This would probably involve looking at aspects such as age, grave-goods, pigment, and other areas concerning the treatment of the deceased. When grave-goods are standard, orientation and side of burial can assist in understanding any sex and gender correlations, but at Çatalhöyük grave-goods are rare. It may well be that the data we have so far does indicate the presence of multiple gender options, and it is still possible to examine this using a wider range of data such as grave goods and orientation, but without a large data group it will not be possible to reach definite conclusions.

Mellaart initially stated that when complete skeletons were found "the deceased lay in a contracted position on his or her left side with the head to the west and feet to the east. In the usual bone piles there is no apparent order, but there is a tendency to put skulls (or rather crania) at the western and northern ends of the grave, although

this is by no means universal” (Mellaart 1963: 95). He later stated that “There is no definite orientation, but the head is turned towards the centre of the building, the feet towards the wall. Most (but not all) burials lie on their left side in a contracted position, but some are extended on their back” (Mellaart 1964: 92).

### **6.1. Side of burial**

Our own data offers rather different information from that given by Mellaart. Of the articulated skeletons which have been excavated in the current work, 27 were buried on their left and 20 on their right, seven on their back, and three on their front (table 7). Thus fewer than half were buried on their left. It is clear from table 7 that there is no sex distinction, with adult males and females being equally represented on each side. However, burial on the back only occurs with two unusual male adults and some young babies, while burial on the front is rare, with one baby and one old adult female, and possibly an adolescent/young adult which may however be redeposited. There may be some tendencies related to age – most mature adults are on their left, and most old adults on their right, regardless of sex – but the numbers are too low to decide whether this is random, or a pattern which to which a few do not conform, i.e. possible sex/gender anomalies. All the juveniles for which a sex is suggested were buried on their left, whether male or female, but many unsexed ones are on their right. Thus there is absolutely no basis for establishing that side of burial and sex, or even age, can be equated. The only possibly significant figure is the two adult males on their backs, and they were both buried without their heads and with other differences (see below p255, 263-4)

When examined in closer detail, there do appear to be differences according to the building and area where the burials were found. Thus in Building 1, all the undisturbed burials in the east-central platform were on their left, but in the other areas they were on either side or the back; and in Building 17 all three burials excavated so far are on their right, two of them female – but that is not a complete sample. In Building 6 only three burials were sexed, all buried differently. In Space 112 it is mixed. Overall the numbers are too small to be significant.

## 6.2. Orientation of head

Our data show that Mellaart's second statement (above, p251) – that there was no definite orientation – was more accurate than his first. A glance at table 8 shows that there was huge variety. Could this relate to sex or gender – or to age, or place of burial? Was it perhaps the centre of the room, or a similar fixed point, that mattered rather than a compass direction? Of those in Building 1, only 11 had their head towards the centre of the room. It is interesting that all four skeletons from the east-central platform with skulls in place had their heads to the centre of the room. Of these two were adult females, one an adult male, the last a possibly male juvenile. They include the two initial burials, the succeeding one, and the one in an individual grave. It is possible therefore that ideally the head should indeed be towards the centre, but later disturbance has masked that in the other burials in this area with the exception of 1466<sup>12</sup>. Of the eight articulated skeletons in the north-central floor, three had their heads towards the centre of the room: one old female and two babies of 3-6 months. These were the first burials in this part of the room, which could be relevant, but other undisturbed burials were orientated differently. Of the 11 articulated skeletons below the north-west platform, six had their heads roughly towards the centre of the room: one old male, two juveniles and three babies. These included the first burial in the area, a later phase 2 burial, two phase 3 burials and two from phase 4 in individual graves. Of those buried in the foundations, only one has its head towards the room.

Burials in other buildings shows a total lack of patterning in orientation. Many of the graves were, in any case, roughly in the centre of the room. It is clear therefore that neither sex nor age was symbolised by the orientation of a body during burial, although the east-central burials in Building 1 may possibly indicate special status of some kind. Noteworthy is the fact that the headless adult male 1466 is positioned so that his head would have been away from the room, the only undisturbed skeleton in the platform to do so, and this may have been deliberate if a pattern genuinely exists.

### **6.3. Direction faced**

Does the direction the skull is facing have any relevance? Table 9 shows that of those skeletons which were undisturbed there was great variety, although north and east were the most common directions to face. No patterning by sex or age is apparent. This applies when separate buildings or platforms are examined as well as generally, with the exception of the east-central platform of Building 1 where things are more uniform. This is not surprising given that the direction faced is affected by the orientation of the head, yet still there is variety.

It is clear therefore that no patterns relating to sex or age can be established in the positioning of the body, the placement of the head, or the direction the skull is facing. This means that no distinctions concerning status based on age or sex are carried on in mortuary behaviour, and there is no symbolic patterning of such differences in death to suggest that they were an important structuring element in life.

## **7: Completeness**

It is striking that in Building 1 only a small proportion of the individuals represented are complete. Some were articulated and undisturbed, some disturbed but substantially there. In the east-central platform only three skeletons were complete: 2115 and 2119, the first to be buried; and 1378, the last, in an individual grave. All were undisturbed and articulated. Two were elderly, a male and a female; the last was a juvenile. 1963 and 1949 may join to form another complete skeleton, disturbed and disarticulated, probably a mature male although the ageing is uncertain. In the north-west platform eight skeletons were basically complete: 1913 and 1495 in individual graves; 2125, 2506/1955.1, 2169, 2105, 1922/1913 and 1924 in large or intercutting graves. 2506/1955.1 had been redeposited in two sections above 2169, and 1922/1913 had suffered some disturbance. Two are adults, an elderly female and a mature male; the remainder are juveniles ranging from around one to eight years old. In the north-central floor six skeletons were complete: 1959,



1960, 1992, 1424, 1450 and 1498. One was an elderly female, the others were babies and infants. In the foundations, only the last to be buried had been disturbed, and it is not certain that this one really belongs to the foundations as only a skull remained, the grave having been severely truncated by later burials. Throughout the building, a number of skeletons are missing a substantial number of bones which seem to be random, probably the result of disturbance.

This raises the important question of why some people have individual graves, and others share. Child 1913 was placed in a plaster-lined grave. Did it die of some peculiar illness that necessitated separation or a protective coating, or was it a random difference based on individuality which cannot be recognised through the archaeological record? Why are some skeletons disturbed carelessly and others not? So far no answers are forthcoming, and a much larger data set is required before we can recognise recurring behaviour<sup>13</sup>. Most disruption occurred in the north-west platform, which also contained by far the greatest number of burials. Are the two facts related simply – not enough space, so push early burials aside – or in a more complex manner? Was Mellaart correct in viewing the east-central platform as higher status, in which case we might expect a smaller number of burials there compared to the lower status masses elsewhere? Is it simply that each platform was assigned to a different branch of a family or lineage, and they had varied reproductive success leading to more burials in some areas? Was the senior branch allocated the high status east-central platform, and did their senior status allow them greater access to food, giving them a better chance of survival? Certainly the small number of burials in the east-central platform implies that this group, for whose genetic relationship there is good evidence, had good reproductive success, with all offspring surviving infancy and most reaching adulthood, some probably outliving the building itself and being buried elsewhere.

Of those skeletons which are incomplete, this seems not always to be random. For instance, in the east-central platform the lack of a skull with 1466 appears deliberate, as does the presence there of three skulls which fit no skeleton. In other cases whole limbs are missing: 1995 has no legs, and while this looks like disturbance for a new

burial, the lack of the legs among bones thrown back with the fill is intriguing. In the north-central floor two children are missing parts of a limb: 1912 is complete except for part of the right arm while 1950, buried with it, is missing part of a leg. On the other hand, some adult leg bones occur without a body (1425.3) – did these belong to 1995? If so, why were they moved to another platform? Were two graves being dug at the same time, or does this imply deliberate mixing of skeletal parts? A single right adult femur with distinctive surface weathering also occurred (1425), similar to a femur from the east-central platform (1467). These could be secondary burials of bones which had been found lying around and were disposed of decently, but the fragmentary infant foot 1426.1 must be a more deliberate deposition, as such small and peripheral bones would be the first to fall away and be lost. The secondary burial in F31 contains a substantial part of a mature/elderly female with four incomplete torsos along with a complete baby. Does this represent a family group, all in different stages of decomposition when the final one, the baby, died, and all therefore dug up and placed in Building 1 after the collapse of the family and abandonment of another building?

From the data so far, neither sex is more likely than the other to be undisturbed and complete, nor is any age singled out in this way. However, it is possible that some are more likely to be deliberately dismantled, but the information required to decide this is not yet available. For instance, 1466 is a mature male buried without the skull. Similar treatment of a young adult male occurred in Building 6, skeleton 4593. Both burials may have ritual elements (discussed below p263-4). 1466 was buried in the east-central platform, where three extra skulls were found: two elderly adults and one a juvenile or adolescent. They have not been sexed. The presence of skulls of elderly adults could indicate some form of post-mortem ritual or ancestor cult (as in the Levant, see Kuijt 2000), or could be the result of sharing the ancestors between several graves (see for instance Chapman 2000). This is not the only platform to have extra skulls, but the proportion is high, and could indicate that burial in this area has special importance, as the complex decoration commonly found here indicated to Mellaart. In Building 1 the wall plaster had been removed during the lifetime of the house, and only traces of red paint remained to tantalise us

about the possibility of decoration at one time. Paintings did remain on the walls around the north-west platform, particularly the west wall, and they seem to relate to the early phases of use, but could not be tied in to any particular burials. There is no evidence to suggest that place or internal phase of burial is relevant to completeness. Although the foundation burials were not disturbed (with one exception) early burials in some areas *were* disturbed, and disturbance occurred in all three places of burial in Building 1.

Overall, the data from Building 1 does not provide any patterns based on age, sex, or time of burial that affects the completeness or otherwise of a skeleton. However, from the point of view of sex/gender it is interesting to note the mixing of skeletal elements of both sexes within graves, which suggests that any status distinctions which did exist were neither polluting nor expected to last beyond death.

However, Building 1 is the only area in which the Hodder team has found disturbed burials, and it dates from around level VI or level VII<sup>14</sup>. In Buildings 6 and 17, and Space 112, any disturbance appears to have been accidental when two graves overlapped slightly, or when a second body was added to a recent grave and a limb was shifted slightly. With the exception of the skull in the post-retrieval pit, there are no deliberately disarticulated and partial skeletons from the South Area. It is possible that the neonates behind the ovens were incomplete when deposited, but this is not certain. Their presence is interesting for other reasons – were they perhaps stillborn, or premature, and thus received burial in a different area from live-born neonates? Until we can differentiate more closely, this question cannot be answered. Perhaps their presence behind the oven had some ritual significance, but a greater number would be required for this to be investigated. In Building 3 there are the two skulls on the floor, but no further evidence of disarticulation (although excavation is not complete).

The presence of mass graves and disarticulated skeletons in level VI/VII buildings, but not earlier, may be related to changes or developments in social structure, such as a greater emphasis being placed on communal rather than individual behaviour.

It could also reflect a high death rate from epidemics or from inherited diseases which became cumulatively more damaging as the population grew and the defective genes spread. We do not know, of course, whether 'marriage' was endogamous or exogamous, but the settlement was certainly large enough to contain sufficient lineages, clans or groups for within-settlement but outwith-lineage/clan/family 'marriage' to be possible.

## **8: Grave Furnishings and Treatment of Skeletons**

### **8.1. Grave-goods**

Grave goods have often been interpreted in two ways: as indications of sex; and of wealth or status. Clearly an investigation of gender regards sex as a potential status itself, so that must be taken into account in examining the Çatalhöyük grave goods. In most studies, the term 'grave goods' has been restricted to certain types of items placed in the grave, those which appear to have no specific relevance to the form of burial. Thus items of clothing, or matting lining a grave, are not generally regarded as grave goods. In my database I have recorded all such elements as grave goods, along with lumps of ochre, and phytoliths indicating plant material.

Traditional grave goods are not common at Çatalhöyük. In Building 1 only a minority of skeletons was found with artefacts, as can be seen from table 10. In the north-west platform they were: 1955.1 – a polished and pierced stone (pendant/belt attachment) was found by the pelvis, but may not be in situ; 2105 – a necklace or multiple necklaces/bracelets/anklets and possibly beads on fabric or scattered below the body (several thousand stone beads were found) as well as a mother-of-pearl pendant; 1924 – two pendants at the neck and a bracelet of dentalium shell; 1913 – a necklace of stone beads; 2169 – a mussel shell between mandible and patellae; 1493 – two miniature clay balls thought to be fortuitous/accidental finds rather than grave goods. In the east-central platform they were: 1995 – antler/bone 'toggle' on sternum, ?wooden bowl beside skull; 1963 (or possibly 1968) – antler scoop by the right shoulder; 2119 – five bone rings on fingers, ?wooden object behind back; 2115

– mussel shell near chin; 1466 – animal bone on neck, possibly incidental. No grave goods were found in the north-central floor burials. The foundation burial 2527 contained an item that could have been hide or felt.

Several things stand out from this catalogue. First, one area has no grave goods at all. Second, the items in the east-central platform are made of wood, bone and antler while those in the north-west platform are largely stone (exceptions are a dentalium shell bracelet and two bone pendants (originally one pendant, this broke in antiquity and each half was re-worked and pierced). Third, a burial in the foundations had grave goods, which suggests it is a ‘normal’ burial (as does the position of the body) rather than a ‘ritual’ one. Fourth, although few burials contained grave goods, a far higher proportion of those in the east-central platform had grave goods than elsewhere – indeed, most articulated skeletons had something buried with them. (The antler scoop lay near two redeposited torsos which were directly one on top of the other [1963 over 1968] and was assigned to 1963 although this could be an error, particularly as both were redeposited and the scoop may thus be accidentally in that position.) Fifth, the artefacts found in the north-west platform could all be regarded as items of ‘personal adornment or aggrandisement’, with the exception of the shell with 2169, whereas those in the east-central platform were more varied, with some utilitarian items or utensils as well as the shell beside 2115, purpose unknown, and the rings with 2119 (all five rings on one hand, suggesting that manual work was an impossibility – the rings have wear marks showing that they had been worn together extensively). Nothing indicates particular wealth or status, except the improbability of manual labour for 2119.

Three of the ten burials in Building 6 had grave-goods, which is a fairly high proportion. Baby 4406 (plate 4, top) was buried wearing two bracelets and two anklets, by far the ‘wealthiest’ collection; baby 4458 had a necklace; and 4593, the young adult male without a skull, had a piece of wood on top, which could have been a plank or the base of a large box (plate 4, bottom). If a plank, it is probably not to be counted as a ‘gift’ (see below p264), reducing the number to two. Spatially these burials have no relation to each other and no patterns can be seen other than

the burial of babies with personal ornaments (whether or not they ‘belonged’ to the babies) – something seen also in Building 1.

In space 112 two out of eleven burials contained grave-goods: 2842, an infant 2-3 years old, and 2886, a mature adult male, were buried in intercutting graves roughly in the centre of the room. 2842 was accompanied by a small stone mortar with traces of red pigment inside and a mussel shell containing red ochre beside the face; 2886 had a mussel shell below the skull. Because only the southern half of this building was investigated these burials cannot be assessed adequately. However, it is striking that these two burials were made so close together. A third skeleton had a clay ball in front of the face, but this is regarded as an accidental inclusion. It is worth noting that clay balls, particularly miniature ones, have been found now in several burials, and may have to be re-assessed.

Of the three burials found so far in Building 17, two had grave-goods. Elderly female 5169 had a group of imitation deer teeth made of bone in a cluster in the crook of one arm, probably buried in a bag, perhaps worn as an amulet (plate 5, top). Deer teeth and imitation deer teeth occur on necklaces, particularly in levels VIII and VII (Appendix 1: 247, Table 12.8), but that does not mean they were not sometimes worn in different ways. Therefore these need not be regarded as unfinished objects because they were not pierced. Infant 5177 had a bone object resembling a ‘belt-fastener’ between its jaw and right hand (plate 5, bottom).

Can any patterns be discerned from this concerning gender? Mellaart suggested that long necklaces were found with women and children, while men could be buried with a few beads/pendants. Our evidence is that necklaces, bracelets and anklets occurred with babies and a child, and a group of pendants with an adult male, but this adult male also had a dentalium bracelet. The ‘toggle’ was regarded by Mellaart as a male item, yet ours was found on the sternum of a probable female. The five rings were found with a juvenile thought likely to be male. Scoops and spoons were thought by Mellaart to be in double burials of adult females and babies; ours has been assigned to an adult male (although it may not be in situ). As far as the shells



go, Mellaart reported that when filled with pigment they occurred with adult females and he viewed them as make-up kits. This is clearly a culturally-based idea with no application to the past. The presence of this item with an infant, alongside a mortar, makes 'make-up' a far less likely interpretation, and indeed these objects seem less obviously 'personal items' due to the age of the child. None of the three shells found with adults contained pigment, but two were with an adult male, one with an adult female. Mellaart thought wooden items were buried with both sexes. The object with 1995 (a probable female) remained only as an organic imprint in the soil – roughly circular, it looked like a bowl but could have been a box. No shape was discernable in the probable wooden item behind 2119 (possibly male), it was just an organic stain. Stone bowls of any type are extremely rare at Çatalhöyük, and of the three found by Mellaart, one was in a burial with a skeleton said to be an adult male. It was a sophisticated vessel, unlike this crude mortar.

No real pattern can be seen, therefore, where sex is concerned. Any patterning seems to relate more to the material and the platform than the individual where Building 1 is concerned, and there are too few grave goods elsewhere for any pattern to emerge. However, as I pointed out in my earlier study (Appendix 1), the presence with a skeleton of one sex of artefacts normally associated with the other sex might shed light on the state of sex and gender roles. Among Mellaart's burials there were several examples of this, suggesting either the presence of more than two sex or gender roles, or the lack of clear divisions into binary sex/gender so that the situation was more fluid. Thus an adult male wearing a male-type necklace but a female-type bracelet might represent someone who was neither male nor female, or who took on both roles for certain activities; on the other hand, it might indicate that these items are not sex-related as Mellaart thought they were. Unfortunately, the dearth of grave goods and the very limited number of burials and buildings excavated makes it impossible to examine this with a significant data set.

Other types of grave furnishing might tell us more, and issues of 'wealth' and status can be addressed by looking at the materials and expenditure of energy. It is often claimed that the presence of 'rich' grave-goods with infants indicates that status was

ascribed rather than achieved (see for instance Shennan 1975; and Ucko 1969; Wason 1994 for discussions), yet at Çatalhöyük it seems that it is infants who are most likely to have grave-goods, and they can hardly have inherited status from parents who did not have it themselves! More relevant is the question of whether these are personal items, or gifts. Probably it is a combination of the two. There is clearly no prescribed set of grave-goods that should accompany the dead based on age, sex or other status. Rather, it is likely that infants have necklaces and bracelets given by their mourning relatives, not as statements of ascribed status but of love and loss. Adults might be accompanied by personal tools or ornaments, or gifts from loved ones. There is certainly no reason to believe that there is a systematic representation of status or rank involved.

## **8.2. Pigment**

Red pigment has been found in eight burials from the current work (see table 11), in levels VII (one), VIII (five), IX (one) and X (one). Most are babies and infants, but one male and one female adult had been treated this way. All five from level VIII are from Building 6, a huge percentage of the ten burials found there<sup>15</sup>. I have suggested previously (Appendix 1: 260) that pigment in burials could relate to a number of aspects such as cause of death, status or role, or occupation. Such aspects are difficult to assess, but there is a possibility that the use of red ochre relates to thalassaemia, and perhaps to other diseases linked conceptually by the people of Çatalhöyük. Of the seven skeletons with red ochre that reached Angel in the 1960's, five had signs of porotic hyporostosis (see below p267-8). In our own data set, both 4861 and 5177 had a band of red pigment on their skulls, and had signs of anaemia. Two more infants with red ochre were very poorly preserved and a third was lifted in block for museum display and therefore could not be examined. Of the remaining three cases, one was a mature female with unusual material in the grave fill (see below p264-5), one was a headless male, also unusual (see below p263-4), and the last had pigment in a small stone mortar rather than applied to the skeleton. On the other hand, several skeletons with signs of anaemia had no red pigment, so any connection remains merely a possibility at present. Skeletons with red ochre may be buried on their left, right or back, and range in age from neonate to mature adult, so

no patterning can be found regarding sex, age or position. However, in both Mellaart's and Hodder's data sets, red ochre burials cluster in a few buildings as well as occurring sporadically in others, and this could relate to inherited disease of people buried in family or lineage houses.

A substance believed to be yellow ochre is found more commonly in graves, often underlying a skeleton. This again could relate to cause of death etc. or may have been used to reduce odour. 14 cases have been found, 11 of them in Building 1 (which had no red pigment in burials). This may be connected with the lower incidence in upper levels noted by Mellaart (1966: 183) reflecting social change, or could be specific to that building, which as we have seen appears to contain the remains of related individuals. The other three cases were in a level VIII antechamber, a level IX building, and a pre-level X midden – two of these clearly not typical burials in terms of place. With the exception of 2527 in the foundations, and 5357 whose position is not reported (plus two redeposited on their right, whose original position cannot be known), all skeletons with yellow ochre are buried on their left side. Both sexes and age range from neonate to mature is found, so no other patterning is apparent.

Blue pigment was found on a handful of burials by Mellaart, and we have one case of this, from level VII. Mellaart also had a single case of grey pigment in level V (1966: 183), and this occurred in one burial in Building 1. No significance can be understood from such small numbers.

### **8.3. Baskets, matting and shrouds**

Basket were used in many of the burials of infants from level VIII and below (plate 6), but no definite instances were found in Building 1, although one has been found in Building 3. Mellaart reported the use of baskets for burials of juveniles of a range of ages, but so far ours have all been babies. They are not related in any patterned way to the use of pigment, or the orientation or side the body was buried in. They survive as phytoliths.

There are also frequent phytoliths representing matting or textile placed in graves (see table 11). Matting seems to have been used to line some graves, although it is often difficult to decide whether matting, a basket or textile is represented. Five cases are reported as probable matting lining a grave and sometimes covering the burial, and there is no pattern relating this to sex or age.

Textile tapes also survive as phytolith, indicating not only that the textile was made of vegetable fibre<sup>16</sup>, but also that the bodies were sometimes tied up prior to burial. This was indicated also by the extremely tight flexion seen in some skeletons, which would require not only tying but possibly some degree of dessication. Tapes were found on at least three skeletons in Building 1, an elderly male, a mature female and a baby. Although tying skeletons could be viewed as an attempt at restraint of a dangerous ghost, it is too rare at Çatalhöyük for that to be assumed. In fact, the infant may have been placed in a bag, which perhaps was tied shut, and the elderly male appeared to have been wrapped in cloth, maybe a shroud. Tiny fragments of actual textile were also found clinging to a few bones, indicating that shrouds or clothes are the correct interpretation of the finer phytoliths.

#### **8.4. Other special/ritual treatment**

A few burials stand out as being unusual, and these may be relevant to questions of sex, gender and status. Two adult males were buried carefully but without their heads, and both were on their backs – the only adults buried in this position. 1466 was the final person to be buried in the large grave pit in the east-central platform in Building 1, and the body was fully articulated apart from the absence of the skull and atlas vertebra. Indications are that the cause of death was decapitation by hanging, although it is possible that this occurred post-mortem. The body was placed with the head end at the opposite side of the platform to the three other complete burials<sup>17</sup>. No other peculiarities were noted. It has been suggested that the skull may have been removed for ancestor worship, but it is unlikely that ancestors were required to perish in this way as a matter of course! On the other hand, if this was a punishment hanging, the body received basically normal burial, which could be surprising. The peculiar manner of death, and burial backwards, could indicate

some difference from the population at large, for instance that this was someone special (such as a person with special powers or a relationship with the supernatural) or a transgressor. If the east-central platform is indeed for high-status people, whether status is acquired by skills and abilities or inherited, it is not unexpected that a special person would be buried there – or, in reverse, that a person of special abilities would belong to the leading group.

4593 was buried mid-way along the west wall of Building 3, not close to any other burials. A plank of hackberry wood lay over the body, surviving above his right femur and next to the thorax. Cut marks on the atlas bone suggest the removal of the skull while the body was fresh, possibly in situ, but this was not because there was no room for it, as it was not found alongside the body. Red ochre was also found. What these features mean is not clear – the plank could merely have been the base of a large box, but taken with the removal of the head, it suggests efforts to prevent the dead man from rising again. If 1466 was indeed a shaman or person of special powers, the same explanation could apply to 4593. Shamans, of all people, were likely to return in spirit form after death, and the removal of the head could have been a preventative measure. Mutilation of skeletons and weapons for this reason is well known from other cultures. However, the heads could have been removed for cult purposes of some sort.

Two other burials had the unusual feature of quantities of owl pellets in the fill. These are recognised both by the yellowish deposit and the large numbers of rodent bones, mainly long bones. 4394 was a late adolescent/young adult male buried in the centre of Space 163. The skeleton lay on matting, and there is a report of red ochre. The excavator noted that although there seemed to be a cut, it was irregular, and the burial seemed rather unceremonious, less careful than some. The stratification is unclear<sup>18</sup>, the reports contradictory, and I suggest that this burial was made in the foundations before the floors had been made and perhaps before the walls were erected. It was certainly at a considerable depth, and undamaged by a later burial cutting it. 4615 was a mature adult female, also buried near the centre of Space 163, with red ochre underlying the body. The fill contained a high

concentration of burnt cereals, and the complete skeleton of a weasel as well as part of a young dog, and many rodent bones. It appears likely that this burial was also made during the construction of the building, before it had a roof. Adjacent to Building 6, the eastern room of Building 2 (Space 116) was occupied by a barn owl after falling into ruin, and had many deposits of owl pellets<sup>19</sup>. Other nearby areas may have been the same. It appears that after cutting shallow graves in the foundation layers of Space 163, grave fill was imported from an outside area – possibly Space 116. This would explain the presence of owl pellets, and indeed a dead weasel and puppy, and would have been relatively simple if there were no walls, or at least no roof. Why they should have done so is less clear, but it may have a ritual element involving bringing the outside into the inside for these early burials in the new building. The red ochre, and the burnt cereals, might also have particular significance.

While this might appear far-fetched, there is another, well-known example of the same occurrence. The most famous burial at Çatalhöyük took place in VIII:31, better known as the Red Shrine, which lay a few metres east of Space 163 with VIII:27 between them. Two famous burials were made in the foundations of VIII:31 (Mellaart is quite clear that the building was constructed afterwards [Mellaart 1966: 182-3]) and one of them, the burial of a young adult male (thought at the time to be female), included many skulls and long bones of mice and a single shrew in the fill. Their presence has never been explained, but the skeleton has long been interpreted as one of paramount importance, buried with three long necklaces, two bone rings, and a mace-head, the body covered with red ochre, and a skull 1cm thick (Mellaart *ibid.*) indicating serious porotic hyperostosis. Given the deposits of owl pellets found by the Hodder team, it now seems obvious to me that material from an external area containing owl pellets was imported for the grave fill, and that this was possible because the walls and roof of the building were not yet in place. In level IX, the building north of VIII:27 – and thus north west of VIII:31 and north-east of Space 163 – was a large open area. Which buildings were constructed first is not known, but in level VIII this area was occupied by three small buildings, and it is



clearly possible that the area was open when VIII:31 was constructed, although there must also have been other open areas in the settlement used by owls.

Why should this have been done? Was it accidental that soil containing owl pellets was imported, or was it chosen deliberately? Barn owls lived alongside the population, and must have played an important part in keeping down the rodent numbers. A figurine found by Mellaart in Shrine VI:25 seems to be part owl, part human female (Mellaart 1963, pl. XXIIc,d). Shrine VI:25 occupies the area between VI:31 and VI:10 – that is, it lies between the two successors of the Red Shrine and Space 163, immediately east of Space 116 (see plans 4 and 5 ). A figurine which might have owl-type aspects and the almost identical head of a second figurine were found in Space 163 (5043.X1 and 5021.D1, see chapter five). We have then a cluster of owl associations in a small block of neighbouring buildings. The eastern room of Building 2 was allowed to fall into ruin slowly, providing an ideal roost for a barn owl, while the main room was demolished and filled in in a more structured way. Was this deliberate, because of the associations with barn owls? I have suggested elsewhere (Appendix 1: 227) that animals and birds featured on paintings, sculptures and figurines might be totems of groups living at the site, and this close set of owl associations indicates that this may be correct. Why put owl pellets in burials? Perhaps it is symbolic of bringing the totem into the house along with the human ancestors, perhaps also bringing in their protective power against that persistent pest, *mus musculus*.

### *Discussion*

Special or ritual treatment of bodies is difficult to define, as the provision of grave goods, basket or pigment could all be regarded as special in some ways. However, although the skulls of a number of skeletons are missing, decapitation followed by burial in a slightly unusual way seems to be rare, as does burial with owl pellets, and both appear to have some extra, perhaps ritual, significance. In all cases they are adult, and both sexes are involved<sup>20</sup>.

## **9: Health, Diet and Injury**

### **9.1. Disease**

When Angel examined the skeletons from Mellaart's excavations he found evidence of porotic hyperostosis, caused by severe anaemia, in a considerable number of adults (Angel 1971: 84-88). A number of studies of populations in various parts of the world had brought this condition to light and suggested that the cause was 'protective' thalassaemia or sickle cell anaemia (Angel *ibid.*). Thalassaemia is a hereditary condition affecting the production of haemoglobin, which can lead to death but which also protects against malaria (see Appendix 4). It is suggested, therefore, that in areas where malaria was common – and Çatalhöyük, situated in the drainage system of the Konya Plain, is likely to have been a malarial area – thalassaemia allowed a larger number of people to reach adulthood and reproduce than if they contracted malaria. Although Angel documented the high occurrence of porotic hyperostosis of skulls – and the unexpectedly low rate on long bones of children – he commented only on the protective aspects of thalassaemia and not on its detrimental effects<sup>21</sup>. Yet thalassaemia constitutes a major health problem even today<sup>22</sup>, and has implications for the death rate at Çatalhöyük.

For those affected by thalassaemia, certain ages are more dangerous than others (see Appendix 4). Depending on the type of thalassaemia, we would expect a high level of stillbirth and peri-natal infant mortality, as well as death during pregnancy and maternal mortality, plus high death rates in first few years of life (Appendix 4). Angel's work shows that thalassaemia probably developed during the upper Palaeolithic (*ibid.*: 85, 88 plus references) and thus it is likely that this is the correct explanation for the porotic hyperostosis seen at Çatalhöyük. Both sexes can suffer from thalassaemia, but boys seem more likely to die very young. This could be relevant to the very high ratio of male to female infant mortality claimed by Angel (see Appendix 1: 255, table 12:10). While sexing children is generally regarded as unreliable, one has to consider that if Angel was correct, there must be a reason for this. The obvious one is that male babies are born in greater numbers than female but die in greater numbers during the first year – a fact well known – but this could

not account for the great disparity<sup>23</sup>. Another possibility that I have suggested previously is male infanticide for social reasons, which would make much more sense of the numbers and is in line with interpretations of female infanticide where young girls outnumber boys or women are severely outnumbered by men in the burial record (Appendix 1: 256 and references.). However, thalassaemia is a third possibility. It could also explain the different reproductive success of the three branches of a family which we seem to find buried in Building 1. Since thalassaemia is not apparent in carriers, it is quite feasible that two of the three groups consisted of breeding adult pairs/groups carrying alpha-1 or alpha-2 thalassaemia genes, resulting in high levels of infant mortality among their offspring. Although anaemia and porotic hyperostosis has not been reported widely among the Building 1 skeletons by our human remains team, two skeletons in F30 did display it (a juvenile/adolescent ?female, and a 3-6 month baby). In the South area two cases were noted in Space 112 in level VII (an infant 15 months and a juvenile seven years); two more in Building 6 (a neonate and a baby 2-3 months) – with a third very poorly preserved marked as having ‘possible bone pathology’ (an infant around 18 months), while the young adult male buried in external Space 115 had extremely porotic and malformed bones; Space 170 has two possible cases out of four (an infant 18 months with ‘pathology’ and an adult female skull with thickened bone); and finally Space 171 has one case (neonate) and Space 178 another case (baby 4-5 months).

The protection given by thalassaemia against malaria ought to lead to an increase in survival into adulthood of people with alpha-1 and alpha-2 thalassaemia, while women with thalassaemia major are unlikely to have survived pregnancy – if they achieved puberty – and most affected males and females would have died in infancy. This could explain the low number of sub-adolescent juveniles compared to the high percentage of babies and infants. An individual who could survive the first seven years had a good chance of reaching mature adulthood. On the other hand, those without thalassaemia were liable to fall prey to the malaria parasite, which would account for many of the post-infant juvenile deaths.

A fourth possible reason for the high ratio of male to female juvenile deaths found by Angel is favism, (see Appendix 4). This enzyme deficiency causes acute haemolytic anaemia, and can be triggered by ingesting broad beans (*Vicia faba*, or fava, hence favism) which are eaten in Mediterranean countries. Favism occurs only in males and is most common in the Mediterranean (see Appendix 4). Whether acute anaemia of this type would show up in the skeletal remains is not clear, since the attacks can be fatal. Like thalassaemia, favism protects against the malaria parasite (Emory and Rimion 1990: 1875) and therefore it is reasonable to suggest that it might also have been present at Çatalhöyük and played a part in the high male infant mortality rate suggested by Angel. However, until this is investigated by palaeopathologists, and until we have some idea of the earliest occurrence of favism, it must remain speculation. So far 'vicia faba' has not been identified in the archaeobotanical record at Çatalhöyük, but new taxa are still being found.

Double burials are a problem which should be highlighted in this discussion of health. So far five double burials have been found, four of them in Building 1, the other in Space 112. In addition, the three neonates placed in a row in the foundations of Space 71 were apparently buried at roughly the same time. This is a death rate far in excess of what would be expected, particularly if those buried in Building 1 were a related group, as seems likely. The double burials involve a range of ages: a mature female with a neonate; an old female with a baby; an old female with a juvenile/adolescent; two juveniles of about 8 years; and a mature/old male and old female. The babies in double burials could be explained as protective treatment, with the bodies placed with older individuals when one happened to die around the same time. The mature female with the neonate is thought to have been too old to be the mother, the common interpretation of such burials. The double adult burial in Space 112 may have taken place in two episodes a few days apart, but the deaths must still have occurred very close together. Now that we know these burials were made fresh and primary, rather than the defleshed and secondary burials posited by Mellaart, these double deaths do cause difficulties which have not yet been addressed by the human remains team. Disease is one of the factors which may well be involved: thalassaemia, as discussed above, may account for many of

the neonate and infant deaths; epidemics may be the reason for some of the double burials. So far there is no evidence available for infectious diseases as cause of death, but the proximity of houses and people at Çatalhöyük was extreme, particularly in level VI to which Building 1 may belong, and it is known that as population density increases and open space decreases, so disease rates multiply enormously. Certainly the people of Çatalhöyük were living at much closer quarters to each other than the present residents of Küçükköy, the local village.

The presence of three neonates in a row and all apparently buried around the same time could be related to disease or to high perinatal mortality but appears to be excessive if they all belong to a single 'family', even an extended family (although a lineage or clan might be able to muster such a large number at one go). Another possibility is multiple births. Ucko (1969: 271), in his discussion of different treatment in burial according to cause of death, mentions twins and the considerable amount of ethnographic information showing that in many cultures twins are regarded as dangerous and that either one or both are sometimes killed. Such an explanation could be relevant to neonate clusters, but there is currently no evidence to suggest that this is the correct interpretation<sup>24</sup>.

## **9.2. Diet**

As far as the evidence shows to date, diet appears in general to have been good and broad-based. No deficiency diseases or malnutrition have been recognised. A small number of skeletons has been sampled for isotope analysis, and this should give information about any differences in diet based on sex and age, but the results are not yet available. Certainly there is no indication so far that one sex is undernourished compared to the other. Tooth wear and health indicate that bread and refined starches (cooked cereals) were not eaten in quantity, and that the diet generally was soft (Molleson and Andrews 1996). We know they had grain, but presume it was eaten only in small quantities as bread (although 'bread ovens' occur widely) and could have been eaten as bulgur as well as porridge. Starches were also obtained from rush tubers, which would have been collected from the surrounding swamp lands. Pulses and wild fruits including hackberry, acorns and nuts were

important in the diet. This gives a picture of a rounded diet based only partly on agriculture and also on gathering. Similarly, the faunal remains suggest both hunted and managed meat was consumed. Such a diet, utilising a wide range of foods, is likely to have been more nutritious than one based solely on agriculture and animal husbandry, and this would have contributed to the low evidence of maternal mortality suggested by the remains of a considerable number of elderly females and the low number of early adult female deaths. It is also likely to affect how we interpret any sexual division of labour, and this will be discussed in chapter eight.

### **9.3. Injury**

There is minimal evidence of injury and/or violent death from our data. One elderly male has a healed parry fracture to the left ulna; and one mature male shows signs of an accident damaging the upper thorax including the clavicle. Two adult males, one young, one mature, were buried without their heads, and in one of these cases – 1466 – there appears to have been decapitation by hanging, which was probably the cause of death but may have taken place afterwards. This low level of injury will surprise those accustomed to the belief that Angel's data showed a high rate of head injuries and other evidence of fighting, but Angel's data is not simple (Angel 1971: 85, Table 3). In his table he states the number of skeletons or skeletal parts examined, followed by the percentage affected by a range of conditions. No explanation is given of why he examined the number of each skeletal element that he did. When it comes to head wounds, the numbers are given as 22 for males and 32 for females, followed on the next line by 'present' 27% male and 6% female. This has often been taken to say that 27% of male and 6% of female skeletons had head wounds. However, it only means that of the 22 male skulls examined, 27% – or six individuals – had wounds, and of the 32 female skulls examined, 6% – or two individuals – had wounds, (one of them post-mortem deliberate damage). Ferembach's records indicate the presence of 28 male and 43 female skulls, and one must assume that a number of them were incomplete or Angel was uncertain about the sex of some, thus determining the small number of skulls examined out of the remains of 222 adults (Angel's data) or 267-282 adults (Ferembach's data). Thus while the percentages are correct, the number of skeletons examined and affected is



so small that they may not be representative of the whole population. No head injuries have been found among the 12 adult male and 12 adult female skulls recovered during the current excavations.

Angel examined 14 male and six female ulnas for parry fractures, and found that 7% of male left and 14% of male right ulnas but no female ulnas had fractures. Again, the numbers examined were very low – 7% of 14 is only one, and 14% is two<sup>25</sup>. Ferembach's records show the presence of 35 male and 36 female ulnas (either left of right) plus 12 from skeletons of undetermined sex. Why Angel looked at such a small number is not known, but probably the remainder were incomplete. Whatever the reason, the overall number of injuries recorded is very small. Angel himself suggested that the design of buildings with roof entry via ladders might explain many of the fractures noted (1971: 91), and commented that they were 'not especially numerous, except for the categories of parry fractures and some of the head injuries which fit military action or at least minor fighting' (Angel 1971: 96). Nowadays, military action is not suggested so easily, and there is little, if any, evidence of warfare at Çatalhöyük in terms of weapons. The design of the village, with roof entry, is more commonly thought to be a response to the marshy area and adjacent river, as well as for protection against animals, than for defence against human enemies.

## **10: Conclusions**

The current excavations have shown that the original interpretation of the burials was not entirely accurate. In particular, there is no evidence of segregation by sex or age. Rather, it is more likely that different 'family' groups are represented by the burials in different areas of Building 1, while the smaller numbers of burials in other buildings may be those of the occupants and appear to be placed fairly randomly within the structures.

An unexpected feature is the presence of burials in the foundations, and there is no clear explanation for these other than that deaths occurred while the building was under construction. The issue of the large number of neonates in the foundations has no answer yet. Nor have the foundation-period burials shed any light on a possible connection between a particular death (e.g. the lineage head, the oldest male or female, etc.) and the construction of a new building, although such information may be forthcoming when a greater number of buildings has been investigated.

The different phases of burial in Building 1 do suggest that the three areas used for burial during the occupation of the house relate to different branches of a 'family' or lineage of some kind. The main evidence for this is the late arrival of burial in the north-central floor area, including the secondary burial of a group of partial skeletons; and the evidence – slight though it is – of physical relationship between certain members of some groups, and between the foundation adult female and some individuals in the other burial groups. This relationship information also suggests that matriliney may have operated at the site.

There is no evidence that the orientation or position of the body relates to sex or age, and therefore this information is no help to us in sexing juveniles or incomplete skeletons, nor in understanding whether or not a binary sex/gender system was part of the social structure. This, along with a similar lack of patterning in relation to the completeness or fragmentation of skeletons according to sex or age, and a possibility of deliberate mixing or sharing out of body or skeletal parts after death, suggests that any distinctions concerning status based on sex or age were not carried over into mortuary behaviour. This in turn suggests that they may not have been important structuring elements in life, and that therefore sex/gender issues may have been weak, or at least non-binary. However, a strong binary sex/gender system in life could have been accompanied by a similarly strong ideology of commonality and similarity which was demonstrated in death by equal treatment for all. On the other hand, mixing of skeletons indicates that any sex/gender distinctions were neither polluting nor expected to last beyond death.

Grave furnishings have been of little help in identifying sex/gender distinctions as few grave goods have been found, and those few do not seem to be sex-specific – although one or two contradict former views. Other furnishing such as mats and pigment show no patterning relating to sex or age, although baskets have only been found with babies and young infants in the current excavations – something that probably relates purely to size<sup>26</sup>.

Possible unusual ritual treatment has been found in a small number of cases. Two headless skeletons were both male, and both were laid on their backs. A male and a female were buried with owl pellets in the backfill. What these mean is unclear since so few have been found, but they indicate the possibility of special or atypical behaviour around the burial of certain people, all of them adults<sup>27</sup>. Since they were all old enough to have developed or displayed special skills or talents, it may be that this treatment was related to personal abilities such as particular knowledge, although it could also refer to a position within the group. So far the data is insufficient to make an educated guess as to what this might be, although the role of shaman has been mentioned above. More such burials are required in order to make sense of what we have found.

Information concerning health, diet and injury suggests that the population carried a serious inherited disease load which may explain the unusual age pattern in the death rate, but that diet was generally good and injuries rare. So far the results of isotope analysis are not available, and these might be our best indicator of sex/gender differences at the level of society-wide status, and might also help us to understand whether one sex spent much more time away from the site than the other. However, as with DNA analysis, for which results have not yet been forthcoming, this must be left for the future.

To conclude, the burial data from the current excavations is rich in detail, but limited in quantity. In addition, certain scientific analyses which would have direct bearing on the question of sex/gender differentiation and a binary sex/gender system have not yet been completed successfully. Therefore, despite high quality information, it

is still not possible to make any definitive statements about sex/gender and social structure at Çatalhöyük, but a number of possibilities have been presented which will be explored in more detail in chapter eight.

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<sup>1</sup> Mellaart claims not to have found any skeletons in subsidiary rooms, although it is clear from Angel's notes that a handful of human remains were found in ante-chambers. These do not seem to have been complete skeletons. He lists them as follows: CHC68 from EVII:31 (skeleton 2), a female aged 24 and CHC69, EVII:31 (skeleton 2a), female?? aged 1-11/4, as coming from a storeroom. Unfortunately Ferembach did not use the same numbering so I cannot find out which skeletal elements were present; EVI:1 skeleton t CHC123, male 25+, bracketed with skeleton u, CHC124, female 25+, skeleton v, CHC125, female 30+, and skeleton w, female 40, with a note of 'shaft' and the comment 'lower jaw – why only these buried?' Ferembach's list shows skeleton t as face and mandible, male; skeleton u as mandible, female; skeleton v as mandible sex not known; and skeleton w does not occur; finally EVI: 8 skeleton a, CHC201, female 19+ has the note 'anteroom'. This skeleton is unfortunately missing from my print-out of Ferembach's list, which starts at b.

Since Mellaart did not publish a final excavation report, nor a complete list of any type of data, his comments were necessarily confined to generalities in addition to focussing on particularly interesting specifics. It is not surprising, therefore, that the presence of a few partial skeletons 'out of place' was not mentioned in his preliminary reports nor in his popular book

<sup>2</sup> These cuts have been questioned on the database by the trench supervisor, on the grounds that soils placed around the babies may have left a border which looks like a grave cut, but conversely a cut in recently-laid deposits may become less distinct as the deposits become more compacted. As the excavator of F205 and having supervised the excavation of F206, I have no doubt that cuts did exist for both these burials, as for F209.

<sup>3</sup> While on the one hand Gavin Lucas has questioned the existence of cuts for the foundation burials (note 2 above), Craig Cessford - currently writing up Building 1 although he did not dig there himself - has said that information on the field records, including my own, suggests that in fact these burials were cut from higher up and may not have been made during the construction phase at all. Rather, they may have been cut through the initial floors of the building, perhaps before they were plastered. This does not affect their chronological position as the earliest burials in the building, but if Craig is correct, it does affect their stratigraphic position in relation to the building itself. As he is basing his interpretation partly on my own written comments during excavation of F209, as well as F205, I clearly have responsibility for this confused situation! - but field observations by experienced excavators must override theoretical positions, and I have always been sure that cuts

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existed for these burials. On the other hand, F210 has always been contentious in this regard anyway - the discovery by myself of a skull during removal of infill/foundation deposits was unexpected. As I had not worked in that area of the building before and had been asked to mattock out the infill, I had assumed all burials would have been sought and removed by that point and did not search it for cuts. The skull seemed to be in a cut which had been truncated severely by a later burial, but stratigraphic evidence of the time of deposition of F210 was in short supply. As I was needed elsewhere to excavate intact burial F209, the skull was removed by an inexperienced member of staff and it has never been clear whether this burial really dates to the same time as the 'foundation burials' or was merely the first of the series in the north-central floor. Therefore the issue of 'foundation burials' is currently up in the air, although I shall continue to use the term in this thesis (in a non-ritual way) as the analytical work on the stratigraphy is not yet complete. A final view should be available in the publication due in 2004.

<sup>4</sup> Thus he writes "Building VIII.10 may have been a house, as no traces of wall-paintings or reliefs were found, but the question can only be settled by investigating the building of Level IX beneath, or the burials below the platforms of the building. Its successors VII.10 and VI.10 were spectacular shrines, and contained a series of important burials" (Mellaart 1965: 178).

<sup>5</sup> Angel's material reached him as a single batch, numbered 39, with a skeleton which he initially numbered CHC223 before analysing it, upon which he separated it into three skeletons, numbered 223, 223a and 223b. It is extremely unfortunate that Ferembach mentions no skeletons from this building other than the mandible - which does not agree with any of Angel's ageing. It is hard to see how she could have a labelled mandible but nothing else if it came from the same bag 39 which Angel had examined, and equally perplexing that Angel did not mention a mandible from another bag labelled VIII.10. Angel gave no information concerning the completeness of these particular skeletons, whereas Ferembach listed which bone groups are present for all the skeletons she examined, thus there is no possibility of matching Angel's bag 39 skeletons with a 'no label' group of Ferembach's. One has to assume, however, that a burial was excavated by Mellaart in this building, but we have no idea from which area of the building it came other than that it must have been high up and probably came from beneath a platform (probably, because this is where burials were expected).

<sup>6</sup> The sheet for burial F442, which was cut into earlier burial F460, states that it "Was not in any way truncated and was sealed by floor make-up for space 163, (4253). One of at least three burials cut into the infill of space 170 but deposited before the initial floor make-up layers for sp. 163 had been made." However, the sheet for F460 states, in contradiction to this, that "The burial appears to have been cut quite deeply into the infill 4325, probably from the floor level in space 163 probably a total depth of in excess of 80cm though only 52cm was recovered during excavation." Clearly the two accounts are not compatible. However, the great depth suggested for F460 - in excess of 80cm if cut from the floors, would certainly be



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unusual compared to data from Building 1, although Mellaart stated that burials were generally two feet below the platform surfaces (Mellaart 1964a: 92). I find it more likely that this burial was made in the foundation infill, prior to or during the construction of Building 6, based on our own excavation data and the definite statement of the excavator. Unhappily, as both statements were written by the same archaeologist, I can make no judgement as to which is more accurate based on my knowledge of the individual excavator's skills!

<sup>7</sup> Rodent bones are typical elements of owl pellets, however, and again it is plausible that soil was shovelled in from an adjacent outside area rather than that these are deliberate deposits. Samples were taken from the surrounding soil to check whether similar remains were found, but the results are not available yet. No information is available in the database concerning from what level this burial was cut.

<sup>8</sup> The excavators were unsure about its stratigraphic position, and it was either cut into the foundations or into the make-up of the platform.

<sup>9</sup> Plans of Space 112 provided by the project office in Cambridge show three burials assigned to the earlier phase, although none are shown on the 'later phase' plan, as these plans were not drawn up specifically to show the position of burials. The rationale behind the phasing will doubtless be explained in the final report on the building, but is not yet available.

<sup>10</sup> It is worth noting, however, that although Mellaart said that burials never occurred in courtyards, he did mention finding burials in his deep sounding of 4m. While he said they came across at least 10 floors, he also said the deposits resembled the rubbish found in courtyards (Mellaart 1964: 73).

<sup>11</sup> A supra condylar fossa on the humerus has only been noted on one other skeleton from the Hodder excavations, and is not reported by Angel in any of the skeletons from Mellaart's excavations. It is therefore not common. The other occurrence was in a male adult from Space 112, which belongs to level VII and thus is probably contemporary, at least partly, with Building 1.

<sup>12</sup> This could also indicate a higher status for burial in the east-central platform, as claimed by Mellaart. However, far more data is required before such a situation could be asserted.

<sup>13</sup> Mellaart noted that "In the shrines and houses of Level VI several layers of burials are not uncommon and later burials frequently disturbed the bones of earlier interments. In the later layers less care seems to have been taken not to disturb earlier burials, but throughout the period from Level X to Level 1 no changes in burial customs seem to have occurred" (Mellaart 1964: 92). Although this observation agrees with our own, it takes us no further in understanding the reasons.

<sup>14</sup> See note 13.



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<sup>15</sup> Mellaart noted that a small number of skeletons had red pigment (mainly ochre, a little cinnabar) on them, most commonly in levels VII and VIII, and he believed them to be female and to be found mainly in shrines (Mellaart 1966: 183).

<sup>16</sup> Flax was identified recently using an SEM, but in the 1960's the experts could not agree, and it was assumed to be too early for flax – forgetting that it was too early to be wool.

<sup>17</sup> It has been reported frequently that a mustelid penis bone was found on the neck, possibly originally suspended in a bag, but I understand that the faunal team now rejects this identification, and the bone may in any case be an accidental inclusion in the fill.

<sup>18</sup> See note 6.

<sup>19</sup> Identified by Dr Peter Andrews as emanating from barn owls.

<sup>20</sup> Of course, VIII:31 also contained a 'rich' burial of a child, but no special features were noted.

<sup>21</sup> "In remaining within range of malaria-carrying anopheline mosquitoes long enough – at least a millennium probably in the Konya plain – to develop an adequate level of abnormal haemoglobins through heterozygote selection, the ancestors of these people showed tenacity and their descendants could then profit dramatically from the genes protective against child deaths from *falciparum* malaria." (Angel 1971: 96). This comment, while possibly true, has an upbeat note which fails to recognise the life-threatening nature of thalassaemia.

<sup>22</sup> In Cyprus, the place with the highest occurrence of beta thalassaemia (see Appendix 4), one in seven of the population is thought to be a carrier, and the condition is controlled by compulsory screening prior to marriage. If both partners are found to carry alpha-1 or alpha-2 thalassaemia, the marriage is likely to be abandoned; if not, a decision will be made not to have children. This gives some indication of the seriousness of the condition. Cyprus is not very far from Çatalhöyük, and is due south of the site. The origin of the earliest inhabitants of Cyprus is uncertain, being either Anatolia or the Levant, although recent discoveries in the north (Sevketoglu 2000) as well as in the south (Guilaine et al. 1995) of Cyprus tip the balance towards Anatolia (perhaps eastern Turkey), but it is interesting to note that Angel found only a 9% occurrence of porotic hyperostosis in the Early Neolithic site of Khirakitia compared to 41% at Çatalhöyük (Angel 1971: 86). Comparative data for a Levantine site is not given. The origin of the Late Neolithic inhabitants of Cyprus is similarly uncertain, but it is known that the Early Bronze Age was influenced from Anatolia. Given that immigrants to Cyprus must repeatedly have come from the same general area, it is perhaps unsurprising that an island population could have reached such a high level of thalassaemia by the twentieth century.

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<sup>23</sup> In general there are around 105 boys born per 100 girls, dropping to a survival rate of around 97 boys per 100 girls before modern medical intervention improved male survival rates.

<sup>24</sup> As a propensity for twin births is inherited, this could be the best explanation for the three neonates found buried in a row in Building 1.

<sup>25</sup> Angel does not say how many of those he examined were left and how many were right, so one has to assume the percentages are based on a generalised 14, making an assessment of the comparative frequency of left and right injuries impossible.

<sup>26</sup> Mellaart found burials of children and adolescents in baskets, but so far the current team has only found infants buried in baskets.

<sup>27</sup> 4394 is reported to be late adolescent/young adult male. Certainly this is not a juvenile.

## CHAPTER SEVEN

### SPATIAL ORGANISATION AT ÇATALHÖYÜK

#### 1: Introduction

In chapter four I have discussed the theoretical issues relating to the implicit understandings of gender and hierarchy which are based on the organisation of space (p161-167). In the present chapter I will consider the spatial organisation of Çatalhöyük in an attempt to throw light on the presence or absence of public, private, industrial and domestic spaces, and the implications of these spaces for an understanding of gender and social structure. It should be clear from the earlier discussion that all these types of space may be either indoors or outdoors. Nevertheless, as private space is most simply recognised by its enclosure (e.g. within buildings), initially I shall examine the evidence for external space within which public and industrial activities could have been carried out, although private space may also be external. Clearly these discussions can give only a preliminary picture, as much of the mound has not been excavated, and any analysis of space at Çatalhöyük must rely heavily on Mellaart's excavations, and is therefore mainly restricted to the south-western area of the site. However, a certain amount of evidence is available from the current work, both from the survey and from excavations in progress, and our survey work in 1993-95 indicates that no substantial differences will be found in other areas since all structures found in the scrape squares appear to be of the same nature (see also R Matthews 1996).

At Çatalhöyük we appear to have closely packed buildings all roughly the same in design although of varying size. There are a few exceptions (AIII:1<sup>1</sup> with a row of storerooms; AVI:1/EVI:61; FV:1 and overlying IV:13; possibly EVII:12/2/6 – now we have found blocked gaps/doorways between them, we could suggest this was another row of stores attached to one building, see plan 3) but their interpretation is not certain. Ground-level open areas are scarce, and appear to consist largely of

abandoned houses which were used for the disposal of a variety of objects and materials generally covered by the term 'rubbish', although this is not the simple category it is frequently thought to be (see the discussion in Martin and Russell 2000). There are also small inter-building spaces which contain many artefacts which might be thought to have been thrown from buildings or to have fallen from roofs. The largest open spaces would have been the roofs, as these probably abutted in many instances, and provided access to the houses, but little is known about their specific uses as they rarely survive. However, the amount of ground-level open space appears to have varied over time. The periphery of the settlement is also likely to have been an open space of major importance, but so far it has been little investigated although the KOPAL team has carried out a small excavation immediately north of the mound.

## **2: Description of Spatial Organisation by Level**

### **2.1. Levels XII-IX**

The earliest levels at the site are known only from smallish soundings. In 1963 Mellaart excavated adjacent buildings Shrine 1 and Shrine 8 down to level X, finding continuity of walls one above the other, and continued with a 4m deep sounding beneath Shrine X:8. No buildings could be identified in such a small area, and the deposit is reported to have been like that in 'courtyards' but containing decomposed mudbricks (Mellaart 1964a: 73). In 1995 we centred one of our trenches over this deep sounding, and in 1999 we carried on below Mellaart's Shrine X:8 (our Building 18) and Shrine X:1 (our Building 23) in our own deep sounding to natural, in an area which measured only 1 x 5m at the lowest level. The deposit below level X here did appear to be from an external area, as Mellaart had reported, despite his mention of floors and burials. Indeed we found burials as well (which may be relevant to an interpretation of this deposit, see for instance Martin and Russell 2000: 58) and also evidence of walls of levels XI and XII at the western edge of our trench, but because of the positioning of the sounding no plans are available for buildings in levels XI and XII in this area. Level X is known from

three buildings: our Building 23 (Shrine X:1), Building 18 (Shrine X:8) and Building 9, not yet excavated but lying beneath our Building 2 (plan 6). In level IX four buildings are known: Building 22 (Shrine IX:1); Building 16 (Shrine IX:8); Building 17, lying east of Building 16; and Building 2, north of Building 17 (plan 5). These last two have been excavated by the current team, and each consists of two rooms/spaces.

In 1965 Mellaart dug a second sounding c. 8m further east, covering an area of c. 9 x 11m, and plans are available for this (Mellaart 1966:166-169). In level XII (plan 14) he found four buildings or parts of buildings (XII:25, XII:28, XII:29, XII:29a) all of very different size and with different furnishings, all sharing common walls and forming a block with no open space visible. In the succeeding level XI (plan 14), only building 29a remained; the eastern end of room 29 was built over (making XI:29) but the rest of it, along with rooms 25 and 28, was covered with a large courtyard or open space at this time. In level X, the whole of this area – covering rooms 25, 28 and 29 (and presumably 29a although this is not specified and no plan is given for this level) – was an open area. In level IX (plan 14) the western half of this space remained open, while rooms 29 and 29a were resurrected in the eastern half, this time with a doorway/crawl-hole linking them. To the south is building IX:31, the lowest level excavated of this building, with a linked entry-shaft west of IX:29a in an area not excavated in lower levels.

### *Discussion*

In these four levels, the area of the 1963/1999 sounding changed from being open in the early levels to being completely built over in levels X and IX, while current work has shown that level X certainly included a building to the north-east of the sounding, and the larger level IX exposure consists entirely of buildings so far, although the area west of Building 2/north of Buildings 22 and 16 has yet to be explored. This may be explained partly by the position of the trench towards the western edge of the site – it is likely that occupation was more dense in the centre, and that as the settlement grew the built-up area would expand towards the edges. The 1963/1999 sounding may be located in a marginal area on the extremity of the

site in levels XII and XI, with the walls found at the western side representing not dwellings, but other structures such as boundary walls or 'sheds/stables'. The occurrence of what appear to be stabling deposits representing shelter for or control of animals within the 1999 sounding could well indicate that the edge of the site is close by, since moving animals across the rooftops into built-up areas would be more difficult. However, stabling deposits may also occur at the southern side of Mellaart's 1965 sounding, seen in the section when we re-opened his building XII:25 in 1994. The area of the 1965 sounding varied between being totally built over, half built over, and totally open, with the open areas being consistently to the west when occurring on only part of the site. While this agrees with the suggestion that buildings would be less dense toward the edge of the site, this whole sounding is toward the centre of the mound and we know from the 1963/1999 sounding that buildings existed to the west of the 1965 sounding during levels IX and X, and possibly in XI and XII as well.

From such small excavations it is not possible to assess how much open space would have been available in the settlement in general, but this sample suggests that perhaps as much as half the area was open. It is also difficult to assess any pattern to the placing of buildings at that time – whether they formed coherent groups or were scattered fairly randomly. In the succeeding levels this changed.

## **2.2. Level VIII**

The much larger area exposed in level VIII, c. 20 x 45m at its maxima (but not excavated everywhere within these limits), consists largely of buildings (plan 15). The whole of the area of the 1965 deep sounding was once again covered with buildings as it had been in level XII. To the west of VIII:25, however, stretched a long open area which ran for approximately 23m down the centre of this part of the site, not excavated by Mellaart but identified by him as courtyards upon removal of the floors and burials of overlying buildings and parts of the deposits in his court VII:15. One section of this strip was not explored by Mellaart, who removed parts of the floors of VII:2 (our Space 107) but did not go further, and it is therefore blank on the plan, but was excavated in 1996 and 1997. This revealed that it did indeed



form part of the large open area, filled with many layers of ashy, sticky deposits rich in artefactual and bio-archaeological finds, as well as dumps of bricky material which may be building debris. By level VIII most buildings had their own walls which abutted those of adjacent buildings, leaving no space between them. However, this was not always the case – rooms VIII:14, 24a, 24b, 29 and the entry shaft linked to 31 all had party walls. Similarly the eastern end of the long courtyard or open area was walled off from the rest, but the lack of its own walls to the east and south suggest that it was not a separate building later abandoned, but a segregated part of the open area; this is contradicted by its northern wall, which suggests that it could once have been attached to VIII:25, but it also had a party wall with VIII:10. In fact, the current excavations have shown that below the level VIII deposits, this walled-off area (our Space 116) was attached to Mellaart's courtyard VIII:18 (our Space 117). A blocked crawl-hole links the two spaces, which make up the level IX Building 2 in the current project's terminology. The area left unexcavated by Mellaart between structures VIII:10 and VIII:8 has proved to be a small room attached to VIII:10 (our Space 163) and was excavated as Space 173 in 1999. These two spaces together form our Building 6. Thus the eastern row of buildings has been completed without an external area breaking them up.

### *Discussion*

The division of space, both open and enclosed, into separate units is not a simple matter at Çatalhöyük as demonstrated by the area discussed above, and this has consequences for assessments of differentiation (see below, p297-300). Overall, about one quarter to one third of level VIII seems to have been open space, and this was concentrated in a single strip running between rows or blocks of buildings.

### **2.3. Level VII**

In level VII there is a major change (plan 16). The very extensive area excavated (c.33 x 63m at maximum extent, although not excavated over the whole of this) is almost entirely covered with buildings. The published plans are not identical – the one from 1964 does not include the area covered by the deep sounding and the eastern area of level VIII, giving just a sketch treatment of the higher level VIB

remains, but the plan from 1967 shows that the whole of the eastern edge of the trench was built upon. Five open areas are indicated: one continuing the eastern end of the open area of level VIII (Court VII:15/Space 105) with an extension in the 1967 plan to the south at its eastern end where the site of VIII:25 has reverted again to open space; a rather smaller one to the west of the excavated area (VII:40); and three partially excavated spaces – part of possibly a rather large area (VII:42) on the eastern margin, one on the southern boundary, and one on the south-western edge of the excavated zone. The western part of the level VIII open space (VIII:12) became the large room VII:12, while the unexcavated section of that long space became the small room VII:2 (Space 107), now known from current work to have been linked to VII:12 (Space 108) by a doorway, later blocked, and linked also to VII:16 (Space 106) on its east by a crawl-hole, also later blocked<sup>2</sup>. These three rooms therefore make a large complex arranged in a linear fashion, although since they were essentially excavated by Mellaart along with the overlying structures it is not possible to be certain that the crawl-holes were in use at the same time, rather than sequential restructuring linking Space 107 first to one neighbour and later to the other.

### *Discussion*

Around three-fifths of the large open area in level VIII was built upon in level VII, and a big agglomerative block of buildings five rooms long and at least four rooms wide filled the centre of the level VII exposure. No more than one eighth of the site can have been open space at this time. The specific grouping of the structures is not clear, but it appears that a large building consisting of three rooms occupied the area which had been open in level VIII, and it is quite feasible that with the detailed excavation of walls undertaken by the current project, more of the rooms excavated by Mellaart would have been found to be linked as building complexes rather than being stand-alone houses. Mellaart himself noted the large number of entry-shafts that occurred as separate but linked structures in level VII and recognised a number of other linked units (see below p297-9).

## 2.4. Level VIB

The level VIB exposure was another large area, although not entirely in the same place as level VII (plan 17). In addition to Area E, another trench was excavated to the north east (Area A), and the area immediately north of open space VII:40 was not excavated, presumably being too denuded this far up the mound, as Area E was on the edge of the western slope. The plan shows a solid agglomeration of buildings with no central open space. The western space of level VII is not shown on the VIB plan, probably too denuded to record. VII:15/Space 105 was finally built over to form VIB:15 with its adjoining room VIB:13, each adorned with bucrania, and VIB:25 with two small adjoining rooms shown as 2 and 6 on the plan were built over the south-eastern extension<sup>3</sup>. The eastern space, VIB:42, remains open. The southern open area was encroached upon for the construction of room VIB:3. The south-eastern corner of the northern open space, VII:40, was also built on, but this space seems to have been extended further east to take in what had been VII:36 and link up with the area behind VII:35, which was not excavated in level VII. The northern extent of this space is not indicated on the plan, nor is the limit of the trench, and it is possible that it spread further north than previously. However, despite the loss of some open space, three new open areas appear at this time on the periphery of the large block of rooms: VII:19 on the western edge and VII:21, adjacent to the old space VII:40, became open areas and the new VIB:39 was uncovered on the extreme south-west of the trench (not shown as open in the early/1964 plan). To the north-east of Area E – the main trench – is a small block of rooms making up Area A (not excavated below level VI), and there seems to be an open area between these two trenches. Another open area is visible to the north-east of Area A. In the south-east corner of Area E, VIB:32 appears to be surrounded on all sides by passageways, two of which could conceivably be open areas.

### *Discussion*

Overall, the amount of open space in level VIB is even less than that in level VII, probably only one tenth of the trench, and the general impression is of a solid mass of buildings, although it is possible that the north-western part adjoined an extensive

open area. Even so, this level shows the most dense grouping of buildings on the whole site.

## **2.5. Level VIA**

In level VIA the exposure was over the same area but much had changed (plan 18). The southern half remained much as it was during level VIB but the eastern half of the old central open space re-appeared over VIB:15, 13 and 16 (17 in the later plan), and running further east into part of room 25, which has no proper western wall according to the plan (this may be evidence of the more complicated stratigraphy disclosed by recent work, which shows that Mellaart's system of levels is not as simple as he thought). Open space VIB:19 looks in the 1964 plan to have been built upon, but is shown in the later plan as an open area. To the south, it appears that an open space runs east-west across the built area, leaving only a strip of buildings one or two rooms wide between the two open areas. The same has happened to the north: a single east-west strip of rooms separates the old central space from a massive open area which started with VIB:21 and swallowed up ten rooms (some of them entry shafts) to its east and a couple to the north. Two tiny rooms separate this huge area from VIB:42, which remains open space and becomes VIA:42. The later plan shows the adjacent VIA:29 also becoming open, although the early plan shows it as a building. VIB:39 stays open, becoming VIA:39. The open space separating Area A from Area E remains, and VIB:65, in the former Area A, also becomes open, so that Area A has shrunk to a block of only five rooms.

### *Discussion*

The open areas of level VIA represent an enormous loss of habitations, particularly as the western-most row of rooms in level VIB may also not have been built upon because the slope of the mound became too severe. If we accept the largest extent of these open areas almost half the level VIA exposure was open space, but this was very unevenly distributed. Even if we accept some denudation of the north-west, and the possible presence of some buildings there, the open areas are greater than in preceding levels. Mellaart suggested that massive fires which destroyed a number of the buildings of level VIB led to an opening up of the site, not just due to the

destruction but in an attempt to prevent such catastrophes from occurring again. Clearly fire can spread more easily, and be contained with difficulty, in densely built-up areas. However, it has been suggested that the fire in our Building 1 must have been stoked deliberately in order to produce the level of heat required to fire the mud-bricks red, as the quantity of timber used in construction would not be sufficient, and that therefore the fires of level VIB must have been intentional rather than accidental conflagrations (Mira Stevanovic pers. comm).

## **2.6. Level V**

There are three published plans of level V (mixed together to create plan 19), of which the 1961 version (Mellaart 1962) is by far the most detailed but shows only the main Area E trench, the 1967 plan is easiest to equate with other levels and includes Area A, and the 1965 one (Mellaart 1966) shows the southern extension of the trench, Area F, carried out in the final season. The initial impression is of re-grouping. The eastern part of the huge northern open space is still in evidence, but has shifted slightly to take in the row of small rooms to the west of open space VIA:42. The strip of buildings on the northern edge (VIA:45, 49, 50, 51 and unnumbered) remain as V:15, 16, 18, and two unnumbered, and are joined by V:14 impinging on the open area. A row of north-south rooms runs from the western edge of this block to join up with V:15, overlying VIA:14, so that the open area now looks like a large but not giant central court surrounded on all sides by buildings. Open space VIA:42 has also been built upon for room EV:9, but its northern extremity becomes a passage linking the now reduced central space which borders V:9 on its west to another open space to its north-east, and the corner of another open area appears to the south-east. The long east-west central open space VIA:15 now accommodates rooms EV:4 and 10, while the isolated VIA:32 becomes an open area containing a large oven. The traces of a southern open area in level VIA are revealed in level V Area F as a vast open space surrounded on three sides by blocks of large buildings separated by passages and open spaces. At least two open areas abut this large space but have their own walls. The western edge of the trench is not shown, and was probably not built upon due to the slope of the mound, or else it was

very denuded. Only one room and two open areas are shown in Area A. Overall in level V some 40% or more of the exposed area is open space.

The current investigations on the site began with survey, which included scraping the topsoil away to reveal underlying architecture. Near the top of the northern eminence, very clear building plans were visible only a few centimetres below the surface, and an area 40 x 40m was scraped. The architecture revealed here (plan 2) is very similar to that found by Mellaart on the south-east of the site. Closely packed buildings with rooms of varying sizes, some of them heavily plastered, covered the area. One part is of particular interest as it seems to be a street or passageway running along the western side of the exposed area. Finds suggest that the buildings here can be equated with Mellaart's levels VI or V. No open area other than the passage is obvious, although excavation might prove otherwise.

### *Discussion*

The open plan of level VIA seems to have been continued in the south-east of the site in level V, with the eastern half of the large open area of VIA remaining open, but the upper levels of the northern eminence seems to have the tightly-packed plan we saw in level VIB in the Mellaart trench. However, it is not certain that all the buildings visible on the scrape plan are contemporaneous. Indeed, initial carbon dates suggest that Building 3 is younger than Building 1. It is also not clear that Mellaart's system of levels is quite accurate nor that it can be transferred from one part of the site to another. Mellaart viewed his levels not just as generally contemporaneous building horizons but as single-period communal building operations, due to the difficulties of constructing homes on an individual basis within such an site, especially given the absence of roads and ground level access. There is no reason, therefore, to suppose that the northern eminence was built with the same system of levels as the southern mound.

### **2.7. Level IV**

Level IV was investigated only in the northern and eastern parts of Area E, reducing severely the exposure under investigation (plan 20). Although Area A must have



been excavated in this level, no plan is given. The large northern open space of level V continued within the same boundaries, although V:15 – which impinged on it in the east – disappears, and two rooms were built in the southern part. All the buildings surrounding the open space appear to have been rebuilt. There seems to be another open space to the east of the northern end of the north-south row of rooms, particularly over V:10, and two rooms took the place of the open space to the south of V:10. Open area EV:7, with its large, possibly communal or industrial, oven was succeeded by a partially excavated walled open space containing another large oven abutted by a second oven or a kiln, described on the plan as bread ovens. The majority of the south-west was a denuded area in level IV, but a large building almost identical in layout to its predecessor overlies FV:1, the most northerly building on the eastern edge of the southern open area. The passage separating this block from Area E remains.

### *Discussion*

Without the vast southern open area, the amount of open space is far less striking than in the two previous levels, but this is probably partly a product of erosion in that exposed part of the mound. The open spaces account for around 30% of the excavated area, and there is considerable continuity from levels VIA and V.

## **2.8. Levels III-I**

The level III exposure (plan 21) was immediately to the east of level IV, and covered only the northern part, in Areas A and B (although the numbering seems to have conflated these at this level as a single Area A). It is too limited for any sensible assessment of spatial organisation, and in the absence of a plan for level IV in these areas, we have little idea of continuity of settlement layout. In level V only one building is shown in this area, with open spaces to the west and north. In level III a substantial block of rooms is seen. The south-western part of the western open space remains, a portion of it now a passageway which meanders between the buildings. The rest is built upon, as is the northern space. A new open area appears in the north-eastern corner of Area A, and the passage seems to empty out into other open areas to the south-east and south-west. The passage appears to divide three

blocks of rooms, those of Area A, Area E and another group to the south of Area A. A couple of passages were also shown in the 1961 plan of level IV, leading from the large open area into buildings, but these are not on the later plan. Levels I to IV were all excavated mainly in 1961, the first year of work, and at that time it was not clear that entry to rooms was through the roof. Therefore ground-level entry was assumed, although it was not always found, and as the exposure was not very large, it was only level V which had clear ground-level access problems and entry shafts from roof level between rooms. Mellaart later decided that there was roof entry in all levels. The narrow passageways in the upper levels would then have to be regarded as mistakes, as the putative doorways were, but it may be that things changed over time. Current work has also found a street-like feature on the northern eminence (R Matthews 1996: 85; figures 7.3, 7.5), although this may turn out to be a series of infilled buildings whose walls are too eroded to show up in a scrape. It is possible, therefore, that in the later levels streets and passages were introduced; it is equally possible that they were always there, but not in the area excavated in the lower levels. Unfortunately Mellaart did not excavate beneath this part of his level III exposure, so we do not know whether the streets existed earlier.

The level II and I exposures are also too limited for a proper assessment of space. The level II trench (plan 22) shifted slightly east and north (due to the shape of the mound), so the western part of the passageway is no longer found. However, its southern branches appear to continue, and it becomes a larger open area by expanding eastwards and absorbing room III:2, while the adjacent III:1 becomes an open space while retaining its own walls. The open area in the north-east corner of level III is a building-sized open area in level II. Parts of four adjoining rooms are the only elements of level I which appear on a plan.

### *Discussion*

The limited exposures, and shortage of plans, for these upper levels makes analysis of space difficult. The possible use of passageways is of interest, as new open spaces with a specific purpose – presumably circulation of people, animals and goods.

### **3: External Space**

#### **3.1. Spaces between buildings**

In the earliest levels, buildings appear to have shared party walls. However, by level IX at least, and probably earlier, most structures had separate walls, and party walls are an indication that two spaces are linked within a single unit. The development of separate walls led in some areas to the creation of small inter-building spaces. On the whole these are not apparent in the south trench, where such spaces are narrow slots between walls from which it would be impossible to retrieve lost goods, but on the northern eminence these spaces are larger, perhaps a metre wide, and they are artefact-rich as well as containing a considerable amount of building debris. There is no evidence, however, that these spaces were used other than as extra places to dispose of certain types of rubbish. (There is no middening in the inter-building spaces excavated so far.) While it is feasible that they could have been used for access, better evidence of contemporaneity of buildings would be required before the need or opportunity to use these spaces for access could be assessed. The possibility of a passageway on the northern eminence does make this plausible, but no excavation has yet taken place in that area. Certainly, no advantage was taken of these spaces to plaster the external walls of buildings, something which would have been impossible but also unnecessary in the southern trench but which might have assisted in protecting more free-standing structures from the elements on the northern eminence.

#### **3.2. Roofs**

So far I have dealt only with ground-level open space – mainly areas previously occupied by buildings which have been abandoned or left open deliberately. However, there is another huge area of open space, on the roofs. In fact, when the roofs are counted as open space, the entire site is open space – either roofs or ‘courts’/middens or inter-building. Is all this roof-space public? Almost certainly most of it had a public aspect, since roofs must have been used for circulation of people and things. We know that access to the buildings was by roof-level entry, at least until the late levels of the settlement when it is possible that this changed (see

discussion above, p291), and in the absence of passageways between most buildings, access to the target buildings must also have been over the roofs of other buildings. Do we imagine random access across roofs, through people's more private/work space, or might routes be related to groups of people who perhaps built rows of conjoined buildings? Mellaart believed that whole areas were built up at one go, as a communal effort, and it is certainly possible that various sectors of the community such as lineages or clans lived in separate areas, and built communal structures in this way. Thus entry to one's house would be across the roofs of related community members, possibly across jointly-owned properties rather than via the roofs of random neighbours. However, this would pre-suppose that there were limited areas within which individuals would want to travel. Identifying the existence of such a social pattern is extremely complicated – data such as DNA evidence would be useful – and has not yet been attempted for Çatalhöyük, although it will be discussed further in chapter eight. Maybe specific access ways across the roofs were marked out as routes through the settlement, rather than the entire space being open, but without finding the roofs intact it is again not possible to know. The alternative to these two possibilities is that people wandered at random across the roof-tops. This could be useful for creating and cementing social relationships, but could also cause problems in the junction between public and private space – if indeed such a division was recognised. The uses of roof space are discussed below (p296).

### **3.3. Uses of open spaces**

The next step is to try to understand in what ways these open spaces were used, and whether they were essentially public or private, domestic or industrial. The data available to me is two-fold: the general nature of the deposits within them; and the types of materials and artefacts they contain. The quality of the data from the old and the new excavations is totally different, yet both need to be used in order to make any headway in understanding the use of space.

One of the big questions driving such an analysis is: was there a smooth increase or reduction in open space which could be related to changes in social forms – for instance, the creation of spaces for public rituals, events, activities, or the

consolidation of blocks of structures for public use; or does it seem to be random, related to population growth and fires/destruction? Another is: can activities with a public or private focus be identified from the archaeological data in such a way as to shed light on the organisation of the community? That is, can the open space inform us about social structure?

### Large open spaces

The large open spaces, which generally appear to be abandoned buildings, seem to have been used largely for the discard of unwanted material – broken artefacts, ash, coprolites, animal bones. They also contain a considerable number of complete and usable artefacts, which could be there for various reasons – because they fell into a ‘dirty’ area and could not be retrieved due to pollution; because they were unwanted; because they had been removed deliberately from circulation; because they had a ritual use which required discard, etc. Some objects are found in pits. Mellaart commented particularly on clusters of animal figurines, some of them stabbed or broken, along with clay balls and obsidian projectile points, which he believed were the remains of magical rituals related to hunting that had been deposited together for a special reason. It is equally possible that pits were occasionally dug for the burial of unwanted or dangerous refuse or materials which may not have been associated during their use-life. Obsidian is dangerous due to its sharpness, especially if splintered; figurines could have been ritually dangerous, if they had magical or religious significance; clay balls are not obviously dangerous: they occur in large numbers, and seem to be associated with burning or cooking. While it is possible to construct a significant relationship between all these items, other types of material were also buried in pits, and parts of figurines – including humanoid and human figurines – are moderately common in dumps in open spaces that are not placed in pits, as are clay balls. Obsidian certainly occurs regularly in pits or scoops cut into fills within buildings, where it appears to be associated with ovens, and occasional finds are made regularly in dump layers in the open areas.

In general, two types of deposit are found in the large open areas: midden; and dump. Midden consists of a slow accumulation of multiple lenses and layers

characterised by ash, along with post-consumption animal bones and sometimes spreads of coprolite with occasional burning events. Dumps tend to be rapid deposits of building debris in the form of broken mud-bricks, and chunks of plaster. On the whole, such material was not used to infill buildings prior to the construction of new walls on old stubs; rather, cleanish soil was imported for foundations, while debris from old buildings was dumped in open areas.

It is possible that some activities were carried out in open spaces, but there is no evidence so far of their use for specific and exclusive purposes such as communal meetings, storage, religious ritual, or feasting, although the remains of feasts may have been dumped there afterwards. Rather, they seem to be accidental open areas with communal access, utilised largely for the disposal of organic and inorganic debris from inside – and probably from the roofs of – buildings. Some dangerous or unpleasant tasks may have taken place there, such as knapping obsidian or cleaning and curing animal skins, which could account for some of the artefacts found in these spaces, but there is no specific evidence for these activities and it is likely that they generally took place outside the settlement where they would interfere less with the comfort and safety of others.

### Spaces between buildings

The deposits found in inter-building spaces may contain similar material to the large open spaces, but as far as can be seen from the few investigated so far, they were created differently. Thus the fill of abandoned buildings consists either of dumping episodes involving building debris, or slow middening associated with many artefacts. Inter-building spaces also contain large numbers of artefacts, both whole and broken, but these seem to have fallen, or been thrown, from adjacent roofs. There is less evidence of middening, but frequent occurrence of building material and large animal bones atypical of normal assemblages and perhaps representing items built into the fabric of a structure (such as cattle horn cores or goat skulls with horns attached) rather than food remains (Martin and Russell 2000). However, too few of these spaces have been investigated for broad generalisations to be drawn, other than that these spaces appear to have had little, if any, practical use. Rather,



they were the by-product of the use of separate walls for each building. There is no evidence that external walls were plastered or white-washed, although some of the inter-building spaces were large enough for access for such tasks. Thus they seem so far to have played little role in the life of the community, other than as casual rubbish bins.

### Roofs

Beside their communal access role, roofs were important work spaces and were probably also used for storage, and for sleeping in hot weather. This could confer a private function on spaces that were probably open without any fencing or walls to screen activities from others. Thus the private aspect of the roofs should perhaps be translated as domestic, rather than hidden from public view. Hidden private activities would have had to take place within the buildings themselves. So far only one probable roof has been found during the current excavations, and that is in Building 3. A large chunk of dense layered material has been interpreted as a roof, although it is lying above a floor (but at a sloping angle) and consists essentially of the same deposits as a floor. Thus multiple layers of plaster and dirty ashy deposits were recognised, suggesting that this roof probably held a hearth or oven and was essentially the floor of an upper storey, rather than merely a cover for the building below, even though the upper storey probably had no walls. The quantity of artefacts found in inter-building spaces, in particular a cache of spherical clay beads and roughly made humanoid figurines found to the south of Building 1, suggest that many had fallen from roofs either accidentally during work or play, or had been deliberately discarded and thrown over the edge.

### **3.4. Analysis of open space**

In terms of the spatial organisation of Çatalhöyük, it is clear that there is constant change along with considerable continuity. The amount of ground-level open space differs greatly between the levels, but there does not appear to be a smooth progression towards structured open space. Rather, there is a to-ing and fro-ing in the changing use of space, then a sudden change in level VIA to wide open areas after the previous system of tightly-packed buildings in VIB. Unfortunately, the

small size of the excavated area means that we do not know whether this was a site-wide phenomenon or a localised affair, and therefore cannot assess the significance of these changes across the whole settlement. They may demonstrate large-scale changes in population density, or may have no relevance at all to the bigger picture. However, although within the excavated area there is a great deal of open space in some levels, and a high degree of continuity of open space, it does not seem to be organised space used for the community-wide activities required by normal models of 'complex societies' or segregated activities envisaged for specialisation to flourish. Instead, it is tied in with the continuity also seen here. Because rooms are built against each other, there is nowhere else to construct new rooms but on top of the old ones. Similarly, when rooms fall out of use for some reason, they become open areas which appear to have been accessible to more than one household. Although deposits have often been dumped from roughly the same point throughout the build-up of soil, this may simply have been a matter of physical rather than moral/legitimate access.

The overall impression of the areas of the site investigated so far is that the open spaces served essentially domestic or private functions, although they may not relate to single households. They were used for the deposition of a range of materials removed from buildings, largely ash, food remains, coprolite, and building materials along with various artefacts which had often exhausted their normal use life although some were complete and apparently usable. Certain deposits suggest feasting, but this is not on a community-wide scale. It is more likely part of the ritual for closing a building, or a similar event, which might affect and involve a larger group than a household, for instance an extended family, a lineage, or a clan segment, but not a huge mass of people. Whether such events could be regarded as public is obviously related to the understanding of private, but there is little doubt that they do not relate to a hierarchical structure of the wider society of Çatalhöyük (such as priestly rituals or military feasts), and there is no reason to see them as gendered episodes.

## **4: Internal Space**

Essentially, the general view of the current team working at the site (although not necessarily that of all the individuals involved) is that while there are buildings of different sizes and complexity, the areas excavated so far and those covered by the survey and scraping all contain buildings of the same overall type. That is, there is no evidence for differentiation of building type such as that expected in a hierarchically organised community. There are no obvious public buildings, no communal stores, no large industrial work-spaces, and certainly no palaces or temples according to the evidence to date. However, there is some differentiation of internal space, and indeed every building examined so far is different in some way from the others. Therefore this needs to be examined briefly in order to continue the discussion of public, private, domestic and industrial which underpins this attempt to understand social structure from the spatial organisation of the settlement.

There are three obvious structural ways in which buildings differ from each other: size; number of rooms; and elaboration of internal fixtures and fittings. Beyond this, there are differences in types of finds, and in the number and type of burials beneath the floors. All these need to be taken into account in examining the evidence for differentiation of internal spaces which might assist an understanding of social organisation.

### **4.1. Size**

It is clear from every plan that the size of buildings varies considerably within each level (see plans 14-22)<sup>4</sup> but there is no evidence of change in size over time – that is, there is no obvious development from small rooms or single-celled structures in the early levels to large rooms or multi-cell structures in later levels, either as a general rule or as an occasional occurrence which could suggest organisational changes such as the growth of social hierarchies. This is almost certainly related to the physical organisation or structure of the settlement – the habit of building houses close together on top of each other and restricting their extent to that of underlying buildings. However, it would still be possible to extend the boundaries of an

individual building over open space, or to integrate small structures within larger ones, and to some extent that may have happened. Generally, however, the architecture stayed static in terms of sizes of room and numbers of rooms within a structure throughout the lifetime of the site, and therefore no evidence is forthcoming of changing social forms such as the development of communal or public storage areas, 'chief's houses', administrative buildings, military barracks or religious edifices with a community-wide remit. Difference in room size and number of rooms could relate simply to the number of people living in them and the activities carried out. Thus a large living group would need a larger building than a small one, and would require more storage space which might involve a second or third room being added to the home. Those within the western cultural tradition tend to view houses as personal property, and would see the static nature of the architecture as counteracting a suggestion that building size was related to the number of occupants. However, it is perfectly feasible that dwellings were allocated to people in the community according to need, rather than being private property. (See for instance Lane 1994, and my discussion in chapter eight, 347).

#### **4.2. Number of rooms**

An assessment of number of rooms per building is complicated by incompletely excavated structures (because they run under the edge of the trench), and by the possibility that links between rooms were not always recognised by Mellaart<sup>5</sup>. For instance, we know from our excavations that Mellaart's rooms VII:12 and VII:2 had a doorway between them, and VII:2 and VII:16 had a crawl-hole linking them. Mellaart had not removed the walls of these rooms, and therefore they were published on the plans as individual rooms/buildings, and it is impossible to know now whether he would have found the features we found, and therefore whether or not we can rely on his plans as definitive for rooms which were excavated fully in the 1960's.

It is clear that a number of buildings were substantially larger than others, and some of them appear to have been laid out deliberately as suites of rooms, while others look more opportunistic in their expansion. Many buildings seem to consist of a

main room with a smaller one at one side, sometimes joined by a crawl-hole but in many cases with no physical link – because of which we are often uncertain to which larger room the small rooms are ‘attached’. These small rooms were sometimes for storage, sometimes entry shafts, and sometimes apparently workrooms according to the evidence of excavation, but it is not always possible even to hazard a guess. Examples of clearly planned multi-cell units are Mellaart’s Shrines AII:1 and FV:1, and perhaps building IV:13 – large, well organised structures which could have had a special purpose. Mellaart viewed some of these structures as ‘shrines’, but many of his ‘shrines’ do not fit this description: some are small, one-roomed buildings, while some multi-cell units were not seen by him as ‘shrines’ because they lacked other features such as wall-paintings or sculptures. What explanation fits this group of substantial buildings which vary so much in their internal fixtures and fittings? The traditional explanation for large buildings is ‘chief’s houses’, but this presupposes a social structure for which there is no clear – or even tenuous? – evidence, and there are too many potential ‘chief’s houses’ at Catalhoyuk. Moreover, the complex buildings occur as part of a continuum both in terms of size, number of cells, and level of obvious planning as a glance at the plans will show (see plans 14-22). A chief’s house is generally either just the same as others, or distinctly different. This is not the case with the more complex buildings at Çatalhöyük.

#### **4.3. Elaboration**

What about specific and/or exclusive uses for buildings which might indicate social differentiation or hierarchy? At Çatalhöyük there is some difference in the furnishing of buildings – that is, the level of elaboration. They contain differing numbers of raised areas (platforms), ovens and hearths, and some rooms contain unusual features such as wall-paintings, wall sculptures and horned pillars, as well as a range of burials beneath the floors – a range both in terms of numbers and type. This variety led Mellaart to suggest that some buildings were ‘shrines’, in particular those with unusual furnishings although sometimes unusual burials or collections of figurines were the defining factors and there was no specific set of features which defined buildings as ‘other’ and as probable ‘shrines’ (see chapter one, 20-22). It is

important to note that some of these building features were not permanent. Even general features such as ovens and bins were moved, remodelled and abandoned with regularity, as is clear from Buildings 1, 2 and 17, and the same is true of unusual elements. In particular, wall paintings were frequently covered over with plain white plaster, and while some were decorated a number of times throughout the life of a room, others may have been painted only once. It is quite possible that many rooms which were painted only occasionally have not been recognised as such because the painted plaster was covered over and therefore was not visible to the excavators – although my own experience of excavating wall-paintings in Building 1 is that overlying plaster layers tend to flake more easily from painted surfaces than from plastered ones, which aids their discovery. Other features may not have been permanent – or may have been removed at the end of a building's use. Thus a pit had been cut into the infilled remains of Building 1 for the retrieval of something which appears to have been on the west wall of Space 71, where remnants of moulded plaster suggest that a sculpture of some sort once adorned the central part of the wall, not far from where a bucranium was found embedded in the wall. Similarly, a large horncore found in the initial infill of Space 117 (Building 2) may have been removed from the wall as part of a ritual dismantling of the structure, at the time that the roof supports were removed and remains of feasting were deposited in the abandoned space. This evidence of changes to the elaboration of buildings indicates a fluidity of purpose of the features and of use of the buildings, and also suggests that the absence of such features from buildings when excavated does not mean they were never there, merely that they were not present at the time of closure.

#### **4.4. Finds**

Few artefacts are found within structures, as they generally seem to have been cleared out before deliberate closure and infilling. There are exceptions to this – Mellaart found numerous artefacts in building AIII:2, many of them stone so that he suggested it may have been a stoneworker's shop (Mellaart 1962: 55); collections of figurines and stalactites were found in several others (see Appendix 1: table 12.1 and 215-220); and deposits of obsidian have been found beneath the floors of some buildings both by Mellaart and by the current team (for instance, Buildings 1 and 4).



The significance of above-floor artefacts is unclear. They may have been abandoned because of the difficulty of retrieving them after structural collapse of the building, whether or not this was caused by fire, but it is also possible that these destructions were deliberate and that the artefacts were therefore left purposefully on the floors, rather than accidentally. Mellaart certainly reports heavy burning in some of the buildings in question, and given that most buildings were cleared out before infilling, it may be that these particular destructions were accidental. At present it is not possible to assess this more fully, due to the small number of buildings excavated by the current team working at the site, and therefore the presence or absence of above-floor artefacts cannot be equated with elaboration. Mellaart used the presence of groups of figurines as indications that buildings were 'shrines', but usually in combination with other features of elaboration, and a number of buildings containing one or more anthropomorphic figurines were regarded by Mellaart as private residences. Deposits of obsidian beneath the floors could also have been affected by clearing before deliberate destruction, although this would have entailed digging up the floors. As these deposits tend to be placed near ovens, it is possible that they are votives of some sort, relating to the fact that obsidian comes from volcanoes and that ovens are also fiery places, but again we do not have enough contexted deposits for a proper assessment at present although Mellaart also noted the presence of obsidian deposits and related them to the entrance ladders<sup>6</sup>.

#### **4.5. Burials**

Burials have been dealt with in detail in chapter six. What is relevant to this chapter is that the number of burials per building varies from none to perhaps over 60<sup>7</sup>.

Although some skeletons have indications of unusual treatment, such as use of pigment, addition of soil containing owl pellets, removal of head etc., this does not correspond in an obvious manner with the elaboration of the building they were found in. Mellaart did suggest that red ochre burials and 'rich' burials tended to be found in 'shrines', but when the data was examined in detail it became clear that this was more a general subjective view than one based on careful analysis, particularly where richness of grave goods was concerned. Moreover, the presence of unusual burials was sometimes interpreted by Mellaart as indicating that a building was a

shrine, so that the argument became circular. However, it is possible that more elaborate buildings tend to contain a greater number of burials, although some contain few. One explanation for why this should be so, but why some apparently simple buildings might also contain many burials, is that the condition of the buildings themselves changed over time and Mellaart found them in a simpler state of elaboration than they had previously had. Both these phenomena may be related to the idea of lineage houses discussed in chapter eight.

### *Discussion*

Internal spaces exhibit variety in terms of size, elaboration, and number of rooms, finds and burials, yet there is no stark contrast between elaborate and simple buildings such as would indicate different meaning or use, or hierarchical social structures such as the existence of chiefs. Rather, there is a continuum of complexity that is also fluid in terms of alteration to fixed features such as hearths and ovens, blocking of doorways, opening of platforms for burials, replastering and occasional painting of walls, all of which suggests a dynamism within internal spaces that contrasts with the apparently static nature of the external architecture constrained by the settlement plan and the layering of the site.

## **5: Industrial and Domestic Space**

The issue of what constitutes industrial space was discussed briefly in chapter four. The importance of the question in relation to gender and social structure is that surplus production on an industrial scale is generally seen as a pre-requisite for hierarchical social systems, and that industrial production tends to have been sex-segregated as far as early records demonstrate, in some fields at least. For instance, Early Bronze Age records in Mesopotamia show industrial production of woven cloth by women in factories owned by temples and palaces, while felted fabric was made by men, and there was a general separation of trades and professions by sex/gender (see Wright 1996b). Moore has suggested that state policies concerning wages and taxation reflect and reproduce social assumptions and ideologies about

the role of women, the family and gender relations rather than actively forming them – they “reproduce the segregated occupational structure of the labour force and the sexual division of labour within the family” rather than being intentionally discriminatory (Moore 1988:129). While that may be so in the present, and may be true for Early Bronze Age Mesopotamia, we still need to understand how pre-state societies reached a social system that enabled hierarchical structures to develop, given that these are thought to be based partially at least upon surplus production supported by a sexual division of labour.

Wright points out that the 1960's to 1980's saw a strong archaeological interest in technology as central to 'process', and the influence of technology on cultural 'evolution', yet while Binford (1965) emphasised the interrelatedness of technology, social organisation and ideology, he concentrated almost exclusively on technology, “as if it were disembedded from social and ideological constraints” (Wright 1996b: 81). Given the intimate, if often implicit, relationship between technology and industrial production, an examination of gender and technology must be relevant to understanding industrial space and systems. Unfortunately, as McGaw (1996) discusses so acutely, the term 'technology' has itself become gendered in modern thought, so that only certain technologies are regarded as technological, and these tend to be the 'hi-tech' ones or heavy industries. More importantly, they tend to be ones associated with men. Thus a recent television series entitled 'Why men can't iron', which claimed to be a scientific investigation into the biological roots of a sexual division of labour, showed a man using a mechanical digger and stated that the male brain is wired to deal with machines while the female brain is not (although the population is variable and there are exceptions). However, a brief overview of male and female use of machines shows immediately that women use far more machines than men in their daily life even within the traditional division of labour – irons, washing machines, vacuum cleaners, food processors, cookers – as well as televisions, cars, and telephones (which were believed on their invention to be too difficult for women to use!); while in traditional employment they tend to use photocopiers, computers, fax machines, switchboards, coffee makers, sterilisation equipment, etc. The average male office or health worker will use fewer of these

machines, and the problems men claim to have with domestic technologies such as washing machines and microwave ovens are commonly known (whether or not they are true). The concept of technology has been gendered male, but the reality is far different. Even the hi-tech industries employ vast numbers of women in manufacturing because of their dexterity. It is necessary, therefore, to look at the gendered attitudes to technology and industry in archaeological thought before it is possible to understand industrial space.

Traditionally, archaeology has prioritised some technologies and industries over others in terms of their importance in social systems and particularly social change. Stone tool production and metallurgy are top technologies in prehistory, with pottery becoming important as a technology (rather than as a dating tool) as it moves into mass production through use of the wheel. These are also viewed as male technologies. However, far more essential technologies in terms of human survival have been either ignored completely or marginalised – cooking, surely one of the central technologies of humanity in its ability to make a far wider range of foods edible than would otherwise be the case, enabling people to occupy many habitats that would not sustain us on a raw diet; grain processing, which again makes otherwise inedible plants usable; basketry, which permitted the storage and movement of supplies long before pottery was invented; weaving; skin working; brick-making, etc. It cannot be coincidence that these technologies are generally seen as female work, or in the case of skin working and brick-making are currently gender-neutral. Rather, women's work has always been seen as just that – women's work, a 'natural matter', not as technology or as a major advance in civilisation, just something that happens along the way. I would suggest that cooking is the most important differentiation between humans and animals, yet this technology – generally regarded as a female sphere<sup>8</sup> – is not even remarked upon in archaeological work.

Technology and industry are not the same things, but it is clear that archaeological identifications of industrial production concentrate on technologies generally thought to be carried out by males. This is particularly worrying when it is known

that even well-documented female industries such as the Mesopotamian weaving factories are barely visible in the archaeological record (Wright 1996b: 100). This means that the identification of industrial production and technology with the male sphere in a sexual division of labour is likely to be emphasised even more than the social bias already ensures, giving us possibly a completely incorrect view of gender relations in the realm of production in prehistory and thus an inaccurate understanding of the bases of social systems and hierarchical structures.

Perhaps in order to identify industries more successfully it is necessary both to broaden the topics of research, and to re-think the domestic/industrial division. To take the example of cooking, there is much evidence of this technology at Çatalhöyük, with ovens and hearths occurring in many structures and plentiful deposits of ash in the open areas. Because the ovens are generally situated in buildings, they are regarded as domestic, and therefore the technological aspect is ignored, as is the fact that ovens need not be massive to provide surplus food, since they can be used repeatedly over time. In addition to these 'domestic' ovens, Mellaart found a very large oven in an open area in level V, and two large ovens in the same area in the succeeding level IV. These could be viewed as industrial bread ovens, or even kilns, because the scale of production in any one firing was much greater than normal. They appear not to be domestic as they are not within the houses and they are very large. The space they occupy is on the edge of a group of buildings and may be public space, and there is no evidence linking it to any particular structure and therefore to private ownership. They could in fact be public ovens for domestic use by several households just as well as private industrial ovens or kilns. Essentially this is a matter of interpretation. With no evidence of mass production of pottery, a communal oven for cooking food may seem more likely than standard interpretations of industrial use. These ovens are the only evidence so far of large-scale production units, so that there is no reason to suggest surplus production of the type that is required for the development of a hierarchical social system. The interpretation of massive ovens as communal property has very different implications for social organisation than interpreting them as industrial

ovens, with all the implicit themes of surplus production, trade, and hierarchical control.

In fact, if we look at Mellaart's plans, the number of structures shown with ovens inside them changes over time. This is not entirely a safe approach, since we know from current work that ovens were moved and rebuilt at regular intervals and were sometimes dismantled prior to infilling of the building. Therefore some may have escaped Mellaart's notice. However, it is noticeable that in level V (plan 19) the strip of buildings running roughly north of the large oven along the eastern side of the open area, and then moving west at the northern end, has no ovens shown, while those in the western strip each have their own oven. Similarly, in level IV (plan 20) the buildings around the large ovens have no ovens of their own, with the exception of the large complex to the south which in both levels IV and V has its own surrounding open area and appears to be quite separate. In levels VIA (plan 18) and VIB (plan 17) few buildings are shown with ovens, but those that do tend to be large complex structures surrounded by buildings without ovens, although this is not a clear rule. In level VII (plan 16) more buildings seem to contain ovens, and in level VIII (plan 15) all buildings appear to have ovens (except 24a, which is almost certainly an ante-chamber attached to another structure). The option of industrial baking brings with it a range of questions about domestic work and the sexual division of labour which are discussed further in chapter eight.

There is no real, or even tenuous, evidence for industrial production of any other artefacts or materials from an examination of space at Çatalhöyük. No workshops have been found, although Mellaart suggested that AIII:2 may have been a stoneworker's shop because of the large number of stone artefacts found within it. As no information was given concerning the stage of manufacture of these items, it is not possible to assess whether they could represent a store or repository, or a dump area. Artefacts that could have been produced on an industrial scale rather than for personal/family use include knapped stone and ground stone tools, pots, baskets, textiles, beads and bone tools. Food processing could also have taken place on a large/industrial scale, but so far the evidence suggests a wide range of



‘household’ or ‘domestic’ production and consumption behaviours – that is, many artefacts seem to have been made inside buildings and used there both for manufacturing other artefacts and for processing foods (Conolly 1996a, 1999; W Matthews et al. 1996; Martin and Russell 2000). I shall now look briefly at the information available for the various industries.

### **5.1. Knapped stone**

Knapped stone at Çatalhöyük is mainly obsidian, although there is a small amount of flint and chert. In addition to studying the new material, in 1993-5 James Conolly undertook an analysis of the material recovered by Mellaart (Conolly 1996a; 1996b; 1999). The assemblage comprises three main groups: flakes, which make up just over half the sample; percussive blades, which are fairly rare; and prismatic blades, which form 22.53% of the total Mellaart assemblage held in Konya. Thinning flakes were among those elements examined, as were cores, both items which could be regarded as debitage rather than end products, and hence evidence of manufacture (although Conolly points out that the identification of thinning blades is not without contention [1996a: 195]), contra Mellaart who maintained that there was no evidence of manufacture in the buildings he excavated [Mellaart 1963: 101; 1964: 105]).

In the current work, debitage has been found in buildings, often as minute fragments embedded in floors, floor make-up, and within room sweepings (see W Matthews et al. 1996: 310-311, and our database), and caches of obsidian artefacts (complete and broken) and blanks have been found beneath floors (for instance, Space 71, Space 113, Space 150, as well as reports from Mellaart and Bialor). This suggests that tool manufacture and retouching was indeed carried out within buildings. Flakes tend to be non-formal and most likely represent expedient and opportunistic manufacture and use. They were probably made, used and retouched in buildings according to need, and were employed in making bone tools, wooden artefacts, and probably beads and mats/baskets, as well as for cutting meat and plant foods (Conolly 1999: 794; W Matthews et al. 1996: 306-311). The percussive blades have diverse characteristics and the larger ones seem to have been produced mainly for the

manufacture of projectile points, and no cores for these blades have been found on the site (Conolly 1999: 794-5). The prismatic blades were probably made by pressure flaking, and are technically very difficult to produce. Considerable skills, practice and specialist knowledge is required, and they are generally regarded as the product of specialist producers (Conolly *ibid.*: 795).

On the whole the quality of the work is extremely high, and Conolly's analysis of the obsidian found by Mellaart indicates a tendency for projectile points and prismatic blades to be found in the more complex buildings, based on Ritchie's complexity chart (Ritchie 1996), although there were notable exceptions (Conolly 1996: 195-198; 1999: 797-8). Conolly suggests that the more technically difficult tools were produced particularly within complex buildings, although re-fitting of thinning flakes would be required to be certain of that (1996a: 198). He connects this with a change over time from a flake-dominated industry in the first half of the sequence to a blade-dominated assemblage from level VIA onwards, although flakes remain in use in fluctuating proportions, sometimes making up nearly half the assemblage. The clustering of bifaces/projectiles and cores in complex structures was most clear in levels III and II, and Conolly suggests that this represents a change in social organisation from independent households to broader kin-based groupings, with a specialised obsidian industry being concentrated at kin-group level in complex structures while flake production remains expedient and household-based (Conolly 1999: 799). This might be related to changing subsistence patterns, in particular a need for quantities of regular blades as sickle elements (Conolly *ibid.*).

## **5.2. Pottery**

Pottery production is another industry worth examining. Pottery occurs in very low quantities throughout the site, especially in the earliest levels<sup>9</sup>. So far there is little specific evidence of kilns, although Mellaart mentions their presence in houses. This seems to be a reference to the presence of two oven-type structures in some buildings, often side-by-side. The large ovens mentioned above (p306-7) are the only possible 'industrial' kilns, but were thought to be bread-ovens by Mellaart. The range in quality, particularly in the early levels, as well as variation in form and

colour suggest that pottery production was at a household level. Jonathan Last has studied the material from both Mellaart's excavations and the current work, and his analysis of the 1960's assemblage suggests that the more complex buildings may contain slightly more 'progressive' pottery (Last 1996: 170). That is, new forms and colours tend to be represented a little earlier in the more complex buildings throughout the sequence, although this pattern should not be over-stated.

### **5.3. Figurines**

The figurine assemblage follows the same pattern as the lithics and pottery (see chapter five). There is an extremely wide range of form, particularly among the human figurines, but similarities among some figurines found within individual buildings suggests household manufacture and specific referents such as totems or ancestors rather than site-wide imagery. The humanoid figures, on the other hand, show great conformity to a limited number of styles (although there are exceptions) and seem to represent the generalised human form. The probability of different functions for these two broad classes of figurines (although such a division has some difficulties, for which see chapter five) is supported by find context. Humanoid figures tend to be found in open areas, and although the majority of human figures may also have been found in these spaces (there are no contexts recorded for a number of those found in Mellaart's excavations), a significant number have been found in buildings and probably in situ. Overall, the differences between figurines suggest strongly that they were made by individuals and/or individual households, and that even the humanoids do not have sufficient lack of variation to suggest mass or 'industrial' production.

### **5.4. Food production**

Food production is more difficult to assess, as no field systems have yet been searched for, and the overlying burden of alluvium surrounding the mound makes it problematic. However, many structures contain clay bins for the storage of dry goods and there is ample evidence in the botanical record of wheat, barley, lentils and other pulses, acorns, tubers and hackberry from within all buildings excavated by the current team (and indeed from the external areas, where hackberry is

uniquitous). Building 1 also contained large numbers of small fish-bones on the north-west platform and several pairs of sheep/goat feet, all of which may well have been hanging from the ceiling when the building burned down (although the fish-bones are so small they may have derived from river mud use to construct the roof). Thus there is a consistent picture of food storage at the individual household level. However, the more complex or formally planned buildings seem to have additional storage, sometimes in small rooms full of clay bins (for instance, Building 5, or Mellaart's AII:1), although it is not possible to count bins with accuracy from Mellaart's plans as they are difficult to distinguish from platforms and hearths. So far there is no evidence at all of mass or communal storage such as would be expected in a hierarchical society in which the redistribution of food from the producers to specialists in other fields occurs.

### *Discussion*

I have considered the evidence for industrial production or processing of a range of materials, and the conclusion must be that most, if not all, production was on a household scale for household consumption. There is limited data to suggest the use of communal ovens or kilns, and the quality of some of the obsidian – particularly in the later levels – suggests some specialisation, perhaps focussing on some of the more complex or large buildings, but this probably took place within a localised or kin-based structure rather than a hierarchical social order.

## **6: Conclusion**

The data discussed in this chapter has not demonstrated any structured hierarchy in the use of space, be it external or internal, private or public, domestic or industrial. Rather, the evidence suggests that all space is essentially domestic rather than public or industrial. The agglutinative form of the settlement ensured that circulation routes required the use of otherwise 'private' space for public access across the rooftops. The re-building of structures on top of old structures utilising earlier walls, and the memory of the siting of earlier buildings, ensured both continuity of

settlement organisation and that ground-level open space could often only be found within the shells of disused structures. These ground-level spaces seem to have been used by the residents of the surrounding buildings for a variety of activities including the disposal of household waste, and there is no evidence of community-wide open space such as could have been used for large-scale undertakings of the type found in hierarchical societies – religious ritual, display of military strength, communal storage, etc. Although there is some variation in size and elaboration of buildings, this is on a continuum which indicates differing requirements related to the number and activities of the occupants rather than social stratification such as the presence of chiefs or priests. Overall, an analysis of space at Çatalhöyük suggests a non-hierarchical system without developed specialisation of production, although some differentiation may have existed. This will be discussed further in the concluding chapter.

As far as gender is concerned, the lack of evidence for industrial production or community-wide public space brings up the question of whether at one time only the domestic realm existed. The association of women with the domestic sphere is generally coupled with an association of men with the public sphere, yet perhaps no such sphere existed in any formalised way at Çatalhöyük. Certainly I have not found it in this analysis of public, private, domestic and industrial space, and there has been no suggestion of separate female and male private space from the evidence so far. It seems to be time therefore to consider the final topic – the sexual division of labour.

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<sup>1</sup> For Mellaart's numbering conventions, see chapter one, 15.

<sup>2</sup> It is not known whether these crawl-holes/openings were blocked during the use of the building, or whether it was simply a necessary preparation for constructing a later wall on the stub of the old one. If we found this phenomenon in a previously untouched building it should be possible to understand the sequence of events, particularly as an early blocking is likely to be covered by wall plaster. By the time we worked on these buildings, no plaster remained.

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<sup>3</sup> Numbers 2 and 6 appear elsewhere on the plan, in the south-west, overlying level VII rooms of the same numbers, and these should be regarded as correct; those adjoining room 25 are erroneous numbers which should read 26: either this was later found to be divided into two rooms, or else the division is an error on the plan. The plan in Mellaart 1964, after p40, shows these as 26a and 26b.

<sup>4</sup> No field drawings exist from Mellaart's excavations, so accurate measurements of building sizes are not possible. However, it is clear that the largest could be twice the size of the smallest, but whether they performed the same functions is not always clear. For instance, the small building EVII:2 was recorded as a house by Mellaart, but current work has shown that it was linked to the large EVII:12 and may have been an anteroom, while the even smaller EVII:16 was also linked to EVII:2 and could have been a store-room rather than an individual building. On the other hand, openings could have been made and blocked as the need for space fluctuated, and it may be incorrect to view buildings as having permanent elements rather than changing organically over time.

<sup>5</sup> See note 4.

<sup>6</sup> As entrance ladders tend to be near the ovens, it is unclear which relationship may have been intended by those who deposited the obsidian, but as obsidian chips are frequently found in ash, the current team tends to see the association as between obsidian and ovens/fires, rather than obsidian and ladders or entrances.

<sup>7</sup> Parts of probably 64 individuals were found in Building 1, but it is of course possible that some body parts from separate areas of Space 71 actually belong to a single person.

<sup>8</sup> Except when it becomes a profession, and then males have a glorified name of 'chef' rather than the workaday 'cook', thus differentiating them from women and removing their profession from the realm of women's work.

<sup>9</sup> Mellaart did find pottery in level XII; our deep sounding in 1999 did not produce any pottery in the lowest levels but other fired clay objects were found.



## CHAPTER EIGHT

### DISCUSSIONS AND CONCLUSIONS

#### **1: Introduction**

So far in this thesis I have considered the theoretical issues of sex and gender, outlined the approaches to social systems underpinning many archaeological attitudes to data, clarified some social terminology, and discussed three types of data available at Çatalhöyük which are widely used by archaeologists in the interpretation of early social structures. Now it is time to pull those strands together to see if we are in a position to assess the operation of sex, gender and society at Çatalhöyük during the Neolithic.

One of the main indicators of gender is a sexual division of labour, since gender is the imposition of social and economic roles on binary sex. Therefore the first step in coming to conclusions about sex, gender and society at Çatalhöyük is to consider how the data sets examined so far can shed light on a sexual division of labour and roles. This includes discussion of anthropomorphic images, burial data, the identification of domestic space, and industry and production. This information will then be used in drawing a picture of the likely gender system and social organisation of the people of Çatalhöyük.

#### **2: A Sexual/Gender Division of Labour/Roles**

##### **2.1. General and theoretical discussion**

As we have seen in previous chapters, domestic space has widely been viewed as a female sphere of operation, and conversely women are thought to carry out their activities primarily in domestic space. In archaeological thought, when consideration has been given to the role of women it has generally been when

discussion of the domestic sphere or the household has taken place. Women's areas of work are normally seen through the Western lens of nineteenth and early twentieth century gender roles, and placed around the kitchen – a place which is strongly gendered in modern western thought but has not always been in practice (see Hamilton 2000b). Thus women move into archaeological focus when ovens and hearths are found, and when food processing – and more recently prehistoric pottery production – is discussed. However, this narrow view of women's activities and roles has been challenged in the past two decades by a growing body of feminist work, backed up by anthropological research (see chapter two), and it should no longer be considered normal for archaeological interpretations to be so shallow. Much feminist work in this area has been essentially revisionist in theme, searching for a female input in industries and areas of life traditionally regarded as male, such as flint knapping, metallurgy, and hunting, and it has become increasingly difficult for specialist studies to ignore this body of work although it still needs to be incorporated more widely into general interpretations. However, the equivalent studies on men are still missing, leaving a raft of assumptions about their roles and activities. The exclusively male character of some of these is slowly but surely being eaten away by feminist work on women, but no attempt has yet been made either to prove or justify traditional views of male activities, nor to examine whether they actually were broader than is normally assumed. For instance, men are generally excluded from discussions of the domestic sphere, yet it is perfectly feasible that they carried out a number of roles and activities either alone or in conjunction with, and on an equal footing with, women. A number of scientific techniques such as isotope analysis and examination of activity-related wear on human skeletons offer potentially more objective ways of understanding what people did and ate and whether significant sex and gender differences can be seen<sup>1</sup>, and these are also relevant to an understanding of a sexual division of labour. Unfortunately they are still rare, and again they need to be absorbed into the wider interpretations rather than left as specialist studies.

In considering the evidence for a sexual division of labour at Çatalhöyük, I shall look at all available data sets. Some of these have been discussed in the previous

chapters, and here I shall attempt to draw together these varied strands of information. Thus the rest of this section will consider evidence from figurines, burials, spatial analysis and production/activities.

## **2.2. Anthropomorphic figurines and images**

As pointed out in chapter five, the figurines from Çatalhöyük are rarely shown doing anything – the exceptions are the males riding animals, two figures standing behind leopards (one female, one sexless but regarded as female by analogy with the other one), and one female that may be giving birth. Even if this last one has been interpreted correctly, it is of little use in considering a sexual division of labour since it will come as no surprise to anyone that women gave birth in the Neolithic just as they do now – although we might question whether it was normal to do so while seated on felines. Despite certain cultural beliefs to the contrary (see chapter two) it is a matter of biology rather than social preference that females/women give birth. Thus while the symbolism of the feline seat may be intriguing, and may suggest that this is no ordinary woman, it takes us no further in the current enquiry. Similarly the existence of male figures riding animals is likely to be symbolic or mythical rather than naturalistic, but it may indicate that males/men were associated with these animals in a particular way. The animals in question are mainly current domesticates – cattle or sheep – although whether their domestication had been completed at the time the figurines were made (that is, by level VI) is unclear. Faunal experts are justifiably nervous of making such declarations, but there is little doubt that animal management of some sort had begun much earlier at Çatalhöyük, as the evidence of animal penning as early as level X (W Matthews et al. 1996: 322-4) and even pre-XII (2000 archive report) shows. It is thus feasible that these figurines do reflect a male role in the domestication of animals which has no echo in the female iconography. On the other hand, these figurines occur alongside others featuring people with leopards – two supposed females standing with leopards and one presumed male riding a leopard. There is little, if any, chance that this reflects real-life activity, and since many of these images were found together, it would be more reasonable to assume that none of them represents reality but rather all are symbolic or mythical representations. The fact that females are shown only with

wild animals – felines – while males are shown also with domesticates, may be important but is unlikely to relate to a sexual division of labour, although it may well relate to sex/gender ideology (see, for instance, Hodder 1990).

It is possible that context can offer further information here. The collection of figurines found by Mellaart in AII:1 is of interest. The hugely fat ‘birth figure’ was found in a ‘grain bin’, and if this is a genuine context <sup>2</sup> it may represent a relationship between females/women and grain. This has generally been regarded as a fertility association, but there is a big difference between the fertility of plants and of humans, and therefore I am sceptical of this. Three more of Mellaart’s figurines should be considered here – a standing stone figure lightly sexed female was found lying among grain and crucifer seeds on a platform below a leopard sculpture in EVI:44 (Mellaart 1964: 75); a seated clay ‘fat female’ painted with leopard spots was found in a deposit of peas in EIV:4; and another standing stone figure, sexed female slightly more strongly than the one in EVI:44, is reported to have come from a granary in EVI:5 (Mellaart 1963: 95) or EIV:4<sup>3</sup>. It is striking that three of these figurines seem to have leopard or feline associations – in form, decoration, or context – in addition to the plant associations<sup>4</sup>. Those from EVI:44 and EVI:5/EIV:4 resemble each other quite strongly in stance, position of hands and style of head including hairstyle, but they are not the ‘fat female’ type; rather, they are commanding, even stern, figures that give no impression of ‘fertility’ and could more easily be seen as protective or guardian figures<sup>5</sup>. In addition to these specific associations with grain, Mellaart reports that at least seven small deposits of grain and legumes were found in the main and subsidiary rooms of AII:1 ‘scattered all over the floor’ (Mellaart 1963:46), and nine female figurines were also found in this building. The suggestion that women were associated with plants and crops is not revolutionary, but any ideological assumption should be tested before being accepted. So far, the evidence is extremely slight, but other information may be forthcoming from other data sets (see below). It is also unclear whether such an association would be based on daily activity, for instance the gathering and/or processing of plants for food and other uses, or on the domestication of plant

species. This latter could be the origin of a mixed symbolism of females, domestic plants and wild animals.

Of the nine figurines found in AII:1, seven lay around the remains of a hearth – six seated ‘fat females’<sup>6</sup> and one standing lightly-sexed figure in leopard-skin top and fringed skirt. These images of mature, confident females give the impression of perhaps representing elders, maybe gathered in conference or involved in a ritual of some kind. Some of these figures have holes for the attachment of heads, and it is possible that different heads were used according to the ritual or ceremony in question – perhaps a rite of passage, or an attempt at magical intervention in human affairs. They do not appear to me to be related to birth imagery and human fertility. Whatever the reason, it is certainly possible that this group represents a gathering of older women, which may reflect their role in society. As discussed in chapter five (p219), the burial record suggests a growing sex ratio imbalance in favour of females in the later levels of the site, which may have led to a concentration of decision-making or ritual powers in the hands of women. Taken in conjunction with the lack of male figurines in the later levels of the site, and the strong sexing of many of the female figurines, there may be some information here concerning social organisation and the role of women in decision-making and leadership.

Figurines are not the only imagery available at Çatalhöyük, there are also wall-paintings and wall-sculptures that may be of use. The paintings in the two ‘hunting shrines’ (AIII:1 – Mellaart 1962, pl. XIV-XVIII; and FV:1 – Mellaart 1966, pl. LI-LXIII) show people, sometimes explicitly bearded people and frequently dressed in leopard skins, teasing, trapping and leaping on massive animals. The suite of animals is similar to that found among the figurines, with or without humans – cattle, boar and felines, as well as deer, bear, equid and cranes. These paintings appear to illustrate a male role in hunting and in ritual concerning wild animals. A few female figures do occur, but they do not seem to be involved with the animals – rather, they are present yet divorced from the proceedings. On the basis of these paintings, therefore, it is possible to justify a belief that males rather than females were responsible for dealing with living wild animals (in the form of hunting,

taming or taunting them). However, it is important to remember that these paintings were made in the later levels of the site, when there is reason to believe hunting had lost any major role in the economy. They may therefore be purely symbolic, reflecting a new sex/gender ideology that is apparent in the altered imagery on figurines (see chapter five), and thus may not reflect the reality of several centuries before when activities and society in general may have been less strictly divided on sex/gender lines. Naturally, the suggestion that males/men rather than females/women were primarily responsible for hunting is no more revolutionary than the idea that women were associated with plants, but again it needs to be tested before it can be accepted.

The large-scale wall-sculptures do not seem to offer any assistance with sex/gender roles. None has been found during the current work, so we are reliant on Mellaart's material. The faces, and often hands/feet, of the figures were defaced or destroyed in antiquity and it is not clear that they were wholly human representations, as some seem to have feline elements. A few apparently have swollen stomachs, suggested by Mellaart to show pregnancy – and hence that the figures are female, which could also perhaps be argued from the possible feline attributes since in other imagery females are more commonly linked to felines than males – but without a better understanding of what these sculptures represent it is not possible to use them to interpret social roles.

### **2.3. Burial data at Çatalhöyük**

Burial data is more likely to give us usable information concerning a sex/gender division of labour than figurines, because it includes the remains of actual people. There are several aspects of skeletal evidence that can be of use – wear on bone, chemical information about diet, and injury data. In addition, grave-goods will be reviewed.

#### Wear on bone

Theya Molleson is carrying out studies on the skeletons at Çatalhöyük to find out what information is available concerning activities. Lawrence Angel did make some



comments on this, noting that there was evidence on the bones of adaptation to rough country (particularly apparent on female bones), running, walking – especially downhill, climbing with flexed knees, balancing, and squatting – all of which is to be expected given the terrain and the architecture at the site (Angel 1971: 93-4). Angel concluded that ‘physical stress was heavy’ (ibid.: 91) and postural details on bones indicate an active lifestyle and ‘hard work on the part of everybody’. He also noted specifically work-related damage to the teeth of one female from level IV which was likely to have resulted from holding a bow-drill butt carelessly or making baskets or similar industrial usage (ibid.). Unfortunately only one individual was affected, so there is no possibility of finding out whether this relates to gender roles, and the lack of specificity regarding the type of activity involved would make it unhelpful even if it were clearly sex-based.

So far the situation is similar with Molleson’s work. A range of postures appears to have been used – squatting on the heels, squatting or kneeling on toes, sitting cross-legged, or with both legs to one side, squatting knees together and heels to buttocks, or squatting with weight on one foot and purchase on the other. However, the specific information concerning each skeleton is missing, sometimes because the skeleton is incomplete (in which case such analyses have not yet been undertaken, or at least not made available), so only a few instances can be examined. Some postures may be idiosyncratic, others suited to specific tasks. In particular Molleson notes that pounding ochre with a pestle and mortar would be most efficient with the mortar held between the thighs and the pestle driven from a centre of gravity around the shoulders, while grinding grain on a saddle quern is best undertaken from a kneeling position with toes curled under to provide ‘push-off’. Although she has recognised evidence on the skeleton of male 1378 of lifelong squatting with the heels off the ground, and powerful use of the hands that necessitated considerable weight bearing pressure especially on the wrists, thumbs and first fingers resulting in injury and arthritic damage, she has been unable so far to suggest what the activity might have been (Molleson and Andrews 1996a). Old male 2056 seems to have had the habit of kneeling with toes curled under with particular pressure being placed on the left foot. Old female 2058 seems to have habitually carried a heavy load over

her left shoulder, while the kneeling articulation is only moderate. Young adult male 2886 may have engaged in load bearing during adolescence, and squatted with his left leg close to the body and right leg directed away to the side (Molleson et al. 1998). It is interesting that the two skeletons with postural and activity evidence that could relate to grinding are male, while female 2058 seems to have a lower level of adaptation for this work but instead carried heavy loads – although it is possible that these were children, as it is also suggested that she may have had many pregnancies or else was obese. Unfortunately such a small data set is insufficient to postulate a sexual division of labour in the area of grinding (see also below p327).

A number of skeletons have black powdery deposits in the lung cavity which seems to be soot. This may relate to activities which involved using a fire, or to spending a large amount of time indoors. Seven skeletons are recorded as having this heavy staining or deposit: 1378, an old male; 1424, an old female; 1425.1, a possibly female juvenile/adolescent; 2115, an old female; 2527, a mature female; 2529, an old male, and 4615, a adult (mature?) female. Clearly females dominate in this group, and the only two males are elderly. This data may well suggest that females spent a substantially greater amount of time working in close proximity to an indoor fire, which would be expected within a traditional sexual division of labour in which women cook, care for fires, and carry out much of their work within the home. Although two of the females are old, the others are younger and the juvenile/adolescent is possibly female, indicating lifelong proximity, whereas the age of the two males might reflect more sedentary and home-based occupations in later life, although they could also have been involved throughout life in working closely with fires. Both these interpretations would fit with traditional models relating to sex/gender and age, and so far this is the strongest evidence of a sexual division of labour at Çatalhöyük.

### Diet

An aspect of skeletal studies which can be extremely informative about a sex/gender division of labour and/or hierarchy is diet. Isotope studies can be used to determine the level of meat and plant foods eaten by individuals, and to examine whether diet

varied according to sex or age. Isotope studies are being carried out on skeletons from Çatalhöyük, but the results are not yet available although I understand that preliminary work does suggest a difference in diet according to sex (Jessica Pearson, pers. comm.). Unfortunately, such a general comment does not permit a consideration of changing sex/gender roles related to age or of the existence of cross-sex/gender roles, nor of diachronic shifts in diet either for the population at large or on a sex/gender basis, and therefore no conclusions can yet be drawn.

### Injury

Injuries may be able to indicate activities, and could potentially suggest a sexual division of labour. So far very few injuries have been found in the Hodder data set. Young adult male 2886 seems to have been involved in an accident resulting in injury to the upper thorax, but there is no indication as to the cause. Old adult male 1378 has a healed parry fracture to the left ulna, which is typical of warding off a blow. In chapter six (p271) I discussed Angel's data on injuries, and pointed out that the very small number of individuals examined for head injuries and parry fractures made their interpretation as evidence of fighting, in particular warfare, extremely dubious – especially as there is little, if any, other evidence to support this idea – although parry fractures could result from hunting.

What relevance do these injuries have to understanding gender roles? There is no doubt that hunting was carried out at Çatalhöyük, particularly in the early levels, since the bones of wild animals have been found at the site as have many projectile points, but whether this was a sex-related or age-related task, or one reserved for those of particular skill or interest, cannot be understood from the skeletal data although the wall-paintings suggest that males engaged with wild animals in hunting or baiting activities. Similarly, the evidence for warfare – commonly thought to affect men, although women are almost always caught up in such conflicts whether or not they have weapons for self-preservation – is slight to vanishing point. Although projectile points are comparatively common, they seem largely to have been designed for hunting rather than fighting. Clay balls are certainly ubiquitous, but the evidence suggests they were primarily for cooking: whether used as pot-

boilers, pot-stands or for roasting meat on in the ashes, or for conducting heat through the base of the oven, the burning they generally exhibit and their occurrence in hearths and ovens as well as in open areas gives little support to the idea that they were sling-shot used in fighting.

The most that can be said at present concerning injuries is that males do seem to be slightly more prone to injury than females, and that this could relate to sex-based activities, but the sample size is too small at present to be sure. It may be worth noting that, with such a low rate of female injury, it is certainly unlikely that they were of such low status that they could be attacked by males with impunity, as is the case in many strongly patriarchal cultures.

### Grave-goods

I have discussed the issue of grave-goods from Mellaart's excavations previously (Appendix 1: 258-261), and pointed out the difficulties with the old data. In essence, Mellaart claimed sex differentiation of some categories of grave-goods, but there are two major problems with this: firstly, the skeletons were not sexed by a specialist until after these claims had been made, and the state of the records no longer permits the vast majority of grave-goods to be allocated to specific skeletons to check the sex attribution; secondly, the disorganised state of many 'mass burials' – thought at the time to be secondary, but now presumed from the work by the Hodder team to have merely been disturbed – means that assigning items to individual skeletons was often difficult, if not impossible (as it is in the current work). However, my 1996 discussion has highlighted a few burials in which the information can be checked or the associations are tight, and while this low quality of data does not permit me to say that the general associations made by Mellaart are correct, it does show that any demarcation that existed was not strict. For instance, Mellaart associates lithics with males, but there are several reports of lithics with females. These may have been sexed according to Mellaart's association of females with necklaces, but either one or the other link is clearly not watertight if some skeletons were buried with both. The association of males with maceheads appeared to be overturned by the 'female' burial in VIII:31, which was covered with

necklaces, but the sexing of this skeleton as male raises the issue of necklaces while solving the macehead problem, again presenting mixed-sex/gender artefacts if the sexing of items is to be sustained. The association of females and adzes or celts has not been checked, as I did not have time in 1995 to search through the ground stone collection from Mellaart's excavations while I was recording grave-goods and figurines, but the discovery by James Conolly (working alongside me) of a number of grave assemblages (and figurines!) in bags of obsidian suggests that similar grave assemblages may lie in the boxes of ground stone awaiting study by Adnan Baysal.

So far the data from the Hodder excavations has shed little light on sex associations of grave-goods. Very few items have been found, and most have been with juveniles. However, there is sufficient to raise questions. Young adult female 1995 had a bone or antler 'fastener' on her breastbone of the type assigned by Mellaart to males; old adult male 1924 had 3 pendants at the neck, within the pattern Mellaart reported, but a dentalium-shell bracelet around one arm which would not be expected. Infant 2842 was buried with a miniature mortar containing red pigment and a mussel shell containing pigment – this is the first mortar reported from a grave, although a couple of elegant stone bowls were found by Mellaart with 'males'; shells containing pigment are supposed to occur with women. Mussel shells have been found with both sexes by the current team. Most necklaces – or quantities of beads, some of which may not have been threaded as necklaces – have been found with infant burials.

Therefore, the most that can be said is that more data is required before the sex/gender associations of grave-goods suggested by Mellaart can be confirmed or denied. This is a matter of major importance for investigating the presence of cross-sex/cross-gender identities at the site. So far, it seems plausible that these did exist (see Appendix 1) if Mellaart's ideas were correct, but further work is required. As far as gaining information concerning a sexual division of labour is concerned, clearly without close associations between one sex and one type of tool (for instance, celts, projectile points, bone points, etc.) there is less scope, even taking into account the difficulties of understanding why an item is buried with a particular

person. However, although my work in 1996 showed that female skeletons were sometimes accompanied by lithics, these were not projectile points, they were 'knives', and thus could be interpreted as related to domestic tasks of food preparation – although males could also be buried with knives, as well as daggers. Projectile points occur only rarely in graves. There is scope for a tentative link between lithics in graves and a sexual division of labour (male = hunting, female – food preparation), and this is partly supported by imagery at the site.

## **2.4. Domestic space**

The identification of domestic space is fraught with semantic difficulties. To some extent the problems have been explored in chapters four and seven. Until comparatively recently in the West, and still in many parts of the world, the household was both the place of reproduction of people and culture, and the place of production of food, tools and economic surpluses. In such a definition, the household is not limited to the space within house walls, but includes attached fields and areas of common land or wilderness to which the inhabitants of the house have access. The identification of such space is extremely difficult, and in some cases impossible, so that it is the bounded areas contained within house and yard/garden walls that are generally recognised as domestic space. However, not all space within those walls is always regarded as domestic, due to the sex/gender associations which lead to domestic space being viewed as a female area. The identification of such space tends, therefore, to be based upon the presence of items regarded as part of the female sphere of activity, such as ovens and hearths.

When Mellaart excavated at Çatalhöyük, he suggested that the southern part of the houses was a kitchen area due to the regular occurrence of an oven close to the south wall. Hearths were not so restricted in placement, but since a hearth can be used for a range of things other than cooking, it is not sex/gender-linked in the same way as ovens. Hodder continued this theme in his wide-ranging contextual exploration of gender and symbolism, suggesting that not only was the south a female area, offering access to the dangerous and liminal world of the wild through the domestic realm, but that the north was male – internal, protected, and full of symbolism



relating to the wild in the form of wall-paintings and sculptures (Hodder 1990: 9-11). While Hodder argued it convincingly within the limits of Mellaart's data<sup>7</sup> and informed by ethnological and anthropological studies, it also reflects modern attitudes based on a sex/gender hierarchy: because the 'kitchen' is regarded as a female zone, it is regarded as marginal – essential, but only a service area, in this instance serving also to separate and protect the male 'inner sanctum' from the dangers of the great outdoors (which are nevertheless a male zone of activity in the form of hunting and trading). This itself suggests a sex hierarchy in which the male has greater value and must therefore be protected, as well as indicating that males operate in two distinct areas – public and ultra-private, whereas females may carry out 'private' activities in public space (see chapter four, 161-167). Hodder explicitly suggested that "early Neolithic symbolism is involved in the celebration and control of the wild, and that the control relates to social power through the representation of male and female and through the organization of domestic space" (ibid.:11), and further that "it seemed possible to argue that the process of domestication – the control of the wild – is a metaphor and mechanism for the control of society" (ibid.:12).

### Ovens

The gender links of ovens and cooking are rarely questioned. It seems that cross-culturally females and/or women do the domestic cooking (except barbecues!) although males/men may do professional cooking. However, if at one time there was only a domestic sphere which consisted of organising the requirements for survival, there is no reason to assume that it was gendered. It may be of interest therefore that a sexless – or at best sexually ambiguous<sup>8</sup> – figurine was found in an ashy rake-out deposit in a basin made over an oven in the south-east corner of Building 17 when it went out of use during remodelling of the building. If ovens were associated with females, it might be expected that a female figurine would be found in this context. This is a level IX building, and strongly sexed figurines are rare at that time but they do exist.

Work by the Hodder team has demonstrated that in fact ovens are not always placed against the south wall. Although there may be a preference for this, a great deal of change and reconstruction took place within buildings, and this included movement of ovens. This has been seen in Buildings 1, 2, 4, 6 and 17 in some detail (see Appendix 6 for an insight into the constant change and reorganisation of Building 17). If ovens were not always in one part of the house, this immediately brings into question the attribution of one geographical area of the house as belonging to a particular type of activity (cooking) and/or group of people (women), and alongside this we must question what constitutes domestic space if it cannot be pinpointed in this way through artefacts or activities.

### Food processing

It is generally assumed that the grinding of grain was a major element in food processing, and in women's work. However, the dental evidence for eating grain is very slight, and this picture is found also in the botanical analyses, which indicate little use of ground foodstuffs (Hastorf and Near 1998). A low incidence of grinding equipment also argues against grain processing as a large-scale and time-consuming task. Thus the inconclusive skeletal data for grinding as a sex-linked, and particularly female, activity (see above p320-1) joins a suite of information that suggests that the women of Çatalhöyük did not spend a great deal of time on this task, which is traditionally associated with women in farming communities. Nevertheless, grinding installations have been found in Buildings 1 and 5 associated with plant remains<sup>9</sup>.

### Platforms/benches

The information concerning Building 17 (Appendix 6) also demonstrates that the placement of platforms, benches and other work areas changes constantly. These are regarded as both places where a range of 'domestic' productive activities were carried out, and where people would have slept. The dead were generally buried beneath them. The evidence of Building 1 is that the platform in the south-west corner was 'dirty', while those in the north and east were 'clean', suggesting again that there was a spatial separation of domestic activities towards the south.

However, in Building 17 it was clearly not that simple. Although at different times, some areas were 'clean' and others 'dirty', this structuring changed, suggesting that there was no straightforward gender system driving the spatial organisation of work and production within the house.

A certain amount of information about the spatial organisation of activities is available for Building 1 based on the macro- and micro-data obtained from heavy residue<sup>10</sup> as well as micromorphological work on samples cut through surfaces. Heavy residue is sorted in >4mm, >2mm and >1mm fractions, and every deposit is sampled, giving extensive data (although plotting this on a distribution graph is not as simple as when specific sampling is carried out on a grid).

Preliminary results for phase I occupation (figure 21) show a high density of plant and bone remains in Space 70 with a medium density on the north-west platform in Space 71, and very high density of bone on the south-west platform and on the floor in front of the east-central platform (plan 9). Obsidian occurs mainly on the north-west platform, in front of the east-central platform, and in the north-east corner. Since Space 70 is thought of as a storage room with cooking facilities, these results are not surprising. The highest density of plant material occurs by the grinding installation in Space 70, but it is also high on the north-west platform – which may relate to matting covering the surface rather than food preparation.

In phase III (plan 10), the plots are available just for Space 71 at present (figure 22) and show the highest densities of >4mm plant, obsidian and bone all on and around the east-central platform, suggesting that a range of work was carried out there. Plant density declines towards the north-west corner of the room, which indeed seems low on most materials, indicating perhaps a more specialised function such as a sleeping area.

Clearly far more work is needed before the distribution of remains and activities can be interpreted usefully. Categories such as 'plant' and 'bone' are too dense to be helpful at present. However, there is obviously scope for this work to assist in an

understanding of activities carried out within ‘domestic space’, and hopefully it will eventually be possible to tie that in to information about a sex/gender division of labour, but at present more data is required.

### *Discussion*

A look at Building 17 (Appendix 6, plan 3), one of only two buildings excavated from scratch by the Hodder team without previous excavation by Mellaart or loss of the upper part from surface exposure<sup>11</sup>, shows a constant moving not only of ovens but of ‘dirty areas’, basins and work platforms. This suggests that the entire building was ‘domestic space’ in the broadest terms of a place of production and reproduction, as well as burial of the dead. It is worth noting two comments in the Archive report: firstly that:

“The floors in Space 182 appeared to consist of accumulated occupation deposits, trampled through wear, to form discontinuous floor horizons [5245], [5246], [5243] and [5240] over which numerous fragments of debris were recovered. These consisted of obsidian and flint artefacts, bone, pottery fragments, traces of basketry and general domestic waste debris. Three horizons of similar deposits were identified, which probably relate to the three phases excavated in Space 170”;

and secondly that “Clearly the two rooms of Building 17 served different functions, Space 182 showing great similarities to the ‘dirty’ areas in Space 170. A clearer interpretation of the different activities performed in the two areas will be available once the results of the micro analysis are completed” (Appendix 6).

Despite the second statement, what comes across from this report is that in fact similar productive activities appear to have been carried out in both Space 170 and Space 182, although some activities – such as sleeping – may have taken place in just one of them. Overall, the impression of domestic space gained from the Hodder excavations is one of dynamic change and multiple activities, rather than a static structure dominated by strictly gendered zones and concepts.

## 2.5. Industry and production

As we have seen above (p328) the macro- and micro-artefact scatters on the floors of Building 1 (and 17) show that the range of activities carried out within buildings is broad –remains of food plants, animal bones and obsidian chips all occur within buildings, along with ovens, and grinding equipment for both food and pigment, suggesting that the division between domestic and ‘non-domestic’ is artificial, or at least should not follow gender-specific lines.

### Ovens/kilns

As discussed in chapter seven (p306-7), not all buildings contain ovens according to Mellaart’s plans and several large ovens were found in open areas in later levels. They could be public/communal ovens/kilns or private industrial ovens/kilns. The interpretation of this change in the distribution of ovens could follow two routes: either that groups of people are choosing to share oven facilities first within large buildings, and later in open spaces, and that access to these ovens is probably based on geographical/physical proximity; or that certain members of the community offered industrial services to others, first using ovens within their homes and later building much larger ovens in outside areas as the scale of production increased. If ovens within buildings decline in number over time in favour of communal or industrial ovens, how does this affect traditional models of the sexual division of labour, and where do we find women’s space if the traditional marker – the oven – is absent? There are two implications: women are generally regarded as the users of ovens, so if the work of upkeep, firing and cleaning of ovens is removed from the domestic to the communal or industrial sphere, this should free women up for other matters, either public/industrial/communal or private/domestic. It also suggests that women may have been involved in public/industrial activities with ovens/kilns, losing the domestic/private focus they are expected to have. Archaeologists tend to assume that when production becomes industrial in scale it is transferred from women to men. This view has support in much ethnological work on pottery manufacture. However, industrial production is generally accompanied by improved technology: in the case of pottery, the introduction of the wheel. If these large ovens are pottery kilns, this could invert the normal understanding of industrial

production because it is all hand-made pottery. Perhaps, then, we are looking at communal rather than industrial production, but it is clearly difficult to differentiate the two on the basis of material remains, yet the implications of the two options for social organisation are almost diametrically opposed.

### Knapped stone

Knapping of stone tools is traditionally considered men's work, but recent studies have commented on the likelihood that women at least made their own expedient tools. Certainly women are unlikely to have sat around waiting for a man to make them a tool, and expedient knapping would probably have been carried out by anyone (Gero 1991: 170). Conolly states that most knapped stone tools in buildings are probably expedient and would have been retouched in buildings where they were used for making bone tools, wooden artefacts, and probably beads and mats/baskets, as well as for cutting meat and plant foods (Conolly 1999: 794; W Matthews et al. 1996: 306-311). The prismatic blades, which are technically difficult to produce, seem to have occurred rather more often in the more elaborate buildings, and Conolly believes they may be the product of specialist workers (Conolly *ibid.*: 795). Whether or not specialised knapping was sex/gender-based at Catalhoyuk is not addressed by Conolly, but if expedient manufacture was not sex/gender based, there is no reason why particularly skilled people of either sex should not have had the chance both to notice their skill and to practice it. So far no clear obsidian-working areas have been identified, so the only place in which obsidian is known to have been worked is the normal buildings.

### Beads

The majority of beads, which occur in their hundreds and even thousands in burials as well as throughout the site in smaller numbers, are made of stone; a few are bone or other materials such as clay (see Appendix A). They were probably cut with obsidian implements, and evidence of manufacture within buildings has been found in the microscopic studies (W Matthews et al. 1996: 306-311). Beads seem to have been worn mainly by women and children, according to the burial data, although some male skeletons have small numbers of beads, but there is no evidence to



suggest who made them other than that some, at least, were made within buildings. Many of the raw materials came from some distance away and may have been acquired on foraging, hunting or trading expeditions, but while there may be some evidence to suggest that males were involved in hunting and females in foraging, this takes us no closer to a sex/gender association for the manufacture of beads. It may in fact have been a task undertaken by anyone who wanted to wear them, just as much stone knapping was expedient, but the extreme standardisation of many beads suggests site-wide knowledge of techniques (and thus presumably available to anyone?) rather than idiosyncratic manufacture.

### Food processing

There is very little evidence of butchery techniques. Only a handful of marks have been found on bones, suggesting high levels of skill. It is becoming increasingly clear that the management of sheep, and to a lesser extent goat, was of importance from the earliest levels of the site and that sheep may have been domesticated from the earliest occupation, and there is now some evidence of penning (Martin and Russell 2000b). A study of 'oven rake-out' deposits has shown that bone-grease extraction was taking place within buildings (Martin and Russell 1999). Whether any of these tasks was sex/gender related is unknown. The imagery in paintings may show males hunting, but whether they were also responsible for the management of domesticated animals is a separate issue, although it is generally viewed as a simple transition from one type of interaction with animals to another, particularly if hunting declines as domestication increases (as seems to be the case at Çatalhöyük). The figurines showing males riding cattle or sheep may relate to their role in the domestication and management of these animals, and they do offer evidence in support of such an association.

The topic of plant-food processing has been touched upon above. Plants were also processed for the production of basketry, matting and textiles, but again there is no evidence yet for whether these activities were sex/gender related. Hopefully data will be forthcoming from skeletal studies, particularly an analysis of wear on teeth, as they are often used in these tasks. Wood-working is also known to have taken

place, sometimes in houses and sometimes outdoors, and this is another task that could have been carried out by either sex/gender and about which no information is currently available.

### Pottery production

All the pottery at Çatalhöyük is hand-made, and it exhibits considerable variation in quality and design. Jonathan Last's studies suggest that there is a slight tendency to innovation within the more elaborate buildings (see chapter seven, 309-10) but this is minor. Pottery is widely assumed to have been made by women when production is at the household level and it is all hand-made. So far there is no evidence of where pots were produced or fired. As discussed above, it is possible that they were fired in house ovens, and that the large ovens found in the later levels were kilns for communal or industrial use, but no information is available about sex/gender-linked tasks. Pottery is sometimes made by all members of a household, with specific tasks allocated to men, women and children, and it is feasible that this was the pattern here, but the evidence is lacking at present.

### *Discussion*

The evidence for any kind of sexual/gender division of labour/roles is extremely tenuous at present. There are a few indications in the imagery, particularly wall-paintings, to link males with hunting, and these may be strengthened by the slight evidence of a higher level of injury to males, although this could be related to other activities. The strongest evidence for differentiation is probably the dietary information from isotope analyses, but as these are still in a preliminary stage no firm data is yet available. It is clear that a range of activities was carried out within buildings, some of which are not normally associated with traditional female roles, while the major task of women in agricultural societies – grinding grain – seems to have been of only minor importance at Çatalhöyük. There is a wealth of avenues of information to be pursued, but to date the evidence for or against a sexual/gender division of labour/roles is disappointingly weak, with just a slight leaning in favour of an association of males with both wild and domestic animals, and of females with plants and felines.

### **3: Sex/Gender Hierarchy**

The question I really need to approach is not when and how a sexual division of labour arose, although that is part of it; the big question is when the public sphere arose, when it became separate from the private or domestic sphere, and when it overtook the private sphere in importance. Given that the mainstay of the sexual division of labour is the private focus of women versus the public focus of men, the development and separation of the two spheres is clearly central, and thus the identification of a domestic sphere is as relevant as the recognition of public arenas of activity. However, the concept of separate spheres indicates autonomy and equality, such as is seen in hunter-gatherer societies in which women largely gather, men largely hunt, children join the women but older boys work with the men. The idea of overlapping spheres indicates a meeting point of joint work, responsibility, benefit and privilege, and perhaps is best represented by the modern Western model of gender roles. Patriarchy, on the other hand, presents unequal spheres, in which women are restricted to one area of life but men operate within both, as heads of households (patriarchs) and as public actors (see chapter three). It seems to me that the appearance of stratification depends at some level on the hierarchical arrangement of the public and private realms, and therefore this topic feeds into, and is essential for, a discussion of gender systems, in particular gender hierarchy.

#### **3.1. Anthropomorphic figurines**

The discussion of types by level in chapter five has demonstrated a low degree of sexing of figurines up to and including level VI. The humanoid figures are the most common, and are apparently sexless. A few fragments of strongly sexed female figurines occur before level VI, and several whole ones were found in level VI itself, but the majority of human figures are only lightly sexed or are sexless before level V. No male or phallic or mixed sex figurines are known after level VI.

This low sexual differentiation in the iconography suggests an equally low level of gender differentiation or hierarchy at the site in the first half of its occupation. Since sex is not stressed, and indeed both male and female figures are shown in similar

ways – similar poses, both with animals, both with leopard associations – it seems that sexual separation and/or segregation is not a focus of figurine iconography, and therefore of the most common material representations of humans. From this imagery I gain an impression that sex/gender hierarchy was not a contested area at that time. This could, of course, be because the hierarchy was so well-established that it need not be re-iterated in anthropomorphic representations, but in such a case it would be unlikely that both sexes would be shown with similar associations and iconography. After level VI this changes completely. The absence of male, phallic and mixed sex figures, and the common occurrence of strongly sexed female figures, suggests that sex and/or gender has become an area of importance, and perhaps of contention. It may be that a sex/gender hierarchy was becoming established, or that attempts to establish one were being resisted through manipulation of human representations for ideological, ritual or magical purposes. However, any understanding of which way such a hierarchy was developing, or who was contesting it, depends to some extent on the interpretation of the imagery. Specifically, does the strong sexing of the female figurines emphasise their role as important members of society, or does a stress on sexual features downgrade women in an attempt to restrict them to biological functions of motherhood? I have already discussed the imagery in chapter five, and concluded that, on the whole, it is more likely to represent a powerful role of women in society than a restricted role of motherhood and nurturer (see also below, p344-5). However, this must be added to information from other aspects of the site such as burial and spatial data, in order to suggest a ‘best fit’ interpretation.

### **3.2. Burials**

#### Place of burial

As discussed in chapter six, Mellaart’s belief that males and females were buried in different parts of the building receives no support from work by the Hodder team, and as the skeletons had not been sexed by a specialist at the time that he published these views, it is clear that there was scope for error. The evidence from Building 1 is of burials of both sexes and all ages in each major burial zone, and this is most likely to be interpreted as family sections of an extended family or lineage. The

evidence from other buildings does not offer multiple burials in the same way, but there is no suggestion of segregation or sexed zones within other buildings, and a double burial of an adult male and adult female occurred in Space 112. The strong implication is that any sex/gender hierarchy of status which existed in life did not continue in death. The only possible segregation found so far is the burial of lone males in the north-east corner. This was posited by Mellaart, and has been found only in Building 3 so far by the Hodder team. A possible explanation for this behaviour – if it is a genuine pattern – is discussed below (p339).

### Numbers by sex/gender

Clearly it is important in a study of gender structures to try to understand why Mellaart's excavations produced more female than male adult skeletons, and probably far more male than female juvenile skeletons. While the unequal numbers of male and female babies at Çatalhöyük based on Angel's sexing is largely in line with received knowledge about the greater death rate of male babies when both sexes are treated equally, the extent of the sex difference is rather startling. If the sexing is accepted<sup>12</sup>, social selection for burial could also be implied, but the low rate of juvenile females when compared to the high proportion of adult females receiving burial in the same places is perplexing. The extremely low number of females could suggest a female-preferred culture – one of Angel's explanations for the high number of adult females found in buildings<sup>13</sup>. If the high male juvenile death rate is related to genetic disease, it may not reflect any social bias, whereas male infanticide would suggest social selection of females and thus a female-preferred society<sup>14</sup>. It could be claimed that rather than a higher male death rate among juveniles, we are seeing a higher burial rate of males within houses, which reflects a male preferred society. However, this idea can almost certainly be discarded on two grounds: first, that the high representation of adult females gives no support to an idea of male preference; second, there is no strong reason to suppose that only a fraction of the population is represented by the burials<sup>15</sup>.

A common interpretation of the higher numbers of females is the practice of polygamy, always assumed to be polygyny, although this does not actually explain

an imbalance in total numbers, nor what happened to those males unable to acquire a 'wife'. As shown by the varying numbers of each sex in different houses (see Appendix 1: 254-5), the polygamy answer is by no means straightforward – or at least we should consider polyandry as well as polygyny. I see no reason to accept this interpretation but its ramifications should be mentioned. Polygyny is always seen through male eyes, regarded as boosting the status of men through the acquisition of women, their land and their children. What is little realised, however, is that polygyny can be beneficial for women, and polyandry – rather than being liberating – tends to be a heavy burden. This is because in most cultures women do most productive work, particularly that relating directly to feeding and caring for the family, and the addition of a husband (or a multitude of husbands) to every woman's family burden is hard work. Polygyny is common in cultures in which women own land, and frequently work it too. By sharing a husband between them, a group of women can reduce the number of people they have to feed from their land to themselves and their children, as well as having a ready-made co-operative to engage in work too arduous for a single person. From this viewpoint, rather than talking of androcentric polygynous groupings, it would perhaps be more accurate to see gynocentric stud-collectives. The altered status of men and women implied by these very different descriptions of the same objective constellations might offer some insight into the bias of scholarship to date.

### Descent patterns

It may be possible to use the information from Building 1 burials that suggests some genetic connections between individuals to recognise family relationships and descent patterns. It would help if we knew how long the building was occupied and at what point in its history each burial was made. Although it has been suggested that the main room was re-plastered annually – and that therefore counting the plaster layers would give us the number of years of occupation – some areas are known to have far more layers of plaster than others, and some are known to have had plaster cut off before being re-plastered (for instance, the east wall above the east-central platform/Space 110). However, if we take the greatest known number of plaster layers, the building could have been occupied for around 45-50 years.



Unfortunately, tying burials into specific times such as plastering events has been impossible, largely due to the repeated cutting of graves into the same area thus destroying relationships to undamaged plaster surfaces. Nevertheless, it is worth looking at what evidence we do have, but it is only possible to consider the substantially undisturbed skeletons, as the relative time of burial of the rest is unclear, and it is only in the east-central platform that a reasonable level of genetic evidence exist. Because of the highly speculative and tentative nature of such work, the details are discussed in Appendix 3 rather than in the main argument of this text.

Descent systems are outlined briefly in chapter three (p73-80) and how they would present in the burial record is discussed in chapter four (p159-61). In a matrilineal system we would expect to find the remains of related females and their brothers and the women's children of both sexes, but not their male partners since men do not leave a matrilineage in the way women do in some patrilineal societies. This is because they retain a role as brothers and uncles, and therefore have an interest in their birth lineage (e.g. Beattie 1966: 128-131). The women's brothers' children would be absent, as they would belong to their own mothers' lineages. In a patrilineal system we would expect to find the remains of related males and their unrelated female partners. Their daughters would join their male partners' lineages and would not be present in Building 1. A bilateral system would be more random. Based on this knowledge, it would appear that Building 1 represent a matrilineal group, since some at least of the skeletons are related females and males, although DNA tests would be required to endorse such a view. It is also possible that it is bilateral, as other skeletons could be related differently, but this pattern of related individuals could not represent a patrilineal group. A mixed burial system overlying matriliney is also possible. If partners could be buried either in their 'adopted' or in their 'lineage' home, then the burials in the east-central platform could represent genetically related females, some of their sons, some of their brothers, and some of their male partners. This would make sense of the low level of genetic defect among the males and high level among the females across what is probably three generations (see Appendix 3). For instance, it is well known that among the Merino of Madagascar people can choose whether to be buried in their mother's, father's or

spouse's lineage tomb (Ucko 1969: 268, with references to Bloch<sup>16</sup>). This is only one building, of course, and further excavation is required before it could be claimed to apply to all buildings

### Individual male burials

Mellaart stated that men were buried alone in the north-east corner, while women and children had communal burial in the east-central platform. The reality is more complicated, as some males were buried in groups, and some groups were clearly mixed sex. The Hodder data has not borne out Mellaart's views, but we do have a single adult male burial from the north-east corner of Building 3. A suggestion for these lone burials which would fit with the lineage data discussed above is that they are males 'marrying in', that have been buried in the house of their female partner but have no obvious burial place there. It may be possible to pursue this idea with DNA in future years. The alternative explanation – that these are men of power or importance – may be answered in the following section.

### Male power and the mother's brother

A well-known feature of matrilineal groups is the importance of the mother's brother. The last two adult burials in Building 1 are male, and it has been suggested by some members of the excavation team that this indicates male priority and probably patriliney, but as I have shown above, the pattern of genetic relationships cannot fit patriliney. Does the fact that the last burials were male have any relevance then? One of them (1378) has a separate grave pit in a zone which must have been cordoned-off, as it were, from the time of the earliest burial in the platform. This is also probably the last burial in the building, although it is possible that juvenile 1913 in the north-west platform post-dates 1378. This could therefore be evidence of male supremacy – that when the last male survivor of the line dies, a new building is constructed – not because society is patrilineal and patriarchal, but because in matrilineal societies men often have power in their sisters' households. This suggestion has to be weighed against the equal possibility that it is the first burial in the building which represents the person whose death initiates the establishment of a new home – in this case, a female, although I have speculated (Appendix 3) that she

was not the ancestor of all the groups under the platforms, but perhaps a less direct relative of some. We have no idea whether the first burial in the successor building was male or female, for Building 1 is immediately below the surface of the mound. Even if a later building had survived above it, evidence of occupation by the same family might not exist. The unusual burial of skeleton 1466 has also been suggested by team members to indicate the importance of males over females. He had been decapitated, probably the cause of death, and the skull was not buried with him, prompting speculation that it was taken to another building as part of ancestor rites<sup>17</sup>. Decapitation is special treatment, but it need not indicate male priority, or male descent, for which there is no other evidence. It could equally indicate a level of disposability, perhaps for wrong-doing or as a trouble-shooter. It is worth noting that although he received normal burial, and other skeletons were disturbed when his grave was dug, he was placed facing the opposite direction to the other complete skeletons in the platform (see chapter six, 252).

### *Conclusion*

Overall, the evidence regarding descent patterns is slim, but matriliney is the best fit at present. This is consistent to some extent with Mellaart's belief that female burials tended to be of higher status either in place of burial, treatment of the body, or addition of grave-goods, although it is clear that his view was formed on inaccurate sexing of many skeletons based on ideas created early on concerning sex segregation in death. However, it must be borne in mind that even if female descent patterns are proven at Çatalhöyük, this does not necessarily inform us about power relations in life. As any anthropologist will tell you, even in matrilineal societies women rarely wield power or authority, rather they hand it out to their sons and brothers, although sex/gender relations certainly tend to be more equal in matrilineal than in patrilineal societies for a number of reasons<sup>18</sup>. On the other hand, if the ratio of female to male really did increase in the later levels as Angel's data indicated, this may have counteracted any drift towards patriliney (see chapter three, 73-4) and enhanced female power and/or status.

### 3.3. Space

The exploration of domestic space (above) suggests that activities traditionally regarded as both female and male took place within houses. This may indicate that both males and females carried out their tasks in 'domestic space', and that that space was not gendered or segregated by sex (although some dangerous tasks such as obsidian working may have taken place within confined and segregated areas), or it may demonstrate that the traditional view of a sexual division of labour is wrong. So far it has not been possible to determine which of these options is more likely. For instance, during phase III the highest density of obsidian debris from heavy residue is found in the same part of Building 1 as the highest density of plant and bone remains, yet generally obsidian knapping would be regarded as male work and plant processing as female work, while bones might be worked or processed by either.

The more general analysis of space carried out in chapter seven shows that there is little public space available at the site. The open spaces between blocks of buildings were used for a variety of purposes which were unlikely to include meetings. Roofs provide the largest public space, yet this would have been largely private in its focus, as the excavation of the roof from Building 3 has shown. This looks just like floors, and seems to have had an oven on it. It was re-surfaced regularly, and was probably an extension of internal living space rather than a truly public area.

Hence, taking both the general and the domestic space into consideration, there is no evidence of sex/gender differentiation in use of space as would be expected in a settlement with a strong sex/gender division of labour and hierarchy. This does not preclude the possibility that male power brokers met either within buildings or off the mound, but there is no structured space within the settlement that can be identified as having a specifically non-domestic focus; nor is there reason to see the space within buildings as sex segregated, although that is notoriously difficult to recognise.

#### **4: Social Organisation**

One of the longstanding major questions about social organisation at Çatalhöyük relates to its size. Mellaart called the settlement a town, or even a city, because of the advanced level of technology and material and symbolic culture he found, as well as its size, and although few archaeologists have accepted these labels, at least until further excavation took place it was reasonable to consider that the area Mellaart excavated was not representative of the whole. Mellaart himself suggested that he may have excavated the priestly quarter, and that evidence of manufacturing areas and more ordinary dwellings might be found elsewhere. It was the size of the site that implied some form of social stratification, because anthropological studies have suggested that a settlement containing so many people requires centralised organisation and hierarchy in order to operate. For some time it has been thought that a community of around seventy people is the largest that can operate without some form of formal decision-making system (often a hierarchical organising structure), because it is the greatest number of people that everyone can know personally in some way. They can recognise them sufficiently to know they are not enemies, and where they fit into the community, even if they have little or no direct interaction.<sup>19</sup>

The new excavations at Çatalhöyük have provided no evidence that different parts of the settlement contain other types of structure. The surface survey, and excavation in two quite different parts of the mound, along with geophysical investigations, all point to the presence of similar types of structure throughout. Some buildings are larger than others, and there are various small cells which are assumed to have been attached to larger houses although some have no communicating doors or crawl-holes, but no other forms of building have been found. As discussed in chapter seven, a hierarchical organisation requires a range of building types – communal storage, workshops, administrative offices, temples, barracks, etc. None of those has been found so far at Çatalhöyük, and I do not think they will be forthcoming. Other forms of organisation must be investigated which will fit the archaeological

evidence we have so far, rather than hoping other data will one day come to light to support the identification of the site as a hierarchical town.

A range of social organisational systems was discussed in chapter three, and the one that seems to me to suit the evidence best at present is a lineage structure, possibly a segmentary system. This means that the settlement would consist of a number of lineages within which there is no ascribed rank or status but there may be some gender differentiation and may be a leader who undertakes certain functions on behalf of the group. Each lineage would be linked to the others through a range of networks such as meetings of leaders, or age-groups, and this would form the cement between them. Members of all the lineages would probably trace descent from the same ancestor(s), who may be mythical and even totemic. Lineages would probably be exogamous, but the settlement is large enough for 'marriage' to take place between lineages but within the settlement. Whether the large size of the settlement is the result of a deliberate coming together of a number of groups either for mutual support or to avoid rivalry and fighting, or is simply the result of a successful community, is probably impossible to discover.

In the following pages I shall discuss how the various types of data examined so far support this suggestion, and how strong the evidence is.

#### **4.1. Figurines**

It has already been noted that in the early levels of the site there is little emphasis on sex of figurines, and that both sexes as well as sexless and bi-sexed figurines occur, but that only female and sexless figures are found in the later levels. A number of figurines from buildings have unusual associations, for instance leopards. Both these features may relate to lineage structure.

The uses and meanings of figurines are not clear, but there is little doubt there are several. One or more of these could be related to lineage, including to emphasise or reiterate the lineage model against competition from other power groups. Thus the group with leopard associations may belong to a lineage associated with leopards,



perhaps as a totem. The occurrence of leopard imagery in a range of buildings at different levels of the site suggests it is a long-standing referent which could feasibly be a totem<sup>20</sup>. Other imagery among the figurines, wall-sculptures and wall-paintings that could relate to lineage totems includes owls, vultures, cattle, deer, sheep/rams and boar (see Appendix 1: 222-7). Deer tooth necklaces could also be relevant here. If the suggestion of animal totems for lineages is correct, it seems likely that cattle was the major totem of the entire settlement, or of several lineages, and that the occurrence of multiple totemic images in buildings reflects integration between lineages (or, in the case of the large 'hunting' paintings, perhaps inter-lineage contests).

It has already been noted in chapter five that the wide range of form, particularly among the human figurines, but similarities among some figurines found within individual buildings suggests household manufacture and specific referents such as totems or ancestors rather than site-wide imagery. If some figurines represent lineage ancestors, this may well explain the occurrence of sexless figures and those of both sexes, and the growing emphasis on female figures may represent a shift in mythology or in lineage beliefs.

The evidence of burials already points, albeit on slender evidence, to matrilineal descent. Thus the occurrence of 'fat female' figurines could be to emphasise matrilineality or the importance of birth in determining social groupings and allegiances. The increasing production of strongly-sexed figurines in the later levels, and the loss of male figurines, may imply that matriliney was under pressure and that these figures were being manipulated in a campaign to resist encroachment on the status quo. While this is not directly relevant to gender politics, in terms of the importance of birth, it does relate to women's importance in the lineage and power system, and could be in reaction to emerging male groupings with other bases. Another possibility is that an earlier bilateral system was giving way to matriliney and the figurines were being used to enforce or emphasise the new system. It is interesting to note that the culture appears to have failed soon after female

figures became absolutely dominant, and this could mean that conflicts over lineage became irreconcilable.

#### **4.2. Burials**

As discussed above, there is some evidence that the burials in Building 1 consist of a matrilineal descent group comprising three families. This is the only building excavated by the Hodder team that has sufficient burials to carry out this type of analysis without DNA evidence, and it relies on fortuitous genetic defects visible on the bone, which may not be available for other groups.

There is no evidence at all to suggest Mellaart's belief in sex segregation. Rather, each burial area in Building 1 seems to include both sexes and all ages, and there is much mixing of skeletal elements within graves which suggests a lack of ranking, as clearly social/status differentiation was not retained after death and some grave-goods seem to have been separated from the person they were placed with, almost as though they were communal property. Such a society may not have gender stratification as special qualities produce status, but in the current discussion it may be more important that communal burial could relate to common descent.

Mellaart's data shows a huge variation in the number of burials per building, and so far the Hodder data echoes this finding. Mellaart explained it partly through the identification of some buildings as 'shrines', which would be favoured places of burial because of their religious importance. An alternative would be to suggest that the more elaborate buildings are lineage buildings, which would be favoured places of burial for lineage members, many – but perhaps not all – of whom would have the right to be buried in it. This would explain why some buildings have no or few burials, if the occupants chose to be buried in their lineage house. The presence of three neonate skeletons in a row in the foundations of Building 1 may relate to the importance of some buildings for birth. For further discussion of this, see below (p346-8) for an exploration of lineage houses.

The removal of skulls from a small number of skeletons – and the discovery by Mellaart of a couple of skulls on platforms – may relate to lineage or ancestor cult. It is possible that the skulls of important ancestors or lineage heads were taken from an old lineage building to a new one. However, more data is required.

Health may be a more important indicator of status than grave-goods or size of building, etc. The different ages at death in the three areas of Building 1 could indicate that the family or line buried under the east-central platform was the healthiest, with no deaths under the age of ten during the lifetime of the building – although some or all of the neonates in the foundations could belong to this branch, as to any other. There could be several reasons for this: if Mellaart is correct, and this is the most important platform and burial area, it could be the leading branch of the lineage. This could have been based either on inheritance or on status acquired through success – which itself might be in the form of producing or acquiring more than adequate food supplies. Acquired status might well indicate physical ability/health and the raising of a large successful family. Inherited or acquired status might also bring with it benefits such as superior nutrition, which could account for lower infant mortality. An argument along these lines should indicate that the branch buried beneath the north-west platform was the least successful and possibly most junior of the family group, due to the large number of babies and young children and low number of adults placed there. This could be the case, yet it brings into question the status of the north-central floor group. The lack of a platform in this area, and the absence of burials in the early occupation phase, suggests that burials were not originally intended to take place in this area. One possibility would be that the branch buried here was descended from a child not yet born when the house was constructed, and therefore no burial place was assigned.

### **4.3. Space**

#### Lineage houses

The examination of settlement organisation in chapter seven demonstrates that any differentiation of the buildings consists of slightly varying size or decoration and numbers of burials. While Mellaart interpreted the larger and/or more elaborate

buildings as shrines, I suggest that an interpretation which fits the available data more closely is lineage houses. While naturally one cannot simply borrow a concept from one culture and paste it on to another, the system in use by the Dogon (Lane 1994) would make sense at Çatalhöyük. Dogon villages are inhabited by people belonging to a number of different lineages. Each lineage has a leader, who is the oldest male belonging to the lineage, and has communal ownership of various bits of land and houses throughout the village. These properties are allocated to lineage members according to need, and as personal circumstances change through marriages, births and deaths, so people move from one house to another more appropriate to their requirements. The lineage head lives in the lineage house. This is similar to all other houses in general plan but has some special features. For instance, it has communal storage space for surplus foods that can be accessed by all lineage members when necessary, and it is the place in which special events happen. Thus lineage rituals are carried out there by the lineage head, who has special knowledge, and ritual paraphernalia belonging to the lineage is kept there. People should ideally be born there. Because of the special significance of the lineage house, which is a material record of the strength and longevity of the lineage, it is repaired more frequently than other houses belonging to the lineage, and all lineage members look after it. The next lineage head will always be the next oldest male, so the inheritance of this role is known and ritual knowledge can be handed on at a suitable time. Upon the death of a lineage head, the new head moves into the lineage house.

This model fits what is known of Çatalhöyük very well. We know that some buildings have more storage space than others, and when this is particularly well organised it tends to occur in buildings with evidence of particular elaboration such as wall-paintings or sculptures. However, the paintings are not always on show, but were covered up soon after their creation, suggesting that they may have had a special purpose in a ritual such as for birth or death or other event of significance. This would make sense of the of large numbers of burials in some structures such as Building 1. In terms of the use of space within the settlement, a model in which people move house according to their need fits well with a system in which building

sizes stay roughly the same because they are built one upon another – and in which some buildings contain no burials.

### Lineage land-holdings

The idea would also work in tandem with a concept of lineage or clan groupings that lived in close proximity. The possibility of lineage or clan ownership of specific blocks of land rather than scattered holdings throughout the settlement (or possibly a number of blocks scattered across the mound) is suggested by two features of the site: first, the apparent building of blocks of structures at a single time, noted by Mellaart. While this could be merely a matter of practicality, it clearly required co-operation and planning; second, the sudden opening up of a large block of open space in level VIA could represent the removal of an entire lineage to another part of the site due to over-crowding (and fire risk) rather than just individual action. This is obviously linked to the first suggestion, of lineage blocks.

### Industry/production

As discussed in chapter seven and above (p333), both Conolly and Last have suggested that there is evidence of a clustering of ‘high status’ or innovative craft production in the more elaborate buildings, especially in the later levels<sup>21</sup>. A similar clustering of elaborate figurines could be claimed for those found by Mellaart. Conolly (1999) explicitly suggests that this may be related to the development of a kin-based structure in the later period of the site, with a focus on kin-related household for the production of prismatic blades for sickles, relating this to the possibility of a kin-based agricultural endeavour<sup>22</sup>.

### Storage

In the Dogon example above, lineage houses contain extra storage facilities for communal use, providing additions to household storage and a backup for lineage members in time of need. A number of the more elaborate buildings at Çatalhöyük contain large storage facilities (for instance, Building 5 in the Hodder excavations, AII:1, FV:I, EVI:61 and EVII:12 in the Mellaart excavations). Mellaart noted the presence of hoards (particularly of obsidian) beneath the floors of elaborate

buildings (1964: 103, 107), which he regarded as offerings. Both surplus stores and offerings might well occur in lineage houses.

## **5: Conclusions**

In this investigation of sex, gender and society at Çatalhöyük I have considered a range of theoretical issues, and then examined three varied types of data in an attempt both to test whether usable information pertaining to these topics can be obtained, and to try to understand the particular constellation of social structures at this Neolithic site in the Konya Plain.

I started by problematising the concepts of sex and gender, demonstrating that they are not the simple, 'natural' aspects of life that they are generally thought to be. Cross-culturally there is considerable variation, and it follows therefore that a prehistoric community may well have had very different sex and gender structures from those of modern Western societies. I then considered a variety of social systems and ideas, with the aim of introducing a wider range of interpretive possibilities.

My examination of the data sets has been in some ways exhaustive, taking context as the central point in attempting to tease information from the material record. The results have been varied, in some aspects disappointing but in others offering unexpected insights. There are some areas of discussion which I have largely ignored, in particular the issue of religion and goddesses, because they are not of direct relevance to my investigations and are largely impossible to prove or disprove. I have not attempted to interpret the complex symbolism of the site that appears in other imagery such as paintings, although I have referred to them on occasion. Hodder (1990: introduction) pointed out the fascinating possibilities of male:female; wild:domestic; in:out symbolism evident in the juxtaposition of breasts and vulture beaks, or the wall-paintings, but these remain in the realm of speculation at present. My concern has been to examine those aspects of the material record



which are commonly available to, and used by, archaeologists for the interpretation of gender and society. I am lucky enough to have access to the data from Çatalhöyük for this work, but it remains an extraordinary site, endowed with a wealth of data that is not often available, and therefore some aspects of the symbolic information at the site have to be ignored. Hopefully the work represented by this thesis will be of use to those who still attempt to understand and interpret the paintings and sculptures with which I have not been concerned.

The information obtained from the data sets I have examined does permit a new formulation of social organisation at Çatalhöyük to be suggested, albeit tentatively. The figurines demonstrate a shift in iconography through the lifetime of the site from mainly sexless or lightly sexed figures, to strongly sexed female figures. I have suggested that this relates to changing sex and gender ideology, which may be connected to descent patterns. If the Hodder team is correct in seeing a change of economy and material culture which reached its peak in level VI, and if this resulted in a society more focussed on the settlement and the house (as suggested by slight evidence of concentration of resources and more complex industry in the more elaborate buildings), this could also explain the increasing emphasis on female imagery. If females were more closely associated with buildings (which should not simply be assumed), if the more elaborate buildings are lineage houses, and if the lineages were matrilineal, this could explain the emphasis on the sex of the figurines, and the ‘maternal’ aspects of the female body – the large breasts and hips, and the confident poses of the mature woman. While there are several ‘if’s’ here, there is some evidence to support them all.

The burial data shows that, instead of the sex segregation in death that we believed was the situation based on Mellaart’s data, both sexes and all ages are buried together. The large number of skeletons in Building 1 seems to be a group of people related through matrilineal descent and representing three branches of an extended family or lineage. The mixing of people in death, including moving around of skeletal parts, suggests that any sex/gender differentiation – particularly in terms of status – did not survive death and must therefore either have been of low importance

(as indicated by the low level of sexing of figurines in the first half of the life of the site) or was overcome by an ideology of sameness within the lineage.

The distribution of space within the settlement indicates that there was no hierarchy, rather that a system such as co-operative or segmentary lineages was in place. This leads me to suggest that the more elaborate buildings were lineage houses. An investigation of domestic space has produced little evidence to support or deny a sexual/gender division of labour/roles. A low level of status differentiation along with some division of labour would be expected in a lineage society, and therefore this information fits with the rest. Lane comments on Meillassoux's (1978) recognition that segmentary lineage societies have an imbalance of power and authority between elders and juniors in favour of the former, despite the fact that they are both numerically and physically the weaker group. "They retain their authority by a monopoly over certain kinds of knowledge which are deemed to be central to the reproduction of the group and hence its very survival" (Lane 1994: 202). This could be the explanation for the wall-paintings, wall-sculptures and other forms of elaboration that are found in some buildings, some of which were clearly transient and made for specific short-lived purposes.

To conclude, I suggest that the people of Çatalhöyük lived in a large co-residential community consisting of matrilineal co-operative or segmentary lineages, whose heads lived in lineage houses that were places of communal storage, ritual, birth and burial. I have pulled together several strands of evidence to build a picture of Çatalhöyük society in which there was a low level of sex/gender status differentiation, but changes in society around level VI led to a re-orientation of this, creating tensions around lineage and gender roles which in turn led to an emphasis on the female form in figurine imagery. This picture is at variance with that created around Mellaart's evidence, much of which has unfortunately taken on a fantasy life of its own in the decades succeeding the original excavations resulting in the growth of an image industry that is not supported by the new evidence (and often not by Mellaart's data). Even with meticulous excavation and analysis it is not easy to construct a new model to replace the 'Mellaartian' image, but the work contained in

this thesis has started a process which I hope others will be able to add to as work proceeds at the site over the next fifteen years. The strongest data is perhaps the burial information suggesting matrilineal descent, and the architectural evidence of a number of buildings with linked structures which could act as lineage houses catering for more than the residential unit, but each data set offers some insights as well as challenges. As the evidence now stands, I believe my interpretation offers the best fit model of gender and social organisation at Çatalhöyük.

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<sup>1</sup> These are potentially more objective, but they remain only as objective as the person using them in terms of the interpretation of the data. For instance, I have heard different interpretations of the same bone damage being given for injuries on male and female skeletons, based entirely on cultural expectations rather than on differences in the injury.

<sup>2</sup> Mellaart refers to it as a grain bin, but there is no information as to whether grain was present in this bin. Work by the current team has shown that bins may contain other food-stuffs such as lentils, although on the whole bins has been found totally empty as though they had been scoured clean. There is also no information about where the figure was found within the bin – that is, was it in the bottom, as though placed there prior to abandonment of the building, or was it in the fill, which could indicate either accidental or deliberate deposition during the infilling process.

<sup>3</sup> There are problems with the provenance of this figurine. Mellaart states in his 1963 report that it came from EVI:5, referring to plate IX in his 1962 report which states its provenance as EIV:4 but without reference to a granary. According to the plan on page 48 of his 1962 report, house EVI:5 is a small anteroom with a bucranium in it. This may be his ‘granary’. The plan between pages 46 and 47 shows that EIV:4 has a large bin in one corner of the main room, which could also potentially be a ‘granary’. As both buildings were excavated in the same season, it is more difficult to sort out the confused attributions although one would assume the 1962 publication to be more accurate, as more immediate.

<sup>4</sup> Mellaart makes this association, noting that female figurines at Hacilar were often found with plant remains (Mellaart 1964:75).

<sup>5</sup> However, this is only the vision from the modern world, without benefit of insider knowledge of the ideology and symbolism, and thus it has the same problems as modern concepts of fertility and appropriate sex/gender associations.

<sup>6</sup> Five are very similar, sitting with legs crossed or tucked underneath them and hands at breasts or on knees; the sixth is rather different and is possibly sitting on a seat of some kind.

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<sup>7</sup> For problems with this data and thus Hodder's interpretation, see Hamilton 1996b: especially p252.

<sup>8</sup> 5043.X1 (figure 8, plate 3) is a large figurine consisting of a big head with multiple punctures across the flat top and incised facial features, and a fairly shapeless body with a slight division indicating legs. It is free-standing. I regard it as a sexless figure with a generalised human body and stylised head. However, the imaginative reconstruction undertaken by John Swogger, our site illustrator, treats the body as a bust, with the 'legs' turned into breasts, a transformation carried out by draping it with a necklace and placing feathers in the head punctures (figure 20). This clearly transforms a sexless figure into a female one. While I am unconvinced by the idea, it obviously cannot be dismissed out of hand, since this approach puts the head and bust into better proportions whereas the body is otherwise too small for the head – although in fact the reconstruction alters the proportions slightly, widening the body to make it look more breast-like.

<sup>9</sup> A grinding stone covered with red pigment was also found, placed face down on the floor in Space 71, and it is likely that grinding was also required for the preparation of plaster.

<sup>10</sup> Although most of the data is actually micro-artefacts, the sampling procedure prohibits the removal of macro-artefacts unless they are of the type that needs to be 3D-recorded or removed for conservation. Thus the >4mm fraction can contain very large items.

<sup>11</sup> The other being Building 5, which underlies Building 1 in the North area.

<sup>12</sup> The sexing of juveniles is notoriously insecure. However, Angel did attempt to counter that by indicating in his notes the level of certainty he felt. Although this did not appear in his published account, I have made the information available in my 1996 re-assessment (Appendix 1, Table 12.10).

<sup>13</sup> Statistics show that in male-preferred societies, while young male babies still die at a higher rate than female ones, once past the age of 12 months this is reversed as female toddlers die of neglect (Janssen-Jureit 1992: 72; Morgan 1984: 297, 427, 457, 460, 638; Ventatramani 1992: 125). Another explanation would be male infanticide, regarded in some cases as a reasonable explanation for surplus female deaths or a shortage of female adults (e.g. Ucko 1969 concerning the Tzisa-bolgar; or the Yanomamo, among whom all female babies born before the first male baby are killed). Such an explanation could also suggest a female-preferred culture (the reverse of the Yanomamo), or could reflect a struggle within society over sex-based power or the development of gender roles. The removal of male babies could be an effective weapon for women whose social power was being eroded, both in opposing an ideology of women as mothers and carers of males, and in creating their own majority – for although numbers do not always get you what you want, being in the majority is certainly a useful start.

<sup>14</sup> See note 13.

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<sup>15</sup> Estimates of population density rely on average numbers of people per house assuming households similar to our own. However, until we have a better idea of the household structure and the uses of buildings we cannot say that all buildings in use at one time had similar or equivalent levels of occupation. It is also clear from the current excavations that Mellaart's system of levels is too simplified. In parts of the site, buildings which may appear superficially to belong to the same level can be seen to have been erected at substantially different times when the stratification is examined carefully. Thus to calculate population using Mellaart's plans of levels involves a higher number of buildings existing at any one time than can now be justified. It will be some time before we can make more accurate estimates of buildings in use at any particular time, but it may not be extreme to cut Mellaart's numbers by half. Given that some buildings clearly have such large numbers of burials in them that they are unlikely to represent a simple family, and others have so few – even none – that they cannot represent those who lived in the building (if all buildings are habitations), and given also that many of the skeletons in Building 1 (and in Mellaart's excavations) are partial and we do not know what happened to the other parts – whether they were put somewhere off-site, or are in another building (and thus are counted as two individuals), it would be unwise to claim at present that a substantial section of the population is absent from the burial record. Building occupation may have taken a different form from the one we are familiar with, and people who lived in one building may have abandoned it for a range of reasons and moved to another before they died, leaving a house burial-free.

<sup>16</sup> Actually, Ucko states that a Merina can “opt for either of his parents' tombs, his grandparents' tomb, or even his wife's tomb”, a statement which, while probably indicating merely that people are assumed to be male only, also shows his surprise at a lack of patrilineal or even blood dominance.

<sup>17</sup> This man has frequently been said to have been buried with the penis bone of a mustelid by his neck, probably suspended in a bag. This has been suggested to indicate that he was a person of importance to the group (e.g. lineage head) or of unusual qualities (for instance, a shaman), but the faunal team now disown this identification of the bone and regard it merely as an accidental inclusion.

<sup>18</sup> One of the main factors thought to account for relatively high female status and egalitarian gender relations in matrilineal systems is that they tend to be accompanied by uxori-local residence. Thus women live among their relatives and receive support from them, while in patrilineal societies women often leave their homes and move to live among strangers from whom they receive little support. In addition, the very fact of being important in conferring lineage makes women more important in matrilineal than patrilineal systems. Men are not as disadvantaged by matriliney as women are by patriliney because of the role of the mother's brother.

<sup>19</sup> Robin Dunbar is now suggesting that this number could be raised to 150, and that organisations larger than this need to be constructed from segments of around 100-125 people. A good example is the army. However, Çatalhöyük is still a far larger community than 150 people.

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<sup>20</sup> There are several buildings with wall-sculptures of leopards; figures wearing leopard skins appear on a number of wall-paintings; figurines standing behind or riding leopards were found in EVI: 10, and others with leopard-skin clothes occurred in EVI: 10, EIV: 4 and AII: 1. All these buildings were regarded by Mellaart as 'shrines' due partly to the presence of these items and also other elaboration. So far no leopard bones have been identified at the site, but a felid paw was found during the 1999 season. Which type of felid is not yet known.

<sup>21</sup> This work was based on re-analysing Mellaart's data, not on new data from the Hodder team.

<sup>22</sup> Whether this was prompted by my suggestions concerning lineage houses, which I first floated in 1998 at SOMA and then during the 1998 dig season, I do not know.



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AJA	American Journal of Archaeology.
AS	Anatolian Studies
AST	Araştırma Sonuçları Toplantısı
BAR	British Archaeological Reports
BASOR	Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research
CAJ	Cambridge Archaeological Journal
CUP	Cambridge University Press
JMA	Journal of Mediterranean Studies
OUP	Oxford University Press
RDAC	Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus
SIMA	Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology
TAD	Türk Arkeoloji Dergisi
TTK	Türk Tarih Kurumu

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## **APPENDIX 1**

### **FIGURINES, CLAY BALLS, SMALL FINDS AND BURIALS.**

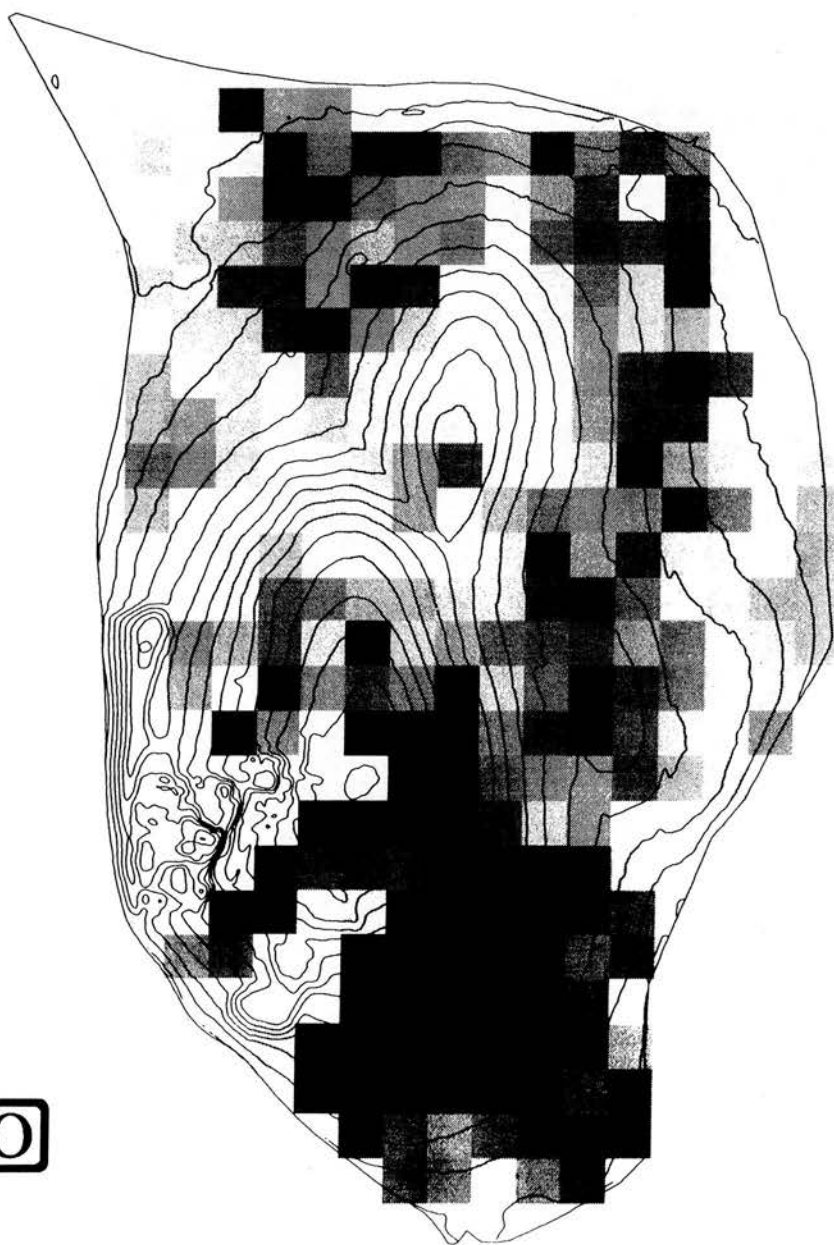
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McDONALD INSTITUTE MONOGRAPHS

# On the surface: Çatalhöyük 1993–95

Edited by Ian Hodder



MERKO

BRITISH INSTITUTE OF ARCHAEOLOGY AT ANKARA

## Chapter 12

# Figurines, Clay Balls, Small Finds and Burials

Naomi Hamilton

### The figurines from Mellaart's excavations

The aim of this section is not to offer definitive interpretations, nor refute those which are current, of the figurines found during Mellaart's excavations. Some of the material is extremely well known, and this territory has been well trodden before me. My intention is to assess the data in a more complete form than has been done previously, and put forward a number of issues and ideas which the figurines suggest to me. When dealing with material from old excavations at which one was not present, a wide range of problems can arise in the areas of documentation and context. These difficulties are discussed briefly below, and will naturally affect the amount of information that can be drawn from the data, and the weight of inference and interpretation that they can bear. Nevertheless, the material is very rich, and presents interesting challenges.

### The data

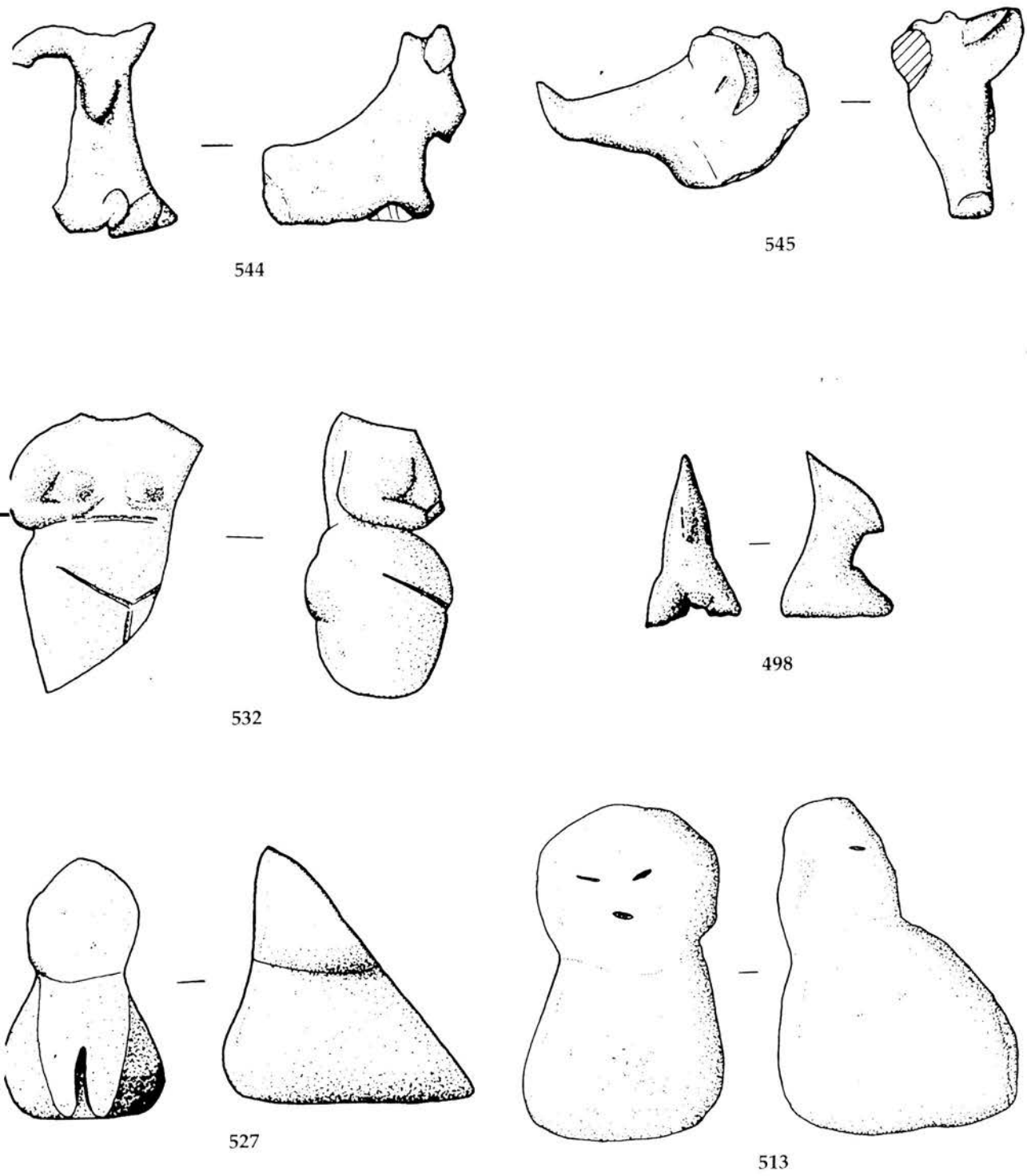
There are several broad types of figurines which are described for simplicity as human, schematic, humanoid and animal (Fig. 12.1). However, the term 'schematic' is not used in a strict typological sense, but rather to stay in touch with Mellaart's usage (see *Methodology* below). The term humanoid has been used for one group of schematic forms, a number of which have been inventoried (incorrectly in my view) as animals. Although Mellaart does not use the term humanoid, I use it when referring to those he labelled *ex-voto*, to avoid confusion with large-scale schematic figures. In addition there are a number of multiple humans, humans with animals, unclear, and unfinished figurines.

Mellaart published the majority of the human and schematic figurines in varying detail, but these only a minority of the figurines found during the

four seasons of work during the 1960s. A full list of these is still not available, as it is likely that a number of others are concealed in boxes and bags of bone, stone and clay artefacts in the store room of Konya Museum. So far I have been able to track down 254 figurines and fragments, some of which are known only from records, others of which there is no written record. I have been able to examine 181 in some detail, although a number were behind glass, and a further 47 only briefly. The majority of those I have not recorded in detail are fragmentary animal and humanoid figurines. Unless prefaced by CHC, record numbers given in this section all refer to new numbers given by myself for analytical purposes only. These were necessary partly because some figurines had no record numbers, and because others shared a group number. The data base contains details of the original excavation numbers and museum inventory numbers for each figurine, where they exist. Mellaart also mentions three of which I have found no trace and suspect may be publication errors — in EVI:5, EVI:23 and ?VII:22. They have not been included in the data base.

The information available about the find contexts is extremely varied — precise locations are given for only 5, fairly precise locations for a further 24, and a couple have contextual information without location. A greater number can be assigned to particular buildings, but these are almost exclusively the human and schematic figurines. The majority of the others have either just a level, or no record at all of their context. This information is presented in Tables 12.1 and 12.2.

Most figurines are made of baked or sun-dried clay. However, schematic figures are all of stone, as are the majority of human ones up to and including level VI. Humanoid and animal figurines are all of clay with four exceptions. The materials used for schematic and human figurines are shown in Table 12.3.



**Figure 12.1.** Examples of Neolithic figurine types from the 1960s' excavations at Çatalhöyük East; 544, 545) animals; 532) human; 498) humanoid; 527, 513) schematic human. (Reproduced at 75% of original size.)





narrow room and anteroom are not explicit. For those figurines found within the main rooms of buildings, distinct spaces become apparent — seven were found in All:1 ‘scattered around the hearth’, six were found in EVIA:44 on the floor between the east and west platforms in a space adjacent to the screen separating the kitchen area from the main room, but 583 was found in EVIA:44 on the east platform, and 586 came from the east central platform of EVI:10. Spaces may also be related to room fittings and furnishings — thus 586 was below a niche, above which was a large sculpted cattle head; 583 was below two sculpted leopards; four figurines plus four concretions were found in EVI:25 near a ‘coarse flat plaster relief’ which was not further described or illustrated; and figurine 639, from a storeroom attached to All:1, was found in a grainbin, which may also be the case with 577 (reports in Mellaart 1962, 1963, and 1967 are contradictory both as to its building context and its precise findspot). Mellaart also mentions a stone figurine from a granary in EVI:5 of which I have found no trace, and 585 was in a basket. Several figurines also have a context of association — 585 was not just in a basket in an anteroom, but it shared the basket with a stone pestle and bone scoop; 583 was not just on a platform below leopards, but lay among grain and crucifer seeds; 589, which shares a confusion of building context with 577 but I believe came from EIV:4, was found in a deposit of peas. Where the peas were is not described — current work shows that they could have been in a number of places including platform, floor, hearth, and probably storeroom.

It is clear from this breakdown of find context by number that figurines are found in a wide variety of spaces and associations, although it must be recognized that the find context may bear little or no relation to use before deposition.

#### *Contexts of deposition*

The range of find context described above suggests that the context of deposition — the reason, method, and level of deliberation guiding deposition — would have been similarly varied. As mentioned already, the presence of humanoid and animal figures between walls could be regarded either as deliberate — as Mellaart saw it (he related them to the building he regarded as a shrine, EVIA:10, although presumably he could equally have related them to the buildings providing the other boundary wall) — or as the by-product of the disposal of refuse into empty spaces in a confined area. In this particular case, the number of figurines recovered from the spaces surrounding

this building, added to the fact that it contained the largest number of figurines found in a single building, does point to deliberate deposition. On the other hand, the discovery of such a large group of figurines within the building may have led to more careful recording of those found when dismantling the walls, while others found around ‘less important’ buildings were given less attention, and their contextual information was lost.

The presence of ‘some intact weapons (lance-heads) and numerous clay balls (sling ammunition)’ in the pits near EVIB:12 and EVI:14, in which figurines portraying wild animals were found (1967, 78), assists Mellaart in viewing them all as part of a hunting ritual, at the end of which all these items were deliberately deposited in the pits. The interpretation of clay balls is pursued further below.

The context of deposition within buildings may have been affected by factors beyond control, in particular the spectacular fires described by Mellaart. It is to this that he ascribes the recovery of a number of figurines. Buildings EVIA:10, EVIA:14, EVIA:31 and AVI:1 (later known as EVI:61) were heavily burnt so that they could not be emptied, extra fill being added to collapsed walls. Thus they were ‘found intact with their contents’ while other buildings (All:1, All:8, EIV:1, EVI:7 and EVI:8) were burnt, cleaned, replastered, and then filled — they ‘had been more or less cleaned out’ (1963, 48). Although many so-called shrines were burnt, only a few contained figurines. Of those mentioned as being too burnt to empty, EVIA:10 had a fine collection of figurines, including a single clay one in the storeroom alongside some flint and obsidian projectile points and daggers, one in its leather sheath; EVIA:14 had none; AVI:1 had a most unusual painted clay figurine in a storeroom which it shared with a large wooden platter, two stone maceheads with handles *in situ*, three horn cores, two circular baskets, a number of obsidian and flint weapons and some polishing stones, all lying on marsh grass matting; and EVIA:31 had a single animal figure. Of those buildings which were cleaned out before being filled in, All:1 contained two figurines, and a number of flat stone pendants; EIV:1 contained one figurine; EVI:8 was cleaned out but ‘a group of objects that lay on the floor of the doorway was carefully left *in situ*’ (1963, 61); and All:8 and EVI:7 had no figurines or reported finds. All:1 is reported to have been destroyed by fire, but was close to the surface of the mound so that little survived of its walls, and it is not clear whether or not it had been replastered and then filled in. It contained a large collection of figurines in three

ifferent rooms, four 'stamp seals', a dozen pots, at least seven small deposits of grain, much obsidian, some chert and flint, and several hundred palettes, pounders, querns and polishers. AIII:2, next door to III:1, is not reported as a shrine: it contained one clay figurine, and a large number of stone tools as well as raw material. Mellaart suggests it could have been a stoneworker's shop (1962, 55). These data, chosen largely from Mellaart's list of burned 'shrines' rather than being comprehensive, suggest that the discovery of figurines in buildings is not solely dependent on them being unobtainable due to fire damage, nor to being within a 'shrine' in the first place. Furthermore, the position of the figurines within the buildings is varied. If we look at the hypothesis that the fires were not accidental but were part of a system of deliberate closure (Chapter 19), the position of the figurines has other implications, particularly those grouped together as though in use.

#### *Condition at deposition*

A considerable number of figurines are damaged, and this applies also to those found in buildings. This is relevant to the context of deposition, whether or not the fires are regarded as accidental. All definitely schematic figurines are whole, but the majority of human, humanoid and animal figurines are damaged in some way. Starting with the human ones, it is clear that figurines could be broken and remain in use. We have one clear example of a mended figurine, with holes drilled through for fixing (633). When found, it was incomplete, suggesting that it had been broken again and still remained in use. It is possible, however, that it had been taken out of use before being deposited in a building due to closure. This particular figure formed part of a distinct group of four, all related to leopards, and these, together with the complexity of the design, may count for the mending. Two others of the group of four were missing their heads, and two more found in the same building (EVIA:10) were broken, one consisting only of the upper body and head. It could be suggested, therefore, that these figurines were old and were no longer in use but, having a sacred character, had to be disposed of carefully. Thus they were placed together in an old building which was deliberately set on fire, and they were left in the ruins. Some such explanation could apply to some of the buildings and figurines, but not all. For instance, the figure in the group of four containing the mended one was complete. Here one could suggest that since these four formed a special group, they were disposed of together when all but one were old and damaged,

but this still involves disposing of one complete and serviceable figurine even when, as we know, the others could have been mended. It also involves depositing or throwing away eight other complete figurines, of various styles ranging from very schematic to highly complex, all but one of them made of stone. Similarly the nine figurines in AII:1 included one complete, one fragmentary, six missing the head only and one missing the head and one shoulder. Although the clay ones could have been damaged by the fire and building closure, the broken stone figure was almost certainly in that condition at deposition. The alternative, then, is that these figurines really were actively in use when the fire broke out, and that broken and fragmentary figurines remained in use. This would support that idea that they were sacred objects of some sort. Building EVI:44 contained nine figurines, only one of which was broken (see below). The positions of the three large groups, in buildings AII:1, EVIA:10 and EVI:44, on the floor in areas where they were likely to be in the way of the occupants, makes it possible that, as Mellaart suggested, certain buildings were 'shrines' and were not occupied all year round — except by figurines. Nevertheless, figurines were not found in all the burned 'shrines', and their purpose when they are found is less easy to determine due to the variety of findspots within, for instance, building EVI:10 which include a platform, a storeroom, between the walls, and on the floor. The findspots of the figurines, and their condition, do therefore pose some difficulties to anyone trying to offer a single generalized interpretation of the use of figurines, or of the context of their deposition.

#### *Fragmentation*

Of the 181 figurines examined in detail 48 are essentially complete (a few were found broken *in situ* but with all parts present). Of these, six are truly human, 17 are 'schematic', 13 are humanoid, nine are animals, and three show a human with an animal. Some information on fragmentation is shown in Table 12.4. The implications of these numbers are not entirely clear. The low number of complete animal figures may be a result of deliberate mutilation during a hunting ritual, as Mellaart suggested, or a result of their deposition in outdoor areas, or their place of deposition may be a result of their damage. Up to three complete animal figures were found between the walls of EVIA:10 and one of its neighbours. Their preservation may be due to intentional deposition or an accidental effect of deposition in a relatively protected space. 50 per cent of complete figurines were



Table 12.4. *Mellaart's figurines by fragmentation and context*

	Building	Court	Level	Unstratified
<i>Human schematic</i>				
Complete	23		1	2
Broken bodies	19	1	12	6
Head only	4		1	2
<i>Humanoid</i>				
Complete	0		6	7
Minor damage	1		7	4
Major damage	3		3	1
Head only	0		4	2
<i>Animal</i>				
Complete	2		3	4
Minor damage	2		11	6
Major damage	5		15	2
Head/horn only	1		9	16

Note: No information is currently available concerning fragmentation of a further 60 figurines. The majority of these are animal, and almost all of them have level information only. A small group consisting of unfinished/unidentifiable fragments has also not been included.

Damage levels have been assessed on the basis that minor damage consists of missing extremities such as horn tips, ends of limbs, headresses, as well as similar levels of damage to other parts of the body. Major damage includes the loss of the head, loss of entire limbs, and more severe damage.

found inside buildings, which may be regarded as safe and protective areas; on the other hand, at least 29 figurines found in buildings were broken, and of the other two animal and one humanoid figures deposited between the walls of EVIA:10 and its neighbours, two were broken, although the third may have been complete. The poor survival rate of human as opposed to schematic figurines is rather surprising, considering the level of work required to create them. It may simply be that properly sculpted figures are more vulnerable to damage, even if they are in a protected environment, or that because of the effort required to make them, they were kept even when broken. It cannot just be due to the ease of making schematic figures by adding a few features to a pebble or concretion, as overall the number of schematic figures is small — parts of 53 human figures are known, compared to 17 schematic ones. The use of stone for all schematic figurines may help explain this, as 23 complete figurines are made of stone, yet humanoid figures are all clay and have similar survival rates.

The most commonly missing body part is the head. This affects all types of figurines except schematic ones, which are all apparently complete (there is one possible exception). 17 clay and 6 stone human figurines are missing the head only or head and one shoulder. While the neck is clearly a vulnerable area, along with arms and legs, this may not be the whole answer to the frequent absence of heads. Of the 9 figurines found apparently *in situ* in building AII:1 at least seven had no head (information is not available about one figure). The one which did have

a head was otherwise almost identical to four others, and was one of the group of seven by the hearth. The head had in fact broken off, and was found in the building; the other heads were not recovered. This may be accident — all the headless figures, and the one whose head was found, are made of clay, and perhaps the heads disintegrated after the collapse or infilling of the building; they may simply not have been found by the excavators; they may have been destroyed in the same process that destroyed the building, and the figurines then either just left there if it was one of the buildings which was not cleared out, or placed there headless before intentional filling-in; or they could have been in use in a fragmentary, headless condition. This situation is echoed throughout the site — the carefully sculpted and painted figurine from the storeroom of AVI:1, the only clay figurine of this type from a level VI building (which normally contain stone representations of humans) had no head; similarly the painted figurine from EIV:4 is headless. On the other hand, EVI:44 contained a stone head with no body (643) — the only broken figurine in the building (Mellaart 1964, fig. 31b, pl. XVIc). Mellaart suggests that its proximity to a Hellenistic pit may explain the loss of the body, but this may not be so — the head has a dowel hole in its base, for attachment to a body made separately or simply for mounting it on a stick. As seen above, fragmentary figurines appear to have remained in use alongside complete ones, and this head may well be a remnant of a figurine which was still useful alone. 643 is not cut regularly along the base — it appears to have been broken mid-neck, and the hole may have been made at a later date, either in order to mend it when it broke from its original body, or to use it in some other way. Certainly it would appear that the head of a figurine was worth saving, yet at the same time many headless figurines also seem to have been saved. A rather similar head was found in the surface survey, also broken off at the neck, but this has no dowel hole. The absence of heads could well be related to other features of the site — the deliberate defacement of the heads of large-scale sculptures, the presence of skulls on platforms in two buildings, and heads and headless bodies depicted on wall-paintings. Several other figurine heads are known, offering a wide variety of images far beyond the round face with circular crown of hair used in the reconstruction of the famous birth figure: One stone figurine head (535: see Mellaart 1962, pl. IXd) from building CIII appears to have been deliberately defaced. It was carefully sculpted to show ears, chin, hairline and the

join of head and neck, and has two holes drilled in the top for the attachment of hair or a headdress of some sort, seen frequently on the humanoid figures. A similar hole is drilled in the head of a complete alabaster figurine from building EIV:4.) The only facial feature is a faint trace of one eye, the rest seems to have been chipped off. The base of the head is roughly cut but it can stand unaided. There is no hole in the base for attaching it to a body. A rather different head from level II (502) is made of clay. The upper part is almost conical but the back is flattened. It has a large modelled nose with nostrils shown, and squarish eyes of obsidian, only one of which survives. In the base is a small hole, which could be for attaching it to a body but is very small to take much weight. A very strange head from EX:28 (631) seems never to have been attached to a body. Made of a ball of clay, — and similar in size to the clay balls — in profile it has a straight nose, incised mouth and eye, and curve for an ear. The front view, however, offers small wide-set slit eyes, a gash for a mouth, and two large nostrils. Overall it has a pig-like look, but is also reminiscent of the 'dead man's head' from the wallpainting in EIV:1. Another striking clay head (525) has a rather venomous expression, due to the 45 degree slant of the incised oblong eyes and upward tilt of the flattened face — similar in many ways to the stylized heads seen on Chalcolithic figurines in Cyprus. It is broken through the thick cylindrical neck. Unfortunately it is unstratified. Perhaps the most naturalistic head of all is in miniature — only 15.6 mm high including the remains of the neck where it broke from the body (478). This is made of clay, and is unstratified. Delicate modelling of the chin, eyes, eyebrows, nose and ears have created a most unusual and striking image, although it is fairly roughly made due to its size. In some areas it is polished, possibly from handling. It must have been joined to a very small body, of the size normally used for humanoid figures.

The variety of imagery, and degree of attention to detail, in this small sample of heads detached from bodies, suggests that heads and faces were not regarded as sketchy and dispensable items used simply to finish off a figure. Rather they were used to portray a range of emotions, attitudes or states of being, and were treated with great care in some instances at least. This must be relevant to our interpretation of headless figurines. Several clay figures have holes for the attachment of heads — two of them from AII:1. It is possible that this was not just a precaution against them breaking off if made in one piece; it may be that heads on figurines were changed

according to the occasion, depending on the circumstances of their use (see below *Interpretations — Women's rites or women's rights*). Alternatively, extra heads may have been stuck on broken figurines with substances which have left no trace, or were not looked for. Unlike the shortage of heads for human figurines, a considerable number of heads of humanoid figures has been found. These are also made of clay, which should give them a similar chance of survival other things being equal. Possibly we will be fortunate enough to find some more figurines during the current excavations which will help us to answer these questions. At present, they must at least be borne in mind. Fragmentation of animal figures is addressed below.

### Typology

Mellaart referred to human, schematic and animal figurines. Some of the schematic, and all the animal figures were called *ex-voto*, implying function rather than form. None of these descriptions is unproblematic. The typology used in the data base is concerned with fragmentation, based on loose types, and is not a typology based solely on form or function. The most striking aspect of the figurines from the site is their enormous variety. Within that variety there are certain clear types, and others which stand free of easy classification.

The term *schematic* has been used very loosely in this chapter to designate a group of stone figurines which suggest the human body yet range from pebbles with incised eyes or mouth, to fairly detailed figurines which nevertheless are not naturalistic in form. Because of the enormous variety involved, I have chosen not to define them more closely, and see instead a continuum from concretions with human heads carved on them to the finely worked human figures shown with leopards. In some ways, the schematic/human classification is of less use than a division into those of stone and those of clay. When viewed in this way, the continuum in the design of stone figurines shows clearly, although some figures are hard to place — for instance, some with little naturalistic human form have more detail of clothing or facial features, such as 576, than some more obviously human ones. The majority of stone figurines come from level VI — 28 out of 45. Of the remainder, level VII has 4, level IV has 2, level III has 4 and level II has 5, with two unstratified. With the exception of an animal head of pumice in EVI:44 and a bird of prey (vulture?) in EVI:25 they all represent humans, sometimes in association with an animal. Most are standing, a few are seated, sometimes on

an animal. None are known from earlier than level VII. Mellaart pointed out that it would be wrong to see the concretions and schematic figures as earlier than the complex ones, as they occur in the same buildings, along with unmodified concretions and stalagmites. However, the skill required for the more detailed ones suggests that stone carving was not new in level VII, and the wide range of high-quality stone artefacts from the site proves this. The quality of stone figurines after level VI seems far lower. Why there should have been a flourish of stone figurines in an extraordinary range of styles at one time is not clear, although of course level VI lasted for perhaps a century. The discovery of many of them in just two buildings could suggest specialization in stone manufacture by the occupants of the buildings, or that the apparent concentration in certain levels is an accident of recovery. Alternatively, they could have been disposed of deliberately as part of a change taking place in society or the 'household'. The images portrayed are discussed below under *Sex and gender*.

Once separated from the stone figures, the clay ones can also be seen more clearly, and there is little hesitation in splitting them into three groups — human, humanoid and animal. A number seem to cross these boundaries, but it is only a handful. The human figures tend to have two basic designs. The first is the 'fat woman' sitting with legs crossed or tucked underneath, hands on knees or breasts, with fingers carefully delineated and a lot of attention to detail. This type is common in the later levels, occurring first in level V (593). Five possible precursors in level VI are all atypical: one (569) has its legs stretched out in front, and is also painted with a meander design; another also has traces of red paint (520) and resembles the humanoid figures in form, as does 515, which is however on a massive scale; 514 shows extraordinary detail of hands and feet, with knees drawn up in front, similar to the pose of 541 which is a composite figure made of rolls of clay stuck around a core. The general impression is that the style was being developed during level VI, at the same time that the high quality stone figurines reach their peak. By level II it had become standardized, although other forms still occurred alongside. The second human type is a standing figure with divided legs and arms by the side or near the breast, which occurs from level IV onwards. It seems to derive more from the stone inheritance of the level VI figures, and stone versions do occur, but neither stone nor clay ones attempt the elaboration of the earlier ones except for one figurine in level II, clothed in a

leopard-skin top and fringed skirt. Both these human forms seem to exude confidence. The seated ones are relaxed and comfortable, the standing ones strong, even commanding. Other types exist alongside, in a range of attitudes, independent of the mainstream, from level VIII.

The humanoid figures have sometimes been regarded as animals or ducks, as a number have few features to relate them to the human form. However, there is again a huge range of representations, and many show clear human aspects. They occur from level VII onwards, with a possible one also in level XII. In general terms they are small clay figures (mainly 35–45 mm high, but a few smaller and the largest 60 mm), with roughly conical bases, long necks and schematic heads with pinched noses. Some have a divided base at the front, representing legs or possibly arms, which sometimes protrude, but undivided ones are more common. Seen from above, the head is generally triangular. A marked feature is the headgear worn — headresses or scarves were created by extending the clay at the top of the head, flattening it and folding it down behind (e.g. 521); others seem to have pointed hats, or flat caps — one has three incisions across the top as though showing sewn fabric (516); one is possibly wearing a cape depicted in black paint (537). Several humanoid figures are rather different, with facial features, or greater attention to detail. The earliest ones are more human — 557 shows the curve of the stomach on the seated figure, and 533 sits uneasily in the humanoid category, having breasts (one pinched, one applique), stub arms (one missing), an elaborate head arrangement with multiple piercings around the side, possibly for the attachment of hair or fabric but also strongly reminiscent of the much later multi-eared bronze age figurines in Cyprus, and in addition it has streaks of red paint on the head and coming from the nose. Both 557 and 533 are from level VIII. During the later levels the figures become more schematic, and the last stratified ones are two from level V, one again with breasts (477), one with paint on the head (497), both with slim conical undivided bases. This type of figurine seems therefore to have a specific time span just as the stone ones and 'fat woman' ones do.

The animal figures, with four exceptions, are all of clay. These four exceptions are a stone bird of prey (vulture?), headless (599), a bone vulture beak (392), a bone animal, uncertain (788), and a pumice animal head, uncertain (712). Three of these were found in buildings, the other has no context. The clay figures offer great variety of size, stance and



surface treatment. They represent a range of animals, the most common of which appear to be cattle (8 clear, 21 possible) and boar (12 clear, 7 possible). Other identifiable types are dog (8 probable), leopard/feline (3), goat (or possibly deer?) (3), and possibly bear (3?) and sheep (1). There are also nine horns, probably from cattle. In addition to this a considerable number are impossible to identify, either because they are of no distinct type other than quadruped, or because defining features such as the head are missing. Size ranges from approximately 50 mm head to tail when complete to 150 mm, although due to the damaged state of most figures precise measurements are not possible; the stances depicted are lying, sitting, standing and possibly running; surface treatment may include smoothing, polishing, stabbing, and indication of bristles or spots. Interestingly, the species of animal represented does not seem to control exclusively the method of representation, although there are patterns — all three goats are shown lying down, and none has been stabbed. The animal shown most frequently to have been stabbed is the boar (11 instances), and these are also the most likely to be whole or nearly so, but boar which have not been stabbed, or which are fragmentary, occur also. Cattle show the widest variety — although most are standing, at least two are lying down, some are stabbed and some are not, and the degree of fragmentation ranges from complete to just a horn.

Animal figurines were found almost exclusively at levels VI and VIII. Besides these, there is one from level XII, three from level VII, and two from level V. Certain typological aspects can be approached better by looking at them by level. 26 figures are known from level VIII, 21 of which I have been able to study. A group of 19, of which I have seen 15, were inventoried under a single number (CHC318) and are likely to be those mentioned by Mellaart as coming from a level VIII pit near building VII:1. These represent two whole ?boar, one stabbed, one not; one whole ?bear, one whole stylized cattle head; three damaged hornless quadrupeds (dog or boar); two rear ends, one stabbed, one not; and six varied tiny fragments. Three were stabbed, three had a visible stab mark, and one had incisions on the back. Looking at the level VIII figurines overall, they tend to be large, although a few medium-sized ones occur; five were complete, the remainder broken to various degrees; five were stabbed, four had a possible stab mark, one had incisions and nine had none of stabbing. This suggests that the figures may have been used in different ways before their deposition in the same area.

The animal figurines from level VI were inventoried in two large groups, number CHC319 (18 figures) and CHC322 (19 figures). I have been able to examine only a small number of these, which makes any inferences unreliable, but nevertheless some patterns do emerge which will bear further investigation. Mellaart reported that large groups of animal figurines were found in two pits, outside EVI:12 and EVI:14 (see above), which he interpreted as having been used in a hunting ritual. Of the seven CHC319 figures examined, six are lying down. They represent two goats, three cattle, and an unidentifiable headless quadruped. This last has been stabbed, the only one in the group which has been. The seventh figure is standing, and may be a boar. All these figurines are small, up to about 55 mm long. Two may be complete, four have minor damage, and one is only a torso. The nine CHC322 figures examined are very different — five of them are large or very large, none has been stabbed, and all are damaged — four are heads, two are just horns. The animals represented are four cattle (plus two horns), one boar, and two unidentified — one of which may be a goat, deer or possibly boar, and is lying down. The differences in stance, fragmentation and species dominating these two groups suggests that they may have been used in different ways, and should not be lumped together. It is possible that the figurines should not be divided in this way — Mellaart also reports animal and humanoid figurines from pits outside buildings EVIA/B:61 and EVIB:23, and suggests another occurrence outside EIV:4 (1967, 102–3) although no artefacts can be tied to this last group. He himself suggests a division between the largely sheep, goat and cattle figurines which he says were found between the walls of buildings, and those representing mainly wild animals such as boar, cattle and ?deer which have been wounded (1963, 78).

#### *Types in context*

I have already mentioned the enormous range of depictions of humans — and animals — at Çatalhöyük. Within this range I have discussed broad types. However, there are certain groups which are linked not just by style but also by context, and these require further investigation. Similarities in the stance of some animals found in pits has been mentioned above. Here I would like to look at the figurines from certain buildings.

Building AII:1 contained nine figurines, eight of which are known. The ninth figure is described as being a broken standing figurine made of stone, but has not been illustrated or located. Of the eight

figures known about, all are made of clay, and five are of one type — the 'fat woman' style of seated figures with large breasts. The three other figurines are all different — one is a fat standing figure with large breasts, one is a fat woman with large breasts who is (perhaps giving birth) seated on a throne of felines, and the last is a standing figure with small breasts, divided legs, and wearing a skirt and leopard-skin top. It has a hole for the attachment of a head. The five forming the group were found together, and are remarkably similar. Their differences are in the position of the hands and feet. The two smallest have both hands on their legs, which are crossed, and one has a hole for attaching a head; two have one hand on one breast and one on one leg, with their legs tucked underneath to one side; the largest, which is the only one with a head, has a hand on each breast and legs tucked underneath. They are well made and give the impression of being a deliberate group, and could have been made by one person. On the other hand, four other figures of the same style are known from other contexts, the most similar being 648 — also from level II and 593 — from a court in level V; the other two are 590 — a stone version from AIII:1; and 589 — a clay one with painted leopard-skin garment from EIV:4.

Building EVIA:10 contained a large number of figurines, including a group of four related to leopards. Two show a human standing behind a leopard, one of them wearing a leopard-skin scarf; one shows a human sitting on or riding a leopard; the fourth shows a person wearing a leopard-skin hat. The first two are stylistically very close, although one person has breasts and the other does not, but similarities with the other two are not profound, depending mainly on the presence of spots presumed to be leopards'. Nevertheless, when this is combined with their find context, they do make a cohesive group. Whether or not they all date from the same time, or were made by the same person, is less certain. Four buildings were found with reliefs of leopards moulded onto the walls, one had a feline head cut into the plaster, and several others had wall-paintings showing people wearing leopard skins, yet the leopard-related figurines were not found in association with any of these — instead the building contained modelled cattle and sheep heads, although one of Mellaart's reconstructions does suggest a feline head on the huge human relief on the wall of EVIA:10. One of the 'leopard shrines' containing leopards in relief (EVI:44) did contain figurines, but they did not show leopards — four are schematic, one is a standing figure, one a bearded figure seated on a

non-feline animal, one is a bust, one is a human head and one is an unknown animal head.

Building EVI:25 contained four figurines, all quite varied — a person seated on a stool (570), the lower part of possibly a schematic figure (505), a kneeling human (574), and a probable vulture (599). It is notable that the vulture did not occur in a building in which vultures were depicted in other ways. Three buildings had wall-paintings depicting vultures, and vulture skulls were moulded into a relief in another, but these did not contain vulture figurines. A carved vulture head was found in another building (EVI:70) but this did not contain vulture paintings.

### *Interpretations*

Three interpretations have been offered for the figurines, each one applying to a different group and all offered by Mellaart. The human and schematic figures are seen as deities, with an emphasis on fertility seen in fat females and an abundance of bull imagery. This interpretation has been widely accepted. The humanoid and animal figures are ex-voto images, the humanoid ones having perhaps a protective use, the animal ones used in hunting magic. As the human figures are the only ones generally known about, their interpretation is the one which dominates ideas about Çatalhöyük.

### *Function*

As noted at the beginning, I am not concerned here with defining functions clearly, but with raising questions. However, it seems possible that the function of figurines varies both according to the type of figure, and over time. The possible functions of human and schematic figurines are discussed below (*Sex and gender, Women's rites or women's rights*). First I will look briefly at the humanoid and animal figures.

There are two easy options for the humanoid figurines — one is that they are votive objects, the other that they are toys. The toy interpretation depends largely on the denial of their human traits, for they would not be viewed as dolls — they are too small — but as gaming pieces or counters. It is possible that, taking into account their clear human aspects, they could fit this category. Their rough and ready manufacture, the frequent damage, the disposal in rubbish areas, are all consistent with this idea, but a context of use which could support this view is lacking so far. It will be interesting to see what the 'chessman' figures reported from Can Hasan look like (French 1968, 48 & 52), and what contexts are available for them. Mellaart's reports of humanoid figures in the walls of buildings suggest that a votive or

protective interpretation is most likely to be correct.

Animal figurines may have had more than one function. While some were clearly stabbed, and others may have been deliberately mutilated, which conforms to the hunting ritual interpretation, the presence in the same contexts of whole figures which have not been stabbed suggests they may have been used in another way. The difference in size and stance may also be relevant. Several animals are shown lying down — three goats and at least five cattle. These have not been stabbed, so they may not represent dead animals, but rather be related to other activities such as domestication. These are all from level VI with the exception of two unstratified cattle, and animal figurines have not been found in stratified contexts in later levels. Further investigation with a more complete data set may allow some clearer insights into differences over time.

#### *Fertility*

A striking aspect of the human figurine assemblage — and indeed the assemblage as a whole — is the lack of symbols usually associated with fertility in discussions of figurines. Phallic imagery is extremely rare; there is only one possible birth scene; there are only two possible babies (including the one in the birth scene); and although many of the human figures are fat women, there is no clear reason to view them as pregnancy rather than the mature female figure, much in evidence in central Anatolia today. As mentioned above, there are some contextual reasons for associating a few figurines with crops, but abundance of food and human fertility are not precisely the same. There are also some relief figures in buildings termed shrines which were viewed by Mellaart as giving birth, as they were placed above animal heads. This imagery, whatever its meaning, is obviously rather different to women having babies. Mellaart thought the goddess was shown giving birth to a son — as bull or ram — displaying a complementary and complementary attitude to sex and gender (discussed below). His suggestion that an aurochs bull or a large ram is a more impressive symbol of male fertility than men themselves (1967, 181) may well be true, but does not explain why a woman could be impressive enough as herself. The disparity between male and female images both in relief sculpture and in figurines needs to be examined, and is discussed below.

#### *Sex and gender*

There is a widespread belief that the majority of prehistoric figurines represent female bodies/

women. Female bodies and women are rarely, if ever, considered separately, although there is by now ample literature to document the social construction of gender as sex-based 'complementary' roles, and a growing body of research on the social construction of sex itself (see Hamilton 1994 & in press for brief examples and references).

The definers of sex have been much argued over in studies of Cypriot and certain Near Eastern figurines (Hamilton in press; Morris 1985; Ucko 1969) but little attention has been paid so far to those in Anatolia. A handful of figurines at Çatalhöyük have been interpreted as male (Mellaart 1963, 83–90; 1964, 75–81). Some of these have beards, and are seated on animals regarded as bulls (e.g. 282, 632, 592), although the absence of horns (a major symbol at the site) or any clear defining characteristics, when compared to the careful drilling of spots on leopards, makes them just as likely to be sheep. Several figurines regarded as male have no claim to the ascription other than the absence of breasts — 580, the headless 'youth' riding a leopard; 630, a cloaked standing figure; 638, a seated figure with leopard-skin hat and armlets; 570, seated on a stool; 643, a head very similar to those on the twin 'double-breasted' figure 572. These all come from two buildings, EVIA:10 and EVI:44. One is known from level VII (585) — beardless, with small breasts, the back view of the torso shows broad shoulders, and it is riding a hornless animal. Although I am sceptical about some of this sexing, and the animals deemed suitable to accompany men, there are also some figurines generally regarded as female which have no clear claim to the name — breastless and beardless, such as one standing behind a leopard in EVIA:10, or indeed the majority of stone figures and the majority of figures pre-dating level VI. The figurines with large heavy breasts start in level VI and dominate in the later levels. Overall, level VI seems to be a time of change where figurines are concerned — in terms of materials, styles, and types of representation. After level VI male-defined figures have not been found, nor any humans riding animals, and although breastless figures do continue the dominant form is demonstrably female. The sexless humanoid figures, and the animal figurines (which never show sex) also cease soon afterwards. The multiplicity of overtly female representations compared to demonstrably male ones — even when proportions are adjusted — suggests a growing focus on the female which was less apparent in the figurines from the earlier levels. There are other reasons for viewing level VI as something of a watershed at



Çatalhöyük — the change in pottery technology and knapped-stone tools. It is probable that these were accompanied by altered social dynamics, which may have been reflected in the altered representation of humans — and animals.

The dearth of overt representations of males has been assumed to have been balanced by a symbolic representation of males in the guise of cattle and sheep heads, always referred to as bull and ram heads even though some of the horns are known to come from females, and sex is rarely depicted on animals in paintings or reliefs. The interpretation of the large relief figures with animal heads beneath them as goddesses giving birth to sons fits beautifully with Western attitudes to virility and its appropriate symbols, but less well with the evidence. Most of the relief figures have no overt sex, and although this does not mean they are not female, as sex may be signified in ways other than those widely understood in the West today, nevertheless it should not be assumed without question. The identification of the animals with males is more problematic. If we look not from a viewpoint in which maleness is privileged and virility highly prized, but from the economy of Çatalhöyük, in which cattle meat played a significant part, the presence of cattle symbolism is not strange. If we accept that the relief figures are giving birth to animals, this is then simply the creation of the economic requirements of humans.

#### *Women's rites or women's rights?*

The presence of predominantly female figurines — or a widespread belief that they are female — has led to interpretations of their meaning and function which generally relate to biological roles and either elevate or downgrade women through that medium, according to the viewpoint of the scholar concerned. Such interpretations have been 'acceptable' due to the dominant Western view of women as 'natural' birthers and 'natural' mothers, which is part of the naturalization of the restriction of women to the domestic sphere. The elevation of the role of birther and mother to a divine one, as in the mother goddess interpretation, does not change or challenge this underlying belief.

While figurines may well have played a role in women's rites of passage, such as those of birth and motherhood — and as noted above, the possibility exists that detachable heads were used to portray different ages, emotions, rites etc. — it is equally feasible that they were concerned with sex-based gender roles and the consequent social conflict this doubtless created. This may be supported by the

new emphasis on femaleness in figurines after level VI. The production of clay figurines depicting ample women with large breasts, in which not 'fertility' but femaleness was emphasized, along with the absence of maleness, might suggest an increasing concern with women's roles. Rather than taking the 'acceptable' view that women tamely embraced a life of endless childbearing, the figurines may also be demonstrating their challenge to fulfil other roles in society — perhaps in debate over lineage, access to power, etc. (see Chapter 19). The mature bodies depicted in the most stylistically unified group accord with the decision-making role played in some societies by the longer-lived experienced members. The relaxed, confident, even commanding pose of many of these figures is more suggestive of the matrons, the elders, than of young women's rites of passage.

#### *Shrines and non-shrines*

Some buildings have large numbers of figurines in them — EVIA:10 (14 + 3 between walls), EVI:44 (9), AII:1 (9). These are regarded by Mellaart as shrines on other grounds, such as elaborate decoration — wall paintings or reliefs (EVIA:10 and EVI:44) — or unusual size and complex architecture (AII:1). A few more have more than one figurine — EVI:25 (4), EVII:24 (2), EIV:4 (2), AIII:1 (2) and EXII:29 (2). Of these, only AIII:1 is consistently regarded by Mellaart as a shrine, while for EIV:4 and EVI:25 reports differ. Of the buildings containing one figurine, AIII:2, AIV:1, EVI:28, EVII:28 and EVIII:28 were viewed as houses, AVI:1, EVI:31 (animal figurine), EVI:45, EVII:21, EVII:45, EVIII:1 and EVIII:25 were called shrines, and EV:8 was uncertain. The majority of buildings in which figurines were found — albeit in small numbers — were not regarded as shrines, nor were figurines found in the majority of buildings which were designated shrines. All the buildings with the largest numbers of figurines are amongst the most elaborate in the complexity graphs (Figs. 1.1–1.5).

Mellaart pointed out that elaborate buildings are often built above earlier elaborate buildings, although this is not always the case (see Chapter 19 for quantitative data). Whether or not these are shrines, it would not be entirely surprising if the form of decoration used in one building occurred in the succeeding one, since it is likely — given the settlement layout and lack of fresh building areas — that the new buildings were built by the occupants of the old ones. It may be for the same reason that figurines are sometimes found in consecutive buildings, or in the same vertical column of building but skipping a level or two — EVIA:31 is below EV:8; EVII:45 is below

EVIB:45, EVIII:25 is below EVI:25, with level VII missing out on figurines, while AVI:1 is below AIII:1, jumping a huge time-span. However, these buildings are not always similar — EVIII:25 was called a shrine by Mellaart, and had one figurine, while EVI:25 was initially seen as a house, although it contained four figurines. The designation of EV:8 as a shrine was left uncertain.

#### *Totemism*

One possibility which could be investigated further is a totemic base to some of the figurative representations at Çatalhöyük. Attention has been drawn above to the dyssynchrony between representations on wall-paintings and in reliefs and those on the figurines — in particular the leopards and vultures. It is feasible that a totemic clan structure existed which utilized certain animal symbols — the leopard and vulture have already been mentioned, but deer and boar could be added to the list. The presence of leopard-based figurines in a building without other leopard symbolism could reflect a different usage of the same symbol by members of the same totemic group. Aspects other than figurines and building 'decor' could have been involved — costume in particular. Thus people shown on paintings in leopard-skin clothing could be demonstrating their clan affiliation, and those shown in plain red skins could perhaps be wearing deer skin. From this viewpoint, the variety of depictions of human skin and clothing, grouped in the paintings, taken in conjunction with the lack of killing of animals which was noted by Mellaart, could lead to an interpretation of the scenes as contests between totemic groups. The importance of cattle in some of the scenes, and in buildings which also have depictions of other animals, could suggest that cattle were the totem of the whole society, and that inter-community contests were played out against a backdrop of cattle imagery. The presence in some graves of items made of antler, and deer teeth necklaces, could also be investigated within this framework, although at present the data are poor.

#### *Conclusion*

I have not aimed to reach definitive conclusions about the figurines from Mellaart's excavations, but it is clear from the afore-going that the figurines from Çatalhöyük do not fall into a single category, and did not all have the same function. There is scope for a great deal more work in this area — this discussion has merely brushed the surface, as a re-assessment of the evidence, not a re-interpretation. The

outstanding features are the range of find contexts, the changes in the assemblage over time, the different time span for the different groups, and the links these aspects must have, in some way, to the other changes at the site. Other aspects of figurines could give us information both about themselves and the culture from which they come: use-wear analysis may shed light on their function, and preliminary work has shown that this could yield results, as areas of polish suggest handling, but newly-excavated artefacts are most likely to offer relevant information; a study of which figures can stand unaided is also helpful in determining function; an investigation of fingerprints on many of the humanoid figures could be revealing, but is complex to carry out; and the iconography offers assistance with clothing, an area generally difficult to examine. Some of these directions must wait for the future, but the theoretical debate has been underway for many years. My challenges to orthodoxy are not offered as proven, but as matters to consider. Further discoveries during the current excavations may be able to enlighten us in some of these areas, while others are likely to remain bones of theoretical contention.

#### **The figurines from the surface**

Details of the figurines found during the surface investigations in 1993–95 can be found in the discussion of small finds below. Here I am concerned with their presence on the surface of the mound.

Both human and animal figurines were found during the survey in small numbers — 20 definite figurine fragments, of which 17 come from the east mound survey (5 human, 3 humanoid, 9 animal); one from Mellaart's sections (animal), and two from the west mound (1 animal, 1 uncertain); and a further nine possible fragments come from the east mound (3 human, 2 humanoid, 2 animal, 2 indeterminate), one of which is from the sections. Only one is of doubtful date, the rest being clearly Neolithic. Details can be found in Table 12.5. Although this is too small a group of artefacts from which to draw statistical conclusions, it is nevertheless a surprisingly large number when compared with the numbers found by Mellaart in large-scale excavations — around 250 figures, of which about 130 are human or humanoid. We have perhaps a slightly larger proportion of small fragments than Mellaart, which is to be expected of purely surface material, but the recovery methods used were the same in the case of the scrape squares — hand-picked by workmen from shovelled soil.

With such limited data, and general find spots, it is not possible to carry out detailed quantitative analyses of the type used for the knapped stone, ceramics and bone. However, there are some points, largely based on qualitative information, which may be pertinent to the interpretation of the distribution of those materials.

#### *Distribution*

20 of the total 29 possible figurines came from the large scraped area on the upper north slope and northern-most edge of the top of the northern eminence, which could be assumed to have been subject to considerable erosion. The figurines were discovered in sub-surface units giving good Neolithic architectural contexts, and not in the surface units, suggesting that the figurines found may be basically *in situ*, and may not have been subject to a great deal of movement. The absence of a single recognizable figurine fragment in the 2 × 2 m survey of the east mound — in which artefacts were retrieved by sieving in a 5 mm mesh — must be relevant to the question of erosion and movement of artefacts, and supports the suggestion that many of the figurines which were recovered had not travelled far from the place of their original deposition.

This contention is supported also by the context of two particular figurines — from unit 821 (CH94:32) and unit 282 (CH93:30). These two artefacts are almost identical. They were retrieved from adjacent 10 × 10 squares. They are the only figurines of their type, and in my opinion it is possible that they were made by the same people for use in the same building. Deposits of lime on the surface of both also suggest they lay in similar soils.

#### *Fragmentation*

The majority of figurines from the survey are broken. In the light of my suggestion that many have not travelled far from their place of original deposition, it is necessary to ask how much this is a product of erosion and post-depositional damage. In other words, would broken figurines have been deposited in buildings? Here, information derived from the figurines found in Mellaart's excavations can shed light on depositional practices. The data is discussed in detail above, and it is clear that different types of figurines were deposited in different types of context and in very different states of completeness. Gross counts in Table 12.4 (p. 222) show that well over 50 per cent of human and schematic figurines were deposited in buildings, and as the remainder have no context the percentage could have been

higher. Of the 44 definitely deposited in buildings, 23 were broken or fragmentary, sometimes consisting solely of the head. Humanoid and animal figurines were very rarely deposited in buildings, and are reported to be found in pits and courts. Of the 47 humanoid figurines with records, 15 are complete and a further 11 have only minor damage. Of the 76 animal figurines with records, only 8 are complete with a further 18 having minor damage to horns and legs. Therefore over 50 per cent of humanoid figures are in a good state of completeness, a far greater percentage than the human figures, yet they were apparently discarded in pits and rubbish dumps while the human ones were deposited in buildings, sometimes in a broken or fragmentary condition. The animal figurines show similar damage rates to those for human ones, despite very different depositional contexts. These data agree well with the surface material — the humanoid figures are in the best state of preservation, the animals a mixture of good and very fragmentary, and the human figures include nearly complete, head only, and badly damaged fragments. The close find spots of two almost identical figurines in very different states of fragmentation may therefore be a result of deliberate depositional practices in which broken human figurines are deposited in buildings. It is also possible, however, that the severely damaged fragment had been discarded in the adjacent open area/street.

#### *Dating*

The human head CH94:31 is the only stone figurine fragment found on the surface. It came from the southeast quarter of sub-surface unit 820, overlying a Neolithic building. Stone figurines are most common in the level VI material from Mellaart's excavations — a total of 43 stone figurines was found, ranging from levels VII to II, of which 26 were from level VI and four were unstratified. None were found in level V. A head rather similar to this one, also of stone, was found in building VI:44, the 'leopard shrine'. It is considerably larger than ours, being 54 mm high, and it has a dowel hole in the base for attaching it to a figurine, whereas ours was clearly made all in one piece and has broken off above the shoulder. Much more similar is a large clay head found in Mellaart's backfill in 1995, unfortunately unstratified. The humanoid figurines can probably be dated reasonably by comparison with Mellaart's material. Two figures with conical bases surmounted by fairly featureless heads were found in level V (477 & 497), and compare well with CH95:39 although this is a little smaller, and one of Mellaart's



had breasts. This style does not appear in other levels. CH94:34 and CH94:1 resemble many figures from levels VII and VI. The two figurines discussed earlier (nos. CH94:32 & CH93:30) as well as CH93:4 have no clear parallels among the excavated material. The fragment impressed with small circles (CH93:31) may however be compared to four stone figurines from building VI:10 decorated with similar circles which clearly represent leopard spots — in three cases the spots are on animals, and in two cases on clothing. A clay figurine from building All:1 is also wearing clothing on her upper body decorated with similar spots. This may provide a better date for this fragment, both in terms of its material (clay is rare for level VI human figures but common in level II) and its position on the mound. CH93:31 is the only clearly human figurine to be found on the southern eminence, and came from close to Mellaart's old trenches. It was found in unit 24, a lower spit at least 7 cm below the surface and possibly twice as deep, in the southwestern quarter of a square not far from Mellaart's Area A in which All:1 is situated.

The evidence of the animal figurines is also largely in agreement with the dates suggested by the human and humanoid examples. By far the majority of animal figures found by Mellaart come either from level VI or level VIII. Only five are known from other levels — one from level XII, two from level VII and two from level V. CH94:33 and CH95:42 both fit happily within the level VI repertoire. The animal head pot lug CH94:3 also has parallels. Four similar lugs were found by Mellaart and are in the Konya Museum. Two were from level V, the other two unstratified. The item which has no clear parallels is CH94:2. It is larger and more carefully modelled than most, and seems to be either an equid or ovicaprid, neither of which occurs in this size in the excavated material. It is the most likely candidate for a post-Neolithic date apart from the possible horn CH94:12 from the west mound (not mentioned in Table 12.5 but can be found in the catalogue). However, its context is strongly Neolithic sub-surface unit.

Only two certain figurine fragments were found on the west mound, both in the 2 × 2 survey. One is the body of a quadruped,

missing its head; the other a horn or arm. There is no comparative material from Mellaart's excavations and with only two pieces and no sub-surface investigation, nothing can be said concerning their position on the mound.

### Conclusion

Although the dating evidence is scanty, relying on a restricted sample, it does suggest overall that the figurines found on the northern eminence belong to level VI or V, which is entirely in agreement with the ceramic and knapped-stone evidence not just for the surface material but also from the 1995 excavations. The lack of figurine material washed down to the lower slopes, when so much is available at the top, does suggest either very restricted movement of this artefact class or its rapid weathering and deterioration.

### Clay balls from the surface survey (with Mehmet Uluceviz)

Clay balls occur at Çatalhöyük in two broad size ranges — small, measuring roughly 1–2 cm in diameter; and large, measuring in general 6–8 cm in diameter, occasionally as large as 11 cm or in two cases apparently 17 cm. Here I shall discuss the large clay balls.

Fragments of clay balls have been found scattered across the surface of the east mound — this at least is the impression of those working on the survey,

Table 12.5. Figurine fragments from the surface survey.

Unit	Square	Unit type	Figurine type	Part present	Material	Notes
<i>Definite figurine fragments</i>						
818	1020, 1200	Sub-surface	Humanoid	Leg missing	Clay	Time?
821	1020, 1190	Surface	Human	Body	Clay	Time deposit
282	1030, 1190	Scrape	Human	Lower body	Clay	Time deposit
820	1030, 1200	Sub-surface	Human	Head	Limestone	Painted
816	1050, 1170	Sub-surface	Humanoid	Complete	Clay	Time
901	1030, 1160	Sub-surface	Humanoid	Complete	Clay	
820	1030, 1200	Sub-surface	Animal	Complete	Clay	Stabbed
901	1030, 1160	Sub-surface	Animal	Rear end	Clay	Stabbed
824	1040, 1200	Sub-surface	Animal	Head	Clay	
824	1040, 1200	Sub-surface	Animal	Horn	Clay	
816	1050, 1170	Sub-surface	Animal	Head	Clay	Pot lug
826	1020, 1180	Sub-surface	Animal	Horn	Clay	
822	1020, 1190	Sub-surface	Animal?	Horn?	Clay	
822	1020, 1190	Sub-surface	Animal	Horn	Clay	
279	1040, 1090	Lower spit	Human	Body	Clay	Incised triangle
24	980, 1040	Sub-surface	Human	Upper body	Clay	Impressed
295	1040, 1240	Scrape	Animal	Horn	Clay	Incised? Time?
365	Section 6		Animal	Neck	Clay	
802	160, 840	2 × 2	Animal	Body	Clay	
648	520, 940	2 × 2	Animal	Arm? Horn	Clay	
<i>Possible figurine fragments</i>						
710	1030, 1170	Scrape	Humanoid	Lower body	Clay	
288	1030, 1180	Scrape	Human	Upper body	Clay	Impressed
841	1020, 1170	Sub-surface	Humanoid?	Lower body	Clay	
264	1040, 1190	Sub-surface	Human?	Upper body	Clay	Impressed
196	1090, 1040	Sub-surface	Human?	Lower body	Clay	Incised
818	1020, 1200	Sub-surface	*	Limbs? Horn?	Clay	
	Section 3		*	Limbs? Horn?	Clay	
706	1000, 940	Sub-surface	Animal?	Horn?	Clay	Incised
269	1010, 1040	Lower spit	Animal?	Horn?	Clay	

by whom clay balls have come to be regarded as ubiquitous. A closer look at their distribution suggests that this is not quite true. The numbers found vary enormously across the site and from unit to unit, as will be seen from Table 12.6.

Clay balls are generally approximately spherical in shape as their name suggests, but as all but one example from the surface are fragmentary (the one that is complete is broken into two joining pieces), it is not possible to say with certainty that they were all spherical although a few complete, spherical examples have been found in excavation. Indeed, as mentioned below, a number have one suspiciously flat surface. All the fragments are burnt, although the degree of burning varies considerably. They are usually quite carelessly made, with little attention to

surface detail. The surface is generally only roughly smoothed, although some are well-smoothed and one is recorded as almost polished. However, several examples have been 'decorated': a few have a dip or dimple, occurring either singly or in threes arranged as a triangle fairly close together; others bear scratch or chisel marks. However, deliberate surface treatment is very rare (19 examples among 361 fragments) and some of these marks may be accidental. At least three are probably the imprint of matting or textile, a feature found on perhaps a dozen balls and fragments found in Mellaart's area in 1995.

### Distribution

The distribution of clay ball fragments on the east mound is shown by Table 12.6 to be restricted largely

to the large area scraped on top of the northern eminence. No data are available for the 1993 10 × 10 survey. However, all but four of the fragments found in the 10 × 10 survey in 1994 and 1995 derive from this area. Of the 5 fragments found in the 2 × 2 survey, four also came from this area. Of the remaining five fragments, two come from the top of the southern eminence, close to Mellaart's trench, two from the 20 × 20 scrape on the northern slope of the southern eminence, and one from the north end of Mellaart's long spoil heap. 43 fragments were found on the surface, in 14 units; the vast majority come from sub-surface units on the northern eminence overlying good Neolithic architecture. They may not, therefore, be the ubiquitous artefacts we have come to believe them to be.

Due to the methods employed in the survey, it is not easy to establish precisely the type of context in which clay balls were found. However, we do have some indications. The 10 × 10 area scraped at 1020,1170 was divided into 25 sub-surface 2 × 2 units (numbers 828–52). Clay ball fragments occurred in 21 of these units. According to the plan, these units lay almost exclusively over internal areas apparently covering parts of 4 buildings. The only external areas are in the extreme northeast corner, which just clips the street, and possibly the extreme southwest corner which has a single wall running across it and may therefore adjoin an open area — no investigation was made beyond this square to the south or west. This is one of the four units which

**Table 12.6.** *Distribution of clay ball fragments on the surface.*

<i>East mound 10 × 10 units</i>				
Unit	Grid	No. of balls	Level	Decoration/Notes
500	980,1090	1	Surface	fingerprint
504	990,1080	1	Sub-surface	
602	990,990	1	Surface	
603	990,990	1	Sub-surface	
710	1030,1170	14	Scrape	
808	1040,1170	9	Sub-surface	1 complete (broken)
809	1050,1200	2	Surface	
810	1050,1200	3	Sub-surface	1 crescent incision
811	1050,1190	7	Surface	
812	1050,1190	17	Sub-surface	1 wavy lines
814	1050,1180	57	Sub-surface	5 dots in triangle; 1 circle
815	1050,1170	6	Surface	
816	1050,1170	11	Sub-surface	
817	1020,1200	3	Surface	
818	1020,1200	47 × 1 mm	Sub-surface	1 'insect' impression
819	1030,1200	2	Surface	very small
820	1030,1200	11	Sub-surface	3 small holes in triangle
821	1020,1190	1	Surface	
822	1020,1190	53	Sub-surface	lime; 1 nail impression; 12 lines
823	1040,1200	6	Surface	very small
824	1040,1200	26	Sub-surface	1 semi-circle
825	1020,1180	8	Surface	1 cut
826	1020,1180	14	Sub-surface	
827	1020,1170	1	Surface	
828–52	1020,1170	47	Sub-surface	
854	1045,1125	2	Sub-surface	white semi-circle round outside
901	1030,1160	8	Sub-surface	1 incision + dimple
904	1030,1150	7	Sub-surface	eve + ear?
<i>2 × 2 units in scraped area 1020,1170 on northern eminence</i>				
Unit	Grid	No. of balls	Decoration/Notes	
829	1020,1170	2		
830	1020,1170	5		
831	1020,1170	3 × 1 mm		
832	1020,1170	2		
833	1020,1170	2	include 1 × 11 cm	
834	1020,1170	2	include 1 × 17 cm	
835	1020,1170	4	include 1 × 17 cm	
836	1020,1170	3		
837	1020,1170	2	1 groove/piercing?	
838	1020,1170	1 × large mm	1 straight incision	
839	1020,1170	1		
840	1020,1170	1	cut marks?	
841	1020,1170	1		
843	1020,1170	1		
844	1020,1170	1		
845	1020,1170	1		
846	1020,1170	3	1 short incision	
847	1020,1170	1		
849	1020,1170	1	1 chisel mark, 1 'feet'	
850	1020,1170	3		
852	1020,1170	1		

did not contain clay balls, but since the major part of it lies within a building anyway, as do the other three units without clay balls, this does not help us to narrow down context. However, in other parts of the northern scraped area the situation appears to be different — unit 818 is recorded as having clay balls largely in the western half, which appears to be a court with dumps. Clay balls are also recorded at the western edge of unit 814. A note written by the archaeologist scraping square 1045,1125, down on the southeast slope of the northern eminence, reports that clay balls are not found there, in what appears to be a large rubbish dump, but do occur in houses. Since the scraping did not involve the excavation of closed contexts, the source of all the clay balls recovered by this method must remain in doubt. However, clay balls have been found in considerable numbers in an open area excavated in 1995 in Mellaart's old trench, several of them complete. They are common in dumps and room fill in the sections in Mellaart's trench. Mellaart reported that they are found on rooftops, but it is clear from our data that they are found in several types of context, though not invariably in each example of each context.

#### *Fragmentation and distribution*

So far, no detailed records have been made concerning the fragmentation of clay balls. Only the most basic information is available, but this does tell us something — every ball was broken, and those from two surface units (818 and 823), comprising 8 fragments in all, are described as 'very small'. Although some of this fragmentation may be a result of post-depositional factors and proximity to the surface, it does appear that clay balls were normally broken in antiquity. It may be that their weight has restricted their movement, but details of the weights are not available, and the 'very small' fragments have not strayed far if at all, although they are on the northern slope and may therefore have moved slightly downwards. However, considerations of weight and size would apply also to ceramics, stone and bone, and these are found all over the surface of the mound. The gully between the southern and northern eminences is noticeably full of large Classical sherds in a deep deposit of water-lain soil. It would appear, therefore, that the distribution of clay balls is not a random result of erosion and post-depositional processes, but that the clay balls are actually approximately *in situ*. This is exactly the situation regarding the figurines from the surface, which also derive almost exclusively from this part of the site in sub-surface units.

#### *The west mound*

17 fragments of clay balls were recovered from the west mound. Of these, six came from the  $2 \times 2$  survey, three came from surface  $10 \times 10$  units, and eight from sub-surface units. No further information is yet available, so no comparisons can be made with those from the east mound.

#### *Dating*

Following the conclusion above that the clay balls are approximately *in situ*, they presumably date from the same time as other material from the top of the northern eminence. According to the ceramic, knapped-stone and figurine typology derived from Mellaart's excavations, this is level V or VI. This may actually be the final fling of clay balls. A quantity of clay balls is stored in Konya Museum, and although to date these have not been counted or studied in any way, a list of their contexts was made. It is possible that these all come from the 1965 season, although this is not clear. Nevertheless, the list is informative — clay balls seem to be common both in buildings and in outside areas in all levels from XII to VII except XI. However, there are only three bags of clay balls from level VI, although many buildings of that level were excavated. Taken in conjunction with Mellaart's reports that they are common in the lowest levels, and the lack, or extreme scarcity, of clay balls from the  $2 \times 2$  survey of other areas of the site which are known to have later occupation (the eastern and southern eminences, and the west mound) it may be that the date range for clay balls is restricted to the earlier phases of the site. The data may be skewed by the concentration on scraping the top of the northern eminence, but this area accounted for 19 (for 15 of which data are available) out of a total of 35 scrape squares (23 of which have data available), 32 on the east mound, 3 on the west mound, a proportion which bears no relation to the overwhelming proportion of clay balls found there.

#### *Function*

Little attention has been paid to clay balls, and this includes their purpose or function. Mellaart reported that they were often found on roofs, and suggested they could have been used as slingstones when wielded from rooftops or put in leather bags on sticks to create a 'cheap' version of a macehead (Mellaart 1966, 188), but it would probably be simpler to make clay maceheads. Similar items have occasionally been reported from other Neolithic sites in the region, but not in the quantities that occur at Çatalhöyük, and there is no mention so far of any at Can Hasan, the



other major Chalcolithic site in the area.

In attempting to understand the function of clay balls, the most important features appear to be the burning, the fragmentation, their discard in dumps, room fill, and open areas, and their presence apparently in all the lower levels, but not necessarily in the upper ones. Another important point is that a number of fragments classified initially as clay balls actually have one or more flattened surfaces, or are not genuinely spherical (see below).

My suggestion is that clay balls functioned primarily — though not necessarily exclusively — as simple pot stands. While it may initially seem strange that roughly spherical objects would be used for balancing a pot on, it makes sense on several levels. 1) they are simple to make; 2) they could be rolled in hot ashes with ease; 3) once in position in the ash they should be stable; 4) round-based pots would sit more easily on three or four spheres than on flat-topped objects. This function would account for the burning, the fragmentation — the result of firing such a solid lump of clay — and their common discard as easily replaceable items. The occasional 'decoration' in the form of dips in the surface would have facilitated adjusting their position in the fire, providing a grip for sticks. Such a function could also explain the matting imprints, which suggest that they were made indoors rather than at a clay source, and therefore probably destined for use in the settlement rather than outside it. Presumably they were placed on mats to dry, probably by the hearth, where they would be at hand when required. Their reported presence on roofs, of which no evidence is available from the surface survey (the 40 × 40 scrape area appears to be coming down onto floors), is not inconsistent with a use as pot stands. Roofs must have been used as living and working spaces much as they are now, and although clay balls would have been less stable on a smooth surface than in ashes, they may have been used nevertheless to support pots in use on the roof. We are not certain what the upper surface of the roofs consisted of, whether matting would have been a normal feature outdoors, whether there was a superstructure sheltering the doorways and shafts (Mellaart (1962, 46) felt there must have been as the shafts had unweathered plaster on their walls), nor whether there were ledges or low walls delimiting them. Indeed, broken clay balls would be of use in propping up round-based pots on any smooth surface such as a floor, platform, shelf or possibly roof, with fragments being used as wedges, the broken part gripping the surface on which it was placed.

Furthermore, some items of burnt clay are likely to have been incorrectly classified as clay balls, as their fragmentary condition makes their real shape unclear. They probably belong with a number of baked clay objects of uncertain shape which have yet to be studied but are thought to be parts of pot stands. Frequently they are distinguishable from clay balls only by having one flattened surface, but some have squarish or rectangular bases curving towards the top, and one from Mellaart's backfill looks like an egg, broken at the base and with incised decoration around the top. These appear to be a development from clay balls into recognizable pot stands. The two fragments recorded as having diameters of 17 cm may belong to this group, as they are very large for clay balls. Mellaart found several examples of Neolithic pot stands, all of undecorated baked clay. Three are held in Konya museum — one is a plain trapezoid vertical block, narrowing at the top (Inv. no. 1984.14.67); the other two are surmounted by two 'horns' — one is complete and measures 102H, 58W, 48D (Inv. no. 1984.14.68), the other, missing the horn tips, is much smaller — 48H, 36W, 30D (Inv. no. 1984.14.72). Three others are in Ankara museum, and a further three are in Aksehir. Mellaart reports that the earliest pot stands on the east mound come from level III, presumably those mentioned above. In contrast, large incised pot stands abound on the Chalcolithic west mound, and also at Chalcolithic Can Hasan where they are very similar (Figs. 12.7:1 & 12.7:2). They frequently have holes cut in the lower part, assumed to be for the insertion of sticks to aid moving them around and/or for cooking on, and to reduce the fire damage likely to result if they were made of solid blocks of clay.

If pot stands do not occur at Çatalhöyük East until level III, what were the inhabitants using instead? While Neolithic pottery is never abundant on the east mound, it is present in every level, and the sherds from level XII do not appear to be the earliest attempts at pot-making. Although clay balls seem to occur frequently on the top of the northern eminence in level VI or V, a number of these are certainly not entirely spherical, and other evidence suggests clay balls may cease to be common after this time. Perhaps the apparent balls with one flattened surface represent the transition from balls to what we recognize as pot stands. Certainly the clay balls need to be looked at more closely in the light of the information discussed above. At this stage it is not possible to prove that clay balls were pot stands, but as excavation proceeds it will be interesting to discover whether or not fragmented clay balls fade

out as fire-proof pot stands arrive on the scene. It is also possible that the frequent cracking and fragmentation of the clay balls is the result of their additional use as pot boilers — the frequent heating and immersing in water leading to cracking. Experimental work is needed to evaluate the feasibility of this proposal.

### The small finds

Bone, ceramic and knapped-stone small finds have been dealt with separately in this volume. Here I shall present a number of small finds from the surface investigations which are not covered by specialist reports. All measurements are in millimetres. The notes below on the distribution of small finds exclude bone, ceramic and knapped-stone artefacts.

It is noticeable that very few small finds come from the surfaces of the mounds, particularly the east mound. Only 5 were found in the 2 × 2 collection on the east mound, with a further 9 coming from the surface of the 10 × 10 scrape squares and 1 from the spoil of mixed surface and sub-surface units. The majority came from sub-surface units — 32 from simple sub-surface units, 48 from combined sub-surface and scrape units, 11 from simple scrape units and 1 from a lower sub-surface unit. On the west mound the surface has been altered by the recent and continuing use of the mound for the winter storage of chaff. This involves digging a broad, shallow hollow into the surface of the mound, placing piles of chaff inside, and covering them with soil and vegetation obtained from the hollow and its surrounding area. As a result, much sub-surface soil is now on the surface of the mound, and this may be reflected in the finds survey. A total of 23 small finds was collected, of which 2 are from the western edge of the mound outside the survey area, 14 were found in the 2 × 2 survey, and 7 came from the 10 × 10 scrape squares — 1 from a surface unit, 2 sub-surface, and 4 mixed surface/sub-surface. Although 16 of the 23 finds appear to come from the surface, in contrast to the situation on the east mound, this is probably a distortion created by disturbance.

### Small finds from the east mound

As all these small finds are unstratified, help in identifying and dating them can be sought from the previously excavated material at this site, and that of other sites in the area of similar date.

### Figurines

A general discussion of the context of these figurines can be found earlier in this chapter. This catalogue

contains only descriptions and comparative information. Because of the difficulties in giving standardized descriptions of the dimensions of objects of such varied shape, measurements for figurines are given as H (height), W (side to side), D (front to back) regardless of the normal applicability of the terms.

1) Human figurine head. Inv. no. CH94:31, *Fig. 12.2:1*. Unit 820, sub-surface, 1030, 1200. Beige limestone, 22H, 28W, 19D. Munsell 10YR8/2 white (back), 10YR7/3 very pale brown (top, core), 5Y5/1 gray (paint patches). Weight 15.54 g. Stylized head broken from body at neck/shoulder junction. Flat top, large hooked nose, projections for ears, incised rectangular slashes gouged out for eyes, a similar incision immediately below the nose may represent a mouth. The face appears to be tilted slightly upwards. There are traces of dark brown paint on the face (by nose, ear, chin), and on top of the head. The whole head is smooth all over, which may be the result of constant handling which could account also for the worn paint; however, paint is likely to be unstable on this surface. This head is similar in style to a large clay head found in Mellaart's backfill in the 1995 season, and also resembles one made of alabaster from Mellaart's excavations (Mellaart 1964, fig. 31b, pl. XVIc).

2) Standing human female figurine. Inv. no. CH94:32, *Fig. 12.2:2*. Unit 821, surface, 1020, 1190. Pale grey baked clay, fabric fine with occasional fine mica and black mineral inclusions. 45.5H, 34W, 33D. Munsell 5Y6/1 grey/light grey. Weight 38.49 g. This freestanding figurine is missing its head and one arm, and the breasts were shattered by a shovel. The base is roughly cylindrical, widening at the middle to form a large stomach and large protruding, rounded bottom. Above the waist it narrows sharply into an elliptical upper body with stub arms. Most of the surface of the figure is smooth as though well handled. There are dark grey patches on the front, and the back, sides and base have a whitish deposit, probably lime.

3) Fragment of human standing figurine. Inv. no. CH93:30. Unit 282, sub-surface, 1030, 1190. Pale grey very hard baked clay, fabric fine with occasional fine mica and black mineral inclusions. 26.6H, 30W, 23D. Munsell 5Y6/1-4/1 (core), base 5Y4/1. Weight 13.70 g. Lower part of freestanding figure with cylindrical base, identical in style and fabric to no. 2 above, with the front missing. Smooth outer surface, covered with whitish deposit in lower region, probably lime.

These two figures are practically identical, and were found in adjacent squares on the northern eminence, overlying Neolithic architecture (see discussion above).

4) Standing human female figurine. Inv. no. CH93:4, *Fig. 12.2:3*. Unit 279, scrape, square 1040, 1090. Grey baked clay. 30H, 13W, 15D. Munsell 7.5YR7/2 pinkish gray (exterior), N4/0 dark gray (interior). Weight 6.33 g. Missing head and left arm/upper body and chipped on the lower front. Roughly cylindrical base bulging a little to portray hips and slightly protruding bottom. The upper body remains thick, showing either a large drooping stomach or breasts, with the surviving short horizontal arm shown to be bent forward with hand touching breast. Two deeply incised lines depict a pubic triangle. There is no close parallel for this figurine among the surface finds nor among Mellaart's excavated material.

5) Fragment of human figurine with impressed decoration. Inv. no. CH93:31, *Fig. 12.2:4*. Unit 24, sub-surface, square 990, 1040.



Figure 12.2. Figurines from Çatalhöyük East. For descriptions see text.



fire blackened clay. 38H, 31W, 17D. Munsell 7.5YR5/2 brown to N3/ very dark gray. Weight 14.72 g. Badly damaged fragment of the upper part of a human figure, missing the head. The arms seem to be depicted hanging by the side of the torso, the shoulders sloping sharply. The front has circular depressions in vertical lines, about 1 mm deep. Sex is not indicated. The figure gives the impression of being cloaked. There is no parallel among Mellaart's excavated material, although cloaked figurines were found. A clay fragment with similar decoration was found in the surface survey and may be part of a figurine (no. 14).

9) Humanoid figurine. Inv. no. CH94:34, Fig. 12.2:5. Unit 816, sub-surface, 1050,1170. Dark brown baked clay. 20H, 11.3W, 17D. Munsell 7.5YR3/0 very dark gray, 2.5Y8/2 white (base). Weight 1.64 g. Complete. Freestanding figure with ovoid flat base made of two 'arms' or 'legs' pinched together, sloping upwards at a 45 degree angle to a thick neck surmounted by pointed face with rounded top creating a bird-like head. A slight hunch where the 'legs' join the neck gives a suggestion of arms or bent knees. Crudely made. A slight polish around the back and sides suggests handling. A comparison with similar figures from Mellaart's excavations suggests this dates to level VI, possibly level VII. Humanoid figures occur only between levels VIII and V.

10) Humanoid figurine. Inv. no. CH94:1, Fig. 12.2:6. Unit 818, sub-surface, 1020,1200. Light brown baked clay. 31H, 10.5W, 20D. Munsell 10YR6/1 light grey/grey (surface), 10YR6/4 light yellowish brown (core). Weight 3.94 g. Broken humanoid figure of similar type to no. 6 but wearing a headdress or scarf which protrudes at the back of the head, sloping downwards. One 'arm/leg' is missing. The remaining one has a flat base curving slightly upwards at its point. This is surmounted by a long thick neck leaning slightly forwards, with headdress formed all in one by pinching the clay at the top of the neck upwards then bending down. No face is shown. Roughly made. A comparison with similar figures from Mellaart's excavations suggests this dates to

level VI, possibly level VII. Humanoid figures occur only between levels VIII and V.

8) Humanoid figurine. Inv. no. CH95:39. Unit 901, sub-surface, 1030,1160. Pale beige/grey baked clay. 17H, 10W, 12.5D. Complete. Small figure with ovoid base rising with gently inward-sloping sides to a neck/head featureless except for a slight nose. This does not have divided 'legs'. Roughly smoothed surface. Slight chip on base. A similar figure was found by Mellaart in level V (Konya Mus. 1984.14.217) while a second, also from level V (1984.14.216) has the same design with the addition of breasts.

9) Animal figurine. Inv. no. CH94:33, Fig. 12.2:7. Unit 820, sub-surface, 1030,1200. Light brown baked clay. 27H, 21W, 36D. Munsell 10YR6/3 pale brown. Weight 13.26 g. Almost complete — one front leg broken. Standing quadruped which is generally bovine in appearance but lacks horns, possibly therefore some other animal. The figure was well made, with attention to detail — eyes, ears and nose are depicted, which makes the lack of horns relevant. There are two possible stab marks, one on the rear, one underneath. These are generally found on models of cattle and boar. The surface is fairly rough, smoother on the left side.

10) Fragmentary animal figurine. Inv. no. CH95:42. Unit 901, sub-surface, 1030,1160. Grey-brown lightly baked clay with purple and rusty tinges. 38H, 27W, 30D. Badly damaged fragment depicting the rear end of a standing quadruped with a short stumpy tail. The figure has multiple deep stab marks which may have contributed to the heavy damage it has suffered.

11) Head of animal figurine. Inv. no. CH94:2, Fig. 12.2:9. Unit 824, sub-surface, 1040,1200. Beige baked clay with black sand inclusions. 28.5H, 37W, 58.5D. Munsell 2.5Y6/2 light brownish grey, 2.5Y5/5 greyish brown (exterior), 2.5Y4/0 dark grey (interior). Weight 40.11 g. Carefully modelled head of probably horned animal, broken off the body at the top of the neck, and missing

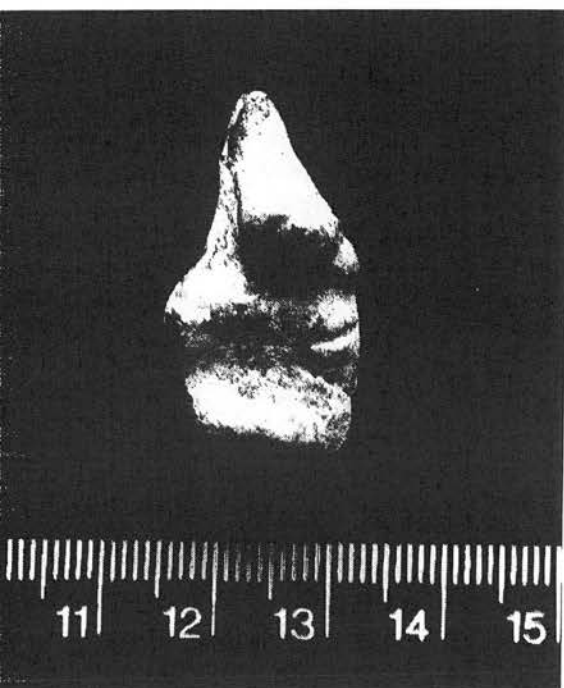


Figure 12.3. Human figurine from Çatalhöyük East.

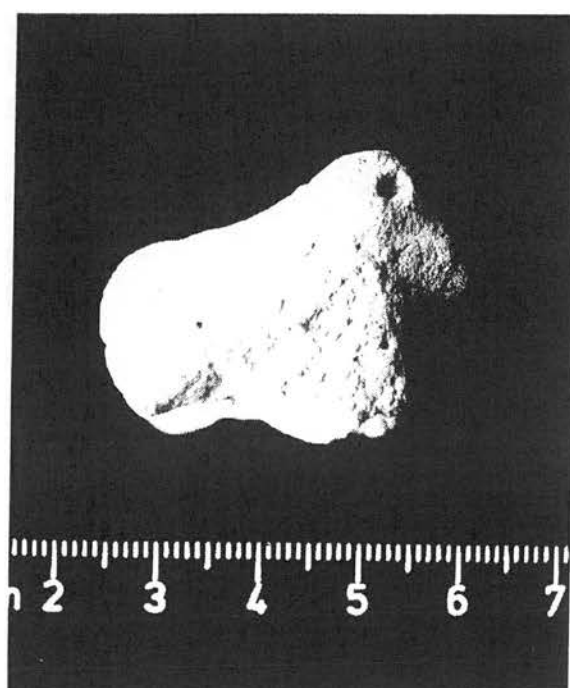


Figure 12.4. Animal figurine from Çatalhöyük East.

one horn. The shape of the head is suggestive of an equid, and the surviving horn could possibly be an ear. Equid has been found in great quantity at the contemporary site of Pınarbaşı, not far distant at the base of Karadağ. Alternatively this could be a sheep or goat, rather than cow/bull. Despite the careful modelling, no eyes or mouth are marked. It is unusually large, although a few figurines of this size were found in Mellaart's excavations.

12) Animal head lug. Inv. no. CH94:3, *Fig. 12.2:10*. Unit 816, sub-surface, 1050, 1170. Pinky brown fired clay. 27H, 26W, 29D. Munsell 5YR7/4 pink (exterior), 7.5YR7/4 pink (interior). Carefully modelled bovine head with eyes depicted, horns broken off. Traces of a light burnish to surface. A similar lug was found by Mellaart in level V and is in the Konya museum (Inv. no. 1985-14-113).

13) Fragment of animal head. Inv. no. CH94:4. Unit 565, section 6. Dark grey baked clay. 36H, 25W, 17D. Munsell N4/- dark grey. Weight 8.93 g. Badly broken neck and head of animal, consisting of neck broken off at shoulder, plus head with one ear but no face. Possibly an equid? Smoothed surface.

14) Fragment of human figurine? Inv. no. CH93:32. Unit 288, scrape, 1030, 1180. Beige baked clay. 50H, 38W, 19D. Munsell 10YR7/2 light gray. Weight 27.54 g. This irregular fragment may be part of the torso of a figurine. Its smoothed surface is decorated with a horizontal row of impressed circles 1.5 mm deep, reminiscent of those on no. 5.

15) Humanoid figurine fragment? Inv. no. CH94:8. Unit 710, scrape, 1030, 1170. Dark brown baked clay. 18H, 21.5Dia. Munsell 10YR3/2 very dark grayish brown. Weight 6.53 g. Conical clay object with its top missing. This may have been similar to no. 8.

16) Horn-shaped fragments of baked clay were found in units 822 (x2), 824, 826, 295, and 269. Details will be available on the data base.

A number of baked clay fragments which could belong to figurines but cannot easily be understood are mentioned at the end of the section on clay objects, below.

#### Stone vessels

17) Fragment of a footed rectilinear dish/minature table. Inv. no. CH93:33, *Fig. 12.5:1*. Section 3. Volcanic stone, beige with linear black shiny inclusions. 45 x 50, 25H. Munsell 10YR8/3 very pale brown. Weight 28.73 g. This is a corner of a shallow, probably square, vessel with a flattish base and sloping sides — one side sloping inwards, the other outwards. A curved rim, slightly flattened on top, survives on two sides. One foot is present, pendant from a raised 'strut' which appears to run across the base on one side of the dish.

18) Fragment of rectilinear shallow dish with incised decoration. Inv. no. CH93:34, *Fig. 12.5:2*. Unit 278, sub-surface, square 1040, 1090. Pale brown stone. 32L, 22W, 28H. Munsell 10YR7/3 very pale brown. Weight 16.95 g. This is a corner of a shallow, probably square, vessel with a flattish, thick base and slightly convex, slightly outward-flaring sides, rim sloping inwards. The exterior of one side has faint incised decoration in a geometric design of diagonal lines.

19) Fragment of footed sub-rectangular dish. Inv. no. CH93:35, *Fig. 12.5:3*. Unit 269, lower spit, square 1040, 1040. Veined pink, red and white conglomerate with white inclusions. 69L, 43W,

25H. Munsell 10R3/4 dusky red, 10R5/4 weak red, 5YR8/2 pinkish white veins. Weight 40.40 g. The shape of this dish is unclear as the fragment has one almost straight edge followed by curving ones — it could be sub-rectangular, oval, or a poorly shaped circle. The sides are curved, the rim almost flat on top. A long foot survives, original length unknown. Its oblong shape suggests the dish is not round.

20) Fragment of a bowl. Inv. no. CH93:36. Unit 269, lower spit, square 1040, 1040. Creamy/white marble. 65L, 39W, 11TH. Munsell 2.5Y8/2 white. Weight 30.27 g. This rather thick triangular body fragment has no rim or base, and comes from a large deep bowl.

21) Fragment of a bowl. Inv. no. CH93:37. Unit 277, lower spit plus scrape, square 1090, 1040. White alabaster or marble. 44L, 27W, 4TH. Munsell 2.5Y8/2 white. Weight 7.23 g. This is a small triangular rim sherd from a thin-walled open bowl form with a diameter of c. 20 cm.

#### Discussion

The first three of these vessels appear to date from the end of the Neolithic or the early Chalcolithic. Several similar examples were found by Mellaart, although stone vessels are rare. He comments (1964, 84–5) that fewer than a dozen stone vessels had been found in three seasons of work, but these included a thin-walled marble bowl on crescent feet from level IV, four spouted dishes in fine veined red limestone from various shrines in level VIA, and a white marble spouted dish pierced either side of the spout, from a grave in VIA:29. He illustrates (1962, 53) a square miniature table/footed dish of clay found in All:4, adding that stone dishes in white veined marble with four feet occurred similar to ceramic versions. In addition to these examples from the upper levels of the east mound, two corner fragments of footed square stone vessels were found during Mellaart's excavations on the west mound (1965, 148–51, *fig. 11.18, 19*), both unfortunately unstratified. One has incised, the other relief, geometric decoration. These two pieces provide the closest parallels to our finds 17 and 18, while 19 is closer to the examples from the east mound. Stone bowls are also reported from various Chalcolithic levels at Can Hasan (French 1962; 1963; 1964; 1967; 1968). None has yet been published, so comparisons cannot be made. Miniature footed dishes and tables in clay have also been found (see below no. 39).

Nos. 20 and 21 seem as yet to have no parallels within the excavated, published material from the site. No. 20 was found in the same unit as no. 19, and the dateable finds from this unit were mainly Neolithic, but the southern part of this square had considerable remains of the Classical period. Unit 277 from which no. 21 came lay below a child's grave of the early Byzantine period, in a part of the site (the eastern skirt) which appears to have very late Neolithic occupation. Several similar fragments were found in Mellaart's backfill in 1995, but although this spoil came generally from Neolithic strata, some parts of his excavated area were damaged by Hellenistic pits. Therefore, although these pieces are probably prehistoric, they may also belong to the later periods on the mound. The nearest prehistoric parallels appear at Hacilar in most levels (Mellaart 1970, 149–52), including aceramic (2 fragments), but particularly the late Neolithic level VI (21 bowls and fragments), and the early Chalcolithic levels IIB and IIA (24 bowls and fragments). All but 2 of these are white marble. The majority are small footed bowls, and Mellaart comments on the frequency of mending holes, suggesting that although not rare, such items were not easy to make or obtain. We await the publication of Can Hasan to discover whether the Early Chalcolithic stone bowls there were of marble as many Middle Chalcolithic ones were.

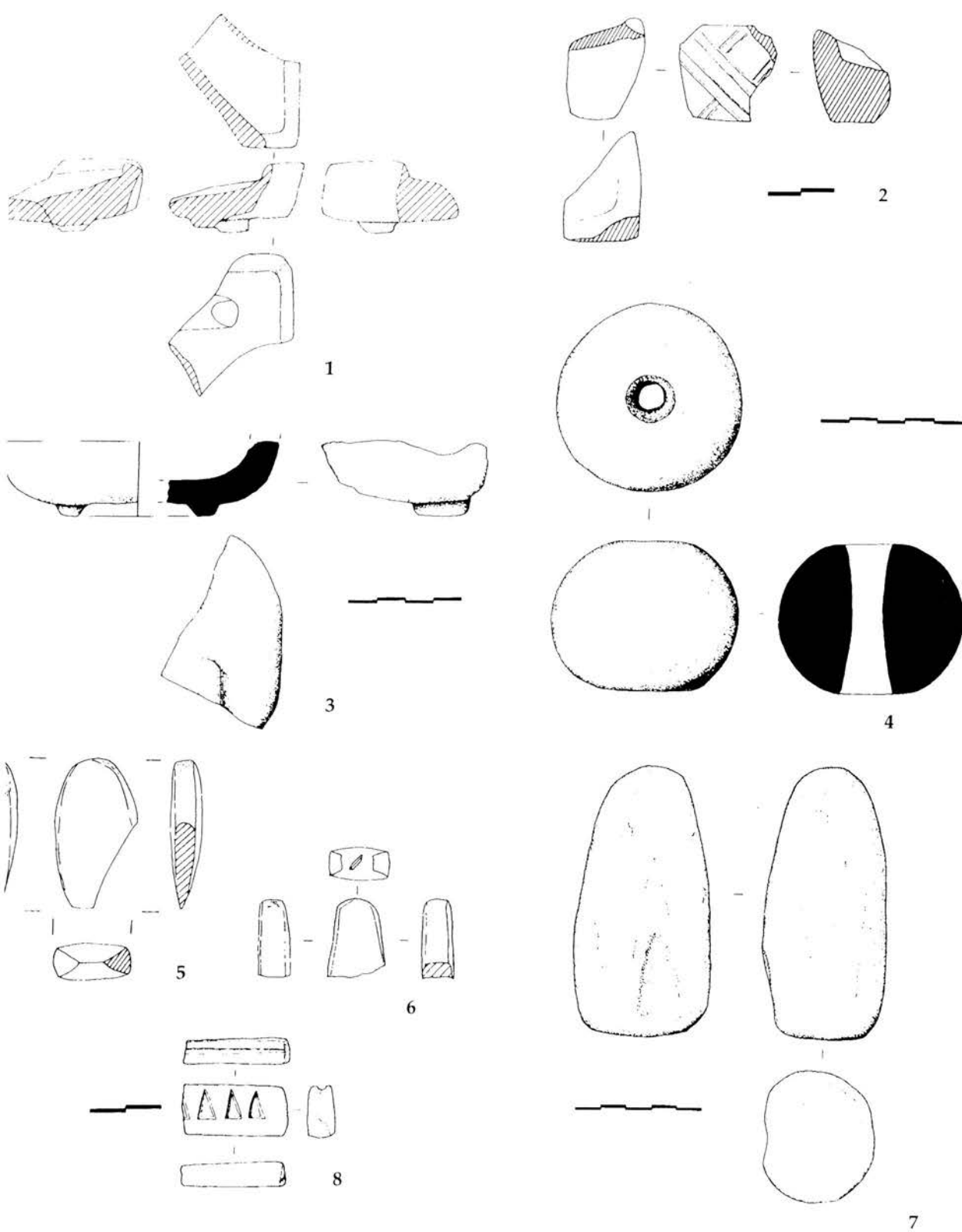


Figure 12.5. Stone artefacts from Catalhöyük East. For descriptions see text.

*Ground stone tools*

22) Macehead. Inv. no. CH95:41, *Fig. 12.5:4*. Unit 906, sub-surface/scrape, square 1020,1160. Orange-brown slightly mottled polished stone. 66Dia, 52H. Complete. Neolithic. This is a squashed sphere in shape with flattened upper and lower surfaces. The central perforation narrows at the middle. The surface has been scratched in places. Over about a third of its surface the stone alters, becoming a pale orangey-cream colour and, although well polished, it is not shiny, only smooth. Typologically this macehead is unusual in having flattened surfaces, a feature found on only four of the 29 maceheads found by Mellaart, two in level VI, two unstratified. Two more have one surface flattened, both from level VI. Overall, 14 were found in level VI, two in level V, one in level VIII where it was found in an unusual burial; and one in level II, with 11 unstratified.

23) Celt. Inv. no. CH93:6, *Fig. 12.5:5*. Unit 264, sub-surface, square 1040,1190. Mid grey-green polished stone. 44L, 25W, 10TH. Munsell 5GY5/2 greyish green. Weight 21.23 g. This celt has gently curving parallel edges narrowing towards the butt, and a fairly flat well-ground blade. In profile it tapers smoothly to a fine blade, narrowing slightly at the butt. Broken at blade end, and some damage on the butt.

24) Celt. Inv. no. CH94:37. Unit 854, sub-surface/scrape, square 1040,1120. Dark green stone with black and light green speckles. 43L, 25.5W, 11TH. Weight 20.26 g. Polished celt similar to no. 23 but with narrower butt and curved blade. In profile it narrows considerably towards the butt as well as the blade, and is unevenly shaped. Broken at blade end. Four fragments of blades of similar celts and axes were found in units 269 (Inv. no. CH93:38), 818 (Inv. no. CH94:5), 290 (Inv. no. CH93:39) and section 3 (Inv. no. CH93:40). Three are of dark green/black stone, the fourth of grey-green stone. Details will be available on the data base.

25) Celt fragment. Inv. no. CH93:41, *Fig. 12.5:6*. Unit 61, surface, square 1040,1040. Mid-dark green stone with grey streaks. 19L, 15W, 8.5TH. Munsell 5GY4/1 dark greenish grey. Weight 5.15 g. Highly polished fragment of a miniature celt. Blade missing. Several very similar complete examples were found during Mellaart's excavations. A fragment of a similar miniature celt was found on the surface, Inv. no. CH93:42, made of the same stone type. Details can be found on the data base.

The majority of these celts come from strong Neolithic contexts and are within the broad range of celts and axes found during Mellaart's excavations.

Two fragments of axes with strongly angled facets at the butt end were found in units 156 (Inv. no. CH93:43) and 808 (Inv. no. CH94:27), both of dark green-grey stone. Details will be available on the data base.

26) Pounder. Inv. no. CH 93:5, *Fig. 12.5:7*. Unit 269, lower spit, square 1040,1040. Dark green/black stone. 109L, 54W, 51TH. Munsell 5GY3/1 dark greenish grey. Complete roughly cylindrical pounder narrowing at one end. A chip had broken off the broader end and the scar had been reworked in antiquity. This is the only complete grinding tool found during the surface investigations. The date of this object is not certain — although unit 269 contained largely Neolithic material, artefacts of the Classical period have also been found in this area.

*Miscellaneous ground stone*

27) Mould fragment? Inv. no. CH93:44, *Fig. 12.5:8*. Unit 281, sub-surface, square 1030,1190. Mid-grey stone with dark and light grey mottling. 30L, 9W, 7.5H. Munsell 5B4/1 dark blue grey. Weight 7.47 g. This is part of a rectangular piece of ground stone

with at least four triangles cut into its upper surface to a depth of 1–1.5 mm, and a groove with semi-circular profile cut into one of its long sides. One end is broken off. Its purpose is unknown — the triangles could be used as moulds, but the groove is more difficult to explain. The context is strongly Neolithic, but there are no parallels for this artefact.

28) Stone palette fragment? Inv. no. CH94:17. Unit 569, section 8. Reddish-grey sandstone. 51Dia?, 11H. Weight 21.25 g. Part of an irregularly shaped stone disc with parallel upper and lower surfaces, one smooth, the other rough. Probably part of a palette of the type Mellaart found, used for grinding pigment.

29) Incised stone fragment. Inv. no. CH93:46. Unit 287, sub-surface, 1030,1180. 53H, 43W, 44TH. Munsell 5B4/1 dark bluish gray. Weight 127.53 g. Badly damaged worked stone with probably sub-rectangular base which was polished but is very chipped. All vertical sides and the top are broken, but one face has a substantial horizontal depression with a semi-circular profile running right across it. This depression is highly polished, and incised with irregular criss-crossed lines. Unit 287 is strongly Neolithic.

Details of other fragments of ground stone will be available on the data base.

*Beads*

30) Clay bead. Inv. no. CH93:47. Unit 95, surface, 2 × 2. Dark brown unbaked clay. 18L, 6Dia. Munsell 7.5YR4/2 dark brown. Weight 1.05 g. Cylindrical bead perforated longitudinally. Neolithic. A similar bead was found in unit 905 (Inv. no. CH95:45). Such beads occur among the grave goods found in Mellaart's excavations, although they are not very common.

31) Clay bead. Inv. no. CH93:48. Unit 265, scrape, square 1040,1190. Orange-beige unbaked clay. 18.5Dia, 20H. Munsell 7.5YR7/4 pink. Weight 3.79 g. Roughly spherical bead with slightly flattened top and bottom, pierced vertically. Neolithic. Similar beads were found in units 269 (×2), 281, 283 (×3), 288, 820 and section 3. They are paralleled by beads found by Mellaart among grave goods, although they are not very common.

32) Clay bead. Inv. no. CH93:49, *Fig. 12.6:1*. Unit 284, sub-surface, square 1040,1180. Dark grey unbaked clay. 23L, 9Dia. Munsell N4/0 dark gray. Weight 1.82 g. Elongated biconical bead pierced longitudinally, chipped at both ends. Neolithic. A similar bead was found in unit 264, and parallels are found in the grave goods from Mellaart's excavations, although they are not common.

33) Shell bead. Inv. no. CH93:50. Unit 269, lower spit, square 1040,1040. Off-white dentalium shell. 11L, 3.5Dia. Munsell 5YR8/1 white. Weight 0.25 g. Short slim cylindrical section of dentalium shell. Part of a similar but much wider and shorter bead was found in unit 506 (Inv. no. CH94:61), and there are many in the grave goods from Mellaart's excavations.

34) Stone bead. Inv. no. CH95:36. Unit 900, surface, square 1030,1160. Off-white polished stone. 9.25Dia, 1.25TH, 3.65 hole dia. A disc-shaped bead with flat surfaces and straight sides showing sharp angle between the two. This shape is typical of beads found in huge numbers among grave goods during Mellaart's excavations, although this one is very large — the vast majority do not exceed 5 mm dia., although some are of this size.

35) Stone bead. Inv. no. CH94:6, *Fig. 12.6:2*. Unit 812, sub-surface/scrape, square 1050,1190. Beige polished stone. 11L, 6W, 1.5TH. Munsell 10YR7/3, very pale brown. Weight 0.212 g.

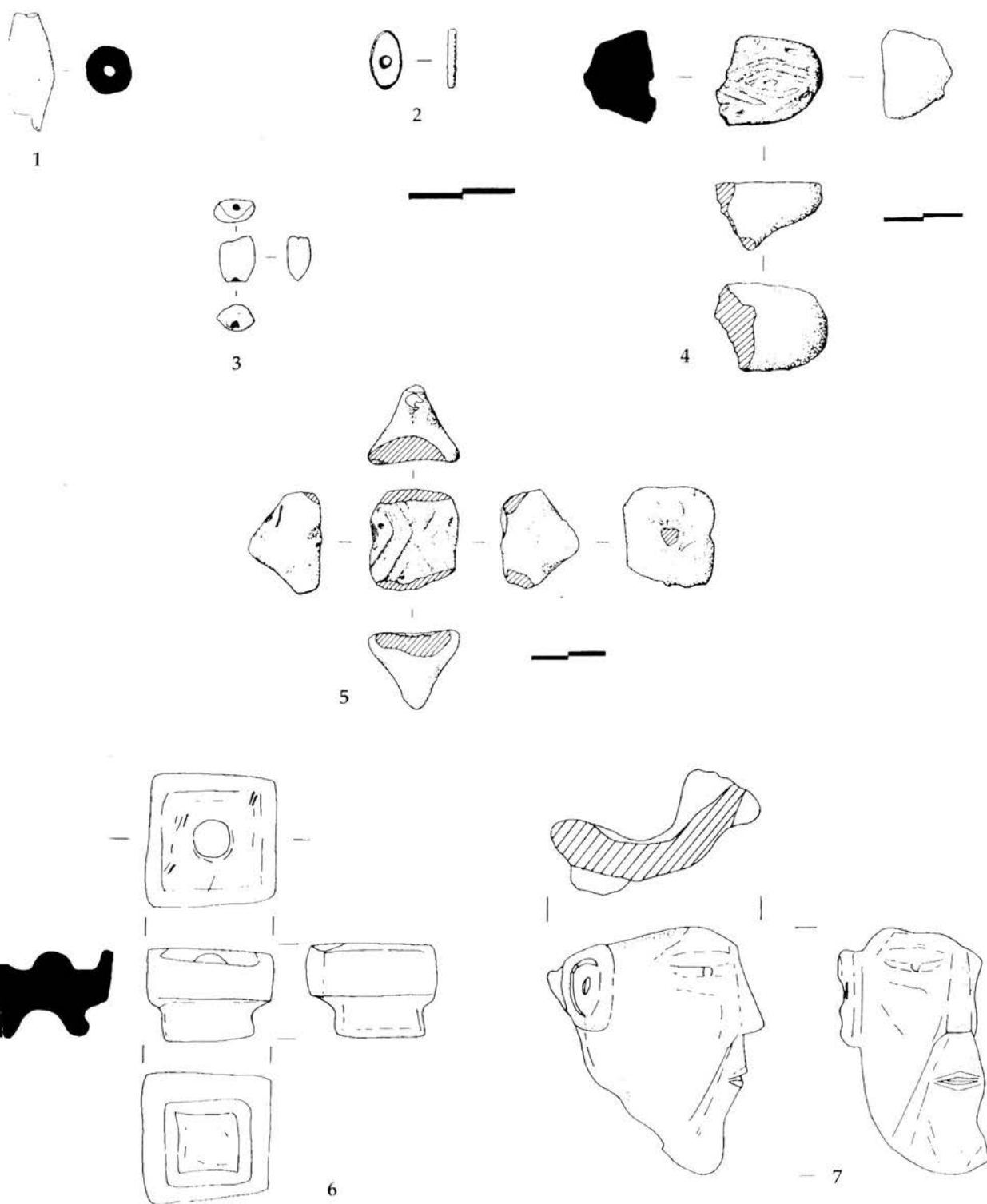


Figure 12.6. Miscellaneous small finds from Çatalhöyük East. For descriptions see text.



Elliptical thin flat bead pierced centrally. This is an unusual shape for a Neolithic bead.

36) Stone bead. Inv. no. CH93:51, *Fig. 12.6:3*, Section 3. Turquoise, 9L, 6.5W, 4.5TH. Weight 0.48 g. Elliptical both longways and in section, pierced longitudinally. Turquoise is a long-distance import, its nearest known sources in Iran and Sinai. Turquoise beads are rare among the grave goods excavated by Mellaart, but generally occur in unusual shapes, often more complex than this one. Fragments of two more turquoise beads were found in units 156 (Inv. no. CH93:61) and 191 (Inv. no. CH93:60). Details can be found in the data base.

#### Clay objects

37) Sub-oval stamp with geometric meander design. Inv. no. CH94:30, *Fig. 12.6:4*. Unit 601, lower spit, square 990,1080. Brown baked clay with black sand inclusions. 28L, 22W, 17H. Munsell 10YR6/2 light brownish gray. Weight 7.80 g. Flat face with rounded upper pulled up into a central knob. Broken at one end, about 70 per cent of the seal face survives, with the design incised to a maximum depth of c. 3 mm. Original length probably c. 40.

38) Rectangular stamp with symmetrical geometric design. Inv. no. CH95:37, *Fig. 12.6:5*. Unit 902, spoil from 1994 40 × 40 on north eminence. Mid-grey-brown baked clay. 27L, 24W, 20H. Flat face with pyramidal back pulled up into knob. Both ends are broken, about 85 per cent of the decorated face survives, with a design of opposed chevrons incised to a depth of c. 3 mm. Original length probably c. 30. The knob has signs of burning, and is chipped on top.

Both these stamps are similar in style to the twenty-three examples excavated and published as stamp seals by Mellaart (1963, figs. 40 & 41). The design on no. 37 resembles several of them, particularly those from levels II and III, whereas no. 38 is rather different and stylistically might be considered a little earlier as the symmetrical designs tend to occur in levels VI and IV. Both stamps are fairly small compared to Mellaart's examples, although as no scale nor dimensions are given in the illustrations, and only nine of them have been located in the museums, comparisons are difficult.

Perhaps it is time to change the name of these items from seals to stamps, as there is no evidence that they were used for sealing, not a single fragment of a sealing showing one of these designs having been found. Mellaart suggested that they could have been used to stamp textiles, or to stamp designs on human bodies. No sign of dye was found on them by Mellaart, but it is not clear whether chemical analyses have been made.

39) Miniature clay table. Inv. no. CH93:2, *Fig. 12.6:6*. Unit 269, lower spit, square 1040,1040. Grey unbaked clay. 30L, 30W, 20H. Munsell N6/ gray. Weight 21.98 g. Handmade with fingernail marks visible. Complete. This is an irregular square table on two bar legs running parallel to each other, and vertical sides surrounding the flat upper surface. In the centre of the upper surface is a hemispherical clay blob.

This is possibly a model offering table, complete with offering *in situ*. Nothing quite like it is known from any site, but miniature clay tables were found by Mellaart in the later levels of the site (1962, 55, fig. 9/3). This one is particularly small, and has unusual legs – similar square examples either have four independent feet, or are dishes without feet. Unit 269 had mainly Neolithic material, and there can be little doubt that this is a prehistoric artefact.

The nearest site from which similar objects are reported is Koşk Höyük, where two square baked clay vessels were found in

children's graves in level II, which appears to be Early Chalcolithic. One has four feet, and is incised with a geometric design similar to that on find no. 18 above. It was accompanied by a clay spoon (Silistreli 1984, 33, fig. 12). The other has no feet, and no decoration, but a small lip or groove on the rim on one side (Silistreli 1990, 97, fig. 8). The best Neolithic parallels for this table occur at Hoyuçek in the Burdur region (Duru 1991, 1993). Two miniature tables, rather larger than ours, were found in Level II, dated to the late Neolithic period. One has a rectangular upper surface with four tall tapering legs adorned with animal heads in relief, and was found in a silo; the other has a cut-away stepped design, with four short legs clustered under the centre, and was found on the floor of the work area outside the shrine. Both are viewed as offerings. The early Chalcolithic levels of nearby Kuruçay also have miniature clay tables (Duru 1994, 63–4, figs. 203–4). A square table with four thick legs and shallow top has an unclear painting on the top, suggestive of two opposing bull's heads and a similar decoration in relief on the side; another has a three-fingered hand painted on its upper surface; and a number of fragments were found. Mellaart offers comparisons with items from Demircihöyük, further north in the Eskişehir region. Although distant from Çatalhöyük, recent survey work in the Eskişehir region suggests that it was in contact with Konya plain cultures from the end of the Early Chalcolithic period at the very latest (Efe 1990, 39), and Duru considers it possible that the Demircihöyük tables are Late Neolithic (1993, 132).

40) Fragment of horned pot stand/portable hearth. Inv. no. CH94:7. Unit 504, sub-surface, square 980,1080. Pale brown baked clay with sand and mica inclusions. 111L, 64W, 133H. Munsell 10YR7/4 very pale brown. Weight 680 g. This is one end of what was probably a crescent-shaped pot stand with vertical ends and a centrally placed third support. The surviving end has a stubby horn-type projection for supporting a pot, and is decorated on the outer edge at the base of the horn with a human ear. Others were found on the west mound (see below).

41) Fragmentary model human face. Inv. no. CH93:1, *Fig. 12.6:7*. Unit 124, scrape, square 1040,1040. Grey ceramic with red paint. 57H, 31W. Munsell 10YR6/1 gray, with 10R4/8 red paint. Weight 31.7 g. Broken at the top and one side, around 60 per cent of the original width survives; the original height is uncertain. Hollow back. This is a detailed, slightly stylized, modelled human face with straight nose, unsmiling mouth, heavily lidded eye, and detailed ear. A strong line runs from the outer edge of the nose to the jaw. Patches of red paint survive on the cheek, nose, chin and brow, and may originally have covered the whole face. The date is unknown, no parallels have been found. Clearly it is not Neolithic, and no finds are known from the site between the Chalcolithic and Hellenistic periods. It does not appear to be modern.

42) Fragmentary loom weight. Inv. no. CH94:35. Unit 603, sub-surface, square 990,990. Brown baked clay. 63H, 45W, 35D. Munsell 5YR6/4 light reddish brown. Weight 101.43 g. Trapezoid in shape, with flat sides and base, narrowing towards the top both from the side and front, it was pierced near the top with a substantial hole. This is probably a loom weight, although it could be a small andiron. Unit 603 was part of a late cemetery, probably of Byzantine date. The top is broken off, but half of the piercing remains.

43) Fragmentary loom weight or sheep tag. Inv. no. CH93:52. Unit 191, scrape, square 940,1040. Grey baked clay. 90L, 48W, 16TH. Munsell 10YR7/1 light grey (exterior), 10R6/4 pale red (core). This is slightly more than half of a circular, flat object.



erced off-centre and incised on one side just below the piercing with a horizontal line with three surviving pendant lines. Suggested to be a sheep tag because of its inscription, it could also be a loomweight. This unit lay about 25 cm below the surface, and contained some late material. This object probably belongs to the Classical period.

Fragmentary shaft straightener/polisher. Inv. no. CH94:9. Unit 565, section 6. Light brown baked clay with sand and mica inclusions. 74L, 22W, 44TH. Munsell 7.5YR6/4 light brown. Weight 89.88 g. Ovoid in shape, broken on one side of the central part, with a thick base. This is similar to other shaft straighteners found by Mellaart, and two which have been found in his backfill, one of them also made of clay, the other of stone which is more typical.

Star. Inv. no. CH94:10. Unit 814, sub-surface/scrape, square 100/1180. Beige baked clay with sparse small white mineral inclusions. 39x36, 11TH. Munsell 2.5R6/6 light red. This is a flat, four-pointed star of no clear purpose. It is not pierced. This unit produced largely Neolithic material, and this is probably Neolithic.

Circular clay token? Inv. no. CH94:11. Unit 565, section 6. Beige baked clay. 17.5Dia, 7H. Munsell 10YR6/2 light brownish grey. Weight 2.22 g. Small clay disc with slightly concave faces and convex sides. A similar object was found in Mellaart's backfill unit 995. No other parallels are known.

Fragment of weight or spindle whorl? Inv. no. CH93:53. Unit 100, sub-surface, square 940,1040. Grey baked clay. 31Dia, 25H. Munsell 10YR7/2 light grey. Weight 13.33 g. Fragment of centrally-pierced object with vertical sides and rounded junctions between sides and top/bottom. Original diameter c. 35, just over 50 per cent survives. Probably Classical.

Mini clay balls. A number of small clay balls have been found, ranging in size from 5–21 mm diameter. There is no reason to suppose they all have the same function, which could include counters, tokens, toys, gaming pieces etc.. They are all made of lightly baked clay, and they come from Neolithic contexts. At least 9 have been found on the east mound, all but one in sub-surface units overlying Neolithic architecture on the eastern eminence. Details of these will be made available on the data base. The largest of these has a flattened surface, and may have a different purpose — several similar objects were found by Mellaart in houses.

Horn-shaped decorated object. Inv. no. CH94:12. Unit 706, sub-surface, square 1000,950. Fine light grey baked clay with sparse small mineral inclusions. 43L, 26W, 17TH. Munsell 10YR7/1 light grey. Curved into a semi-circle, broken at both ends, this object has broad incised lines radiating outwards on one side. The other side is undecorated. Both faces have traces of an abraded dark, possibly slip or paint. This could be part of an animal figurine, or a handle. Date unknown.

Fragment of pot stand? Inv. no. CH94:13. Unit 707, lower sub-surface, square 1000,950. Red-brown baked clay with frequent gritty inclusions, surface burnished. Dimensions 34L, 32W, 11H. Munsell 2.5R6/6 light red surface, 2.5YR6/4 colour fabric, 2.5YR6/2 pinkish gray core. This object is unclear. Described as a rim or vessel fragment, it may be the upper part of a pot stand.

Incised baked clay object. Inv. no. CH93:54. Unit 196, sub-surface, 1090,1040. Beige baked clay. 62H, 56W, 53TH. Munsell

10YR7/1 light grey. Weight 181.34 g. Probably the base of either a figurine or pot stand, this badly damaged object has sub-rectangular base rising vertically at the sides and sloping slightly inwards on the incised face. This face appears to be the front, as the sides then curve at around the level of the decoration, giving the impression of hips and waist. The decoration consists of a lower line slightly off the horizontal, and above it two further lines, one parallel to the first, the other raised at one end to form a triangle. Diagonal incised lines fill this triangle. Unit 196 is on the low eastern eminence and overlay or contained a Byzantine child burial. It bears some resemblance to a few figurines from Mellaart's excavation, but may well be something else. Its date is uncertain.

52) Fragment of impressed clay. Inv. no. CH93:55. Unit 264, sub-surface, 1040,1190. Pale beige baked clay. 32H, 33W, 18TH. Munsell 10YR8/2 white. Weight 18.89 g. Badly damaged fragment decorated with thumbnail impressions in a broad row. Possibly part of a figurine or pot stand. Unit 264 overlies good Neolithic architecture.

#### Miscellaneous

53) Bone ring. Inv. no. CH93:56. Section 2. Shaped and polished bone, creamy brown. 24 Dia. ext., 18 Dia. int., 5.5W. Munsell 10YR8/3 very pale brown. Half a ring, apparently originally circular in shape. Similar rings were found during Mellaart's excavations as grave goods, and frequently they are irregular in shape.

54) Plaster cone. Inv. no. CH94:14. Unit 816, sub-surface, square 1050,1170. Creamy white roughly smoothed plaster. 33H, 24D max. Munsell 10YR8/2 very pale brown. Weight 11.66 g. Solid cone with roughly flattened top. This object has no obvious purpose but could also be part of a humanoid figurine. The unit is strongly Neolithic.

55) Mosaic fragment. Inv. no. CH94:15. Unit 291, scrape square 990,1090. Grey-blue and white stone tesserae. 86L, 71W 16TH. Weight 81.70 g. This chunk of mosaic has a later plaster layer covering the tesserae. Classical.

56) Stone pendant? Inv. no. CH94:16. Unit 527, lower spit/scrape, square 980,1090. Black metallic stone, probably a single crystal. 23L, 16W, 3TH. Weight 2.52 g. Irregular sub-rectangular flat shiny stone with a hole drilled through in one corner and natural depression in the adjacent corner, giving the impression of eyes. However, there may have been no intention to make a face on this object, which appears to be a pendant. Similar pendants of mica and slate occur among the grave goods excavated by Mellaart, none of them engraved with faces or designs.

57) Metal. Coin. Inv. no. CH93:57. Unit 294, sub-surface, square 1040,1240. A coin was found in this heavily Roman unit. No details could be made out. Another coin was found in unit 188 (Inv. no. CH93:45). Details will appear in the data base. Several iron nails and a coffin fitting were also found, probably all deriving from Byzantine burials on the mound.

58) Glass. 7 fragments of ancient glass have been recovered from the surface of the mound. Of these, six are parts of bracelets units 248 (CH93:58), 244 (CH93:59), 672 (CH94:45), 701 (CH94:58), and 706 (CH94:65; CH94:44), one is a flask or jug handle unit 710 (CH94:57) and one is body fragment from a vessel unit 701 (CH94:59). All the bracelet fragments are of blue glass, the handle is green, the vessel fragment is semi-transparent white. Details of these can be found in the data base.

### The west mound

59) Fragment of anthropomorphized pot stand/portable hearth. Inv. no. CH94:36, Fig. 12.7:1. West edge of west mound, surface. Light grey baked clay with black sand inclusions. 120H, 113W, 88TH. Munsell 5Y6/2 light olive grey-5Y6/3 pale olive. This is part of the vertical end of what was probably a crescent-shaped pot stand. It has one flat surface incised with parallel horizontal lines, and a rounded surface also incised with parallel horizontal lines and surmounted at the lower, broken, edge by a projection resembling a nose. Flat, vertical multiply pierced projections down the side of the object, curving at top and bottom towards the side with the nose, look like ears, adding to its anthropomorphic aspect.

60) Fragment of pot stand with incised geometric decoration. Inv. no. CH94:18, Fig. 12.7:2. West edge of west mound, surface. Baked clay. 64H, 48W, 38TH. Munsell 10YR7/2 light gray. Weight 101.18 g. This is the upper part of probably a free-standing pot support. It is an oblong upright with a slight inward projection at the top providing a flat surface for a vessel. It has inscribed decoration on four surfaces — two parallel zigzags on the front/inner face; chevrons on the sides — one side pointing up, the other down — and two irregular zigzags on the upper face. The upright widens slightly towards the bottom, and may well have widened considerably at the base.

### Discussion

A fragment almost identical to no. 59 was found by Mellaart and is currently held at the Konya Museum (Inv. no. 79-85-65). It is so similar in all respects that, although it has not yet been possible to look at the two pieces together, they may well belong to the same artefact. Similar pot stands from the site, bearing the same parallel lines on one surface, suggest that we have here the upper tip which sat at roughly a 40 degree angle on the top of an upright, thus offering a sloping yet anti-slip surface for a pot with an angled lower body. They are dated to the early Chalcolithic II period. A number of pot stands similar to no. 60 were found by Mellaart on the west mound (1965, 151, fig. 10). Many have holes cut in the lower part, to disperse the heat and prevent fire damage, and it is quite possible that this fragment was of that style. Typologically it appears to be closest to those dated to the Early Chalcolithic I period.

61) Animal figurine. Inv. no. CH94:19, Fig. 12.2:8. Unit 802, surface 2 x 2. Mid-brown baked clay. 16H, 14W, 26L. Munsell 10YR5/2 greyish brown. Weight 4.39 g. Standing quadruped, head missing. In the absence of the head it cannot be confirmed that this is a cow/bull, but it has a bovine appearance.

62) Fragment of figurine. Inv. no. CH94:20. Unit 648, surface 2 x 2. Baked clay. 19L, 7Dia. Weight 1.01 g. Arm or horn of figurine.

63) Fragment of spindle whorl. Inv. no. CH94:21. Unit 858, sub-surface/scrape, square 580,1020. Colour-baked clay with sandy inclusions. 34Dia, 20H. Munsell 10YR5/2 colour. Weight 8.65 g. This is a quarter of a probably biconical spindle whorl. This fragment is half of one conical section, broken vertically through the central piercing. The surface is undecorated. Not prehistoric.

64) Fragment of celt. Inv. no. CH94:22. Unit 628, surface, 2 x 2. Dark red polished stone, possibly carnelian. 17L, 9.5W, 4.5TH. Weight 0.89 g. This is a small fragment of one side of a celt at the blade end. Highly polished, the stone is very unusual. It is possible that this is part of a pendant. No other celts or axes of this stone have been found.

65) Shell bead. Inv. no. CH94:23. Unit 760, surface 2 x 2. Whelk-type

shell. 24L, 9Dia. Pierced through one side and its broader end.

66) Stone bead. Inv. no. CH94:24. Unit 855, surface, square 480,1040. Light blue stone. 3.5Dia, 1.5TH. Weight 0.04 g. Tiny circular disc bead, pierced centrally. In shape and size, this is typical of the beads found in huge numbers among grave goods during Mellaart's excavations.

Similar but rather larger beads were found in units 608 (CH94:62 pinkish white), 744 (CH94:63 beige) and unstrat. (CH94:64 creamy white). Details will be on the data base.

67) Stone bead. Inv. no. CH94:25. Unit 749, surface 2 x 2. Off-white marble. 24Dia, 8.5TH. Munsell 10YR7/2. Weight 1.36 g. Squashed sphere in shape, centrally pierced.

68) Clay bead fragment. Inv. no. CH94:26. Unit 858, sub-surface/scrape, square 580,1020. Beige/grey clay. 15.5Dia, 13H. Munsell 10YR5/1. Weight 2.93 g. Just over half of this bead survives. In shape it is a squashed sphere, with a central vertical perforation.

69) Glass. Four fragments of bracelets of blue glass were found in units 859 and 860, square 640,960. Details will be made available on the data base. They probably come from Classical period graves in the area.

70) Mini clay balls have been found in at least two units — 785 and 793. Details will appear in the data base.

### The burial data from Mellaart's excavations

There are three sets of data to consider in examining the burials — the skeletons, the grave goods, and the published information. These three groups offer different challenges, and it must be said from the start that all of them are extremely difficult to work with. In addition to discussing each data set in some detail, I shall suggest a range of questions that could potentially be asked of the data, and later consider how far we can attempt to answer these questions with the information available.

Throughout the preliminary reports, and in his 1967 book about the site, Mellaart attempted to assess and interpret the information he was presenting, rather than leave it in a raw form, even though he was working inevitably with partial data. A number of conclusions were drawn regarding social organization, gender status and rank based on the burials. These included burial in different areas and with different grave goods according to age and sex, and a distinction between shrines and houses. The ideas are well known, and have recently been the focus of some debate (see Chapter 1). In the following pages I will assess the data on which these theories have been based, as well as looking more widely at the economic information contained regarding trade and technology, and examining changes over time. Potentially, the unusual stratigraphy at Catalhöyük — with buildings placed one above

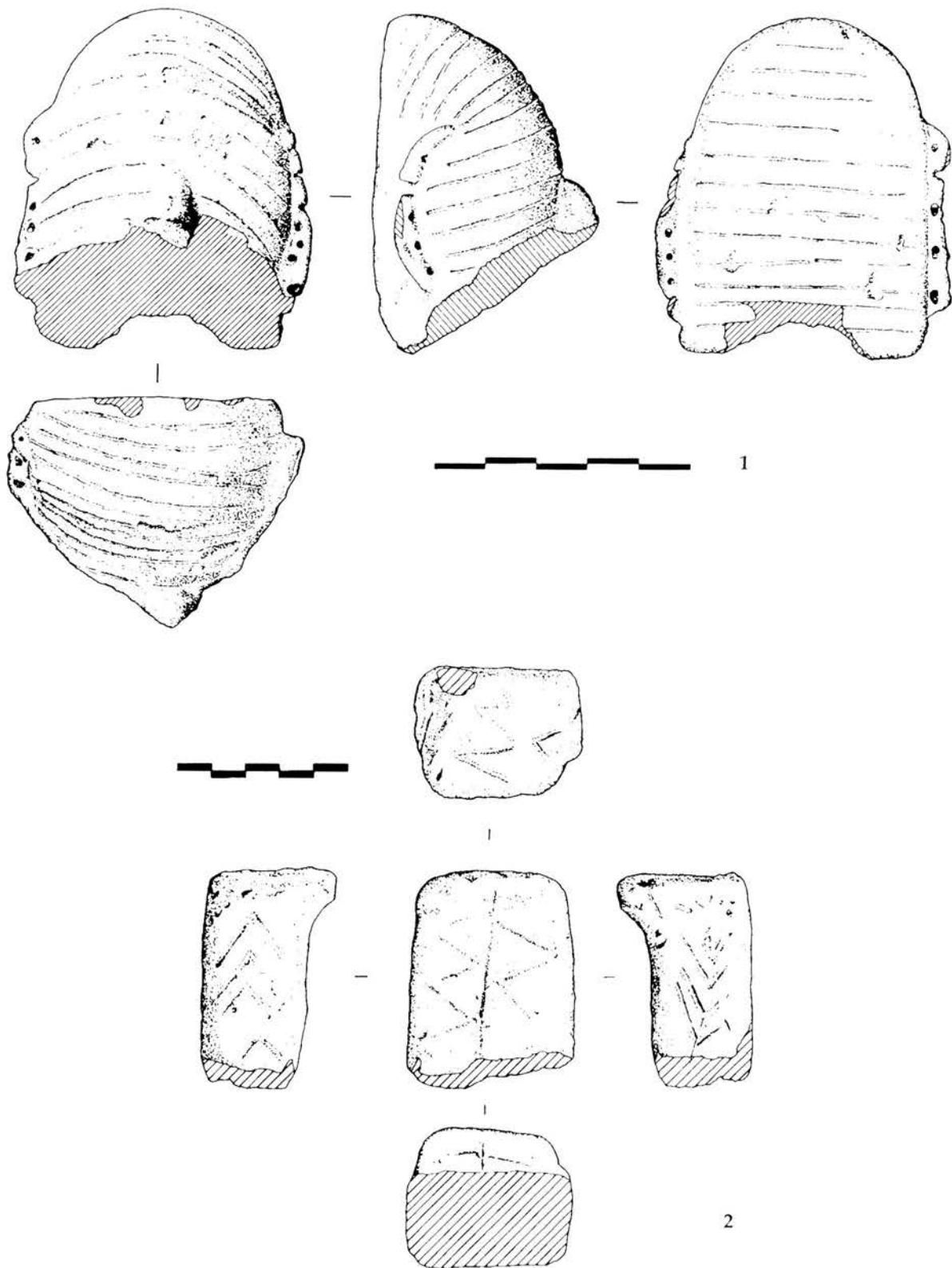


Figure 12.7. Decorated pot stands from Çatalhöyük West. For descriptions see text.

the other — should offer a chance to look at vertical correspondences of burial habits, distribution and grave goods, and the quality of the data in this respect will be examined. The grave goods, with all their problems (see below) constitute one of the major artefact groups from the site and comprise a broad range of types and materials which permit us to approach a variety of issues through the same data set.

### *The data and their problems*

#### *The skeletons*

The skeletons are probably the best studied and published data set from Çatalhöyük. This does not mean they are unproblematic. They were studied in the 1960s by both Lawrence Angel and Denise Ferembach, each of whom published some results (Angel 1971; Ferembach 1972; 1982). Angel reported that the material was in poor condition and some disarray, with labels missing, and that many skeletons never reached him — Mellaart mentions the excavation of approximately 400 skeletons during the three seasons 1961–63, and at least 80 more in 1965, yet Angel received only 297. Angel comments on the huge loss that has obviously occurred, almost 40 per cent. This means that any attempt to construct statistics is likely to be inaccurate. From Angel's records it appears that the skeletons arrived as a group of 275 individuals, and that he sorted them further to arrive at the figure of 297 (published as 294). Of those skeletons which Angel did receive, 27 had no labels, while none arrived from building VIA/B:10, which was supposed to have the largest group in the entire site, consisting of 32 skeletons. Angel suggests these may be the 'no label' group, although they could also have come from a mixture of other buildings said to have burials but to which no skeletons were assigned. In addition, a number of skeletons reported by Mellaart as noteworthy due to special treatment were not among those received.

Angel aged and sexed all the individuals he identified, and published the results (Angel 1971). He also gave parity figures based on examination of the pubic symphysis of female skeletons. All these data are now in question. The sexing of children and childbirth estimates have been discredited, and even the aging of adults is now under scrutiny, as the work at Spitalfields, London suggests that many have been under- or over-aged (Molleson & Cox 1993, 167–79). Angel was well aware that the sexing of children was problematic, and in his notes indicate his level of certainty with a range of from one to three question marks, with or without brackets, but

these were not included in the published data.

Ferembach apparently examined the same skeleton collection as Angel, although she worked only on the adult ones, but it is clear from her records that there were some disparities. She has a greater number of skeletons from some buildings than Angel did, fewer from others, and the identifications do not always match up. It has proved impossible to match their records completely, so in addition to poor skeletal survival, we have a further reduced set of data to work from. The importance of trying to match their data lies partly in the different sexing of a small number of adults by the two specialists, and also in trying to discover how many additional individuals were identified altogether — it would appear that Ferembach divided again some of the material viewed as a single individual by Angel. Unfortunately, Ferembach's records rarely identify the skeletons by the CH numbers used by Angel. As a result only 86 skeleton records can be matched up, of which 10 or so skeletons are sexed differently by each of them. Ferembach has a maximum total of 282 adults, which added to the 89 juveniles found by both her and Angel makes a minimum of 356 individuals. This is 78 more than the number Angel originally received, which — working on the same 40 per cent loss — suggests an original excavated assemblage approaching 600 (but see *Fragmentation* p. 257).

To add to the difficulties, both Angel and Ferembach seem to have had incomplete knowledge of the recording system used on site by Mellaart. Thus some skeletons have bizarre building numbers, whose original can only be guessed at. In addition, some mistakes have clearly been made at some point in the writing of labels or notes, so that skeletons are assigned to buildings which were never excavated, or identified differently by the two specialists. Altogether the skeleton data from both specialists identifies burials deriving from 38 buildings, a small fraction of the 200+ buildings excavated by Mellaart.

#### *The grave goods*

A collection of some 300–450 grave goods is held in the museums in Ankara and Konya. The precise number is unknown — the figure given is an educated guess. The reason for this is the poor level of documentation. A total of 13 artefacts is marked in the Konya Museum inventory as coming from burials; a rather larger number is labelled on the item, while information gleaned from the publications arrives at a total of 110 definite grave goods. In this situation, records were made of all inventoried



artefacts known to be almost certainly from burials, whether or not contextual information was available (such as beads, buckles, wood, textile, spatulae etc.), and all those with a building context which were potentially from burials (bone tools, ground stone, knapped stone, etc.). As this selection was made only from inventoried items, it is quite possible that other grave goods will be found among the bulk finds which have not yet been examined — principally bone tools and ground stone, substantial quantities of which exist. The majority of knapped stone has been examined, and did contain a number of contextualized grave goods in bags of mixed materials in which obsidian was dominant, and this situation may occur with the bone and stone. The reasons behind the choice of items to be inventoried is not known — decisions may have been based on the condition of the artefacts, or on the existence of good context, or their recovery from buildings, or burials, or a mixture of them all. However, we do know that in general few artefacts were found on floors, although exceptions are reported, and that the majority of finds probably come from burials and outside areas known as courts. Working on the assumption that burial goods have a better chance of survival than artefacts discarded in open areas, and may have been deposited in a better condition than those discarded in open areas, added to the knowledge that beads were the most common grave goods and were apparently all inventoried, it is likely that the majority of grave goods have been recorded. A number of items known to be from non-burial contexts were also recorded deliberately, in order to compare them with grave goods.

Overall the number of grave goods can be increased with considerable certainty to 300, by the addition of artefacts which are mentioned as always or generally being found in burials, or which are extremely unlikely to have been recovered from other contexts — for instance, necklaces, and wooden bowls. However, a large number of artefacts remain in the uncertain category — notably the bone points, flints, knapped stone, and maceheads, all of which are known to occur in burials. As far as is known, figurines and pottery were never found in burials. Given the level of documentation, it is not surprising that of those 300 artefacts which can definitely or most certainly be treated as grave goods, many have a poor context. 54 have no information at all, and 70 have a level only, leaving 176 well-contexted artefacts. Of these, only a small proportion can be assigned a tighter context — 39 have information about which skeleton they were found with, but this

may consist simply of 'male' or 'female', and a further 14 are identified by which platform they came from. A number of these close identifications belong to the same skeleton, reducing further the number of individuals to whom grave goods can be assigned.

#### *The published information*

Mellaart published a considerable amount of information about burial practices in his reports, and the main themes identified by him are clear. Burial was intramural, beneath the platforms with which all buildings except stores and entry shafts were provided; it was generally, if not always, secondary inhumation following excarnation to varying degrees; it was normally communal; and this communality was usually diachronic. The first of these should make the Çatalhöyük burials an invaluable source of information; the others diminish this promising start.

With the knowledge that burials were secondary, communal, and were added to over time, it is no longer surprising that few grave goods have close contexts. A number of photographs show tumbled masses of skeletons mixed inextricably together, and the problems of assigning grave goods to individuals were insurmountable. Indeed, perhaps that is as it should have been, for if the skeletons were mixed, why should we assume that artefacts found in the grave were not the communal property of them all? However, some skeletons were buried separately, a number of them with grave goods, and it is largely on the basis of these that a division of artefacts according to sex/gender was offered by Mellaart. It should be noted that detailed skeletal analyses were not available to Mellaart at the time.

Mellaart tells us (1963, 46–50) that no burials were found in three buildings in 1962 — All:1, All:8 (directly below All:1) both of which he regards as shrines, and AV:1. He does not give similar information in other reports, but does say that burials occur in all houses and most shrines.

#### *The artefacts*

The objects found in burials, according both to the items themselves and to Mellaart's reports, are items of personal adornment or aggrandisement (beads, pendants, wristguards, buckles, toggles, pins, maceheads), obsidian and flint tools (projectile points, daggers, knives), bone tools (borers, needles, spatulae, spoons, ointment sticks), ground-stone tools (adzes, celts, grinders), textile, vessels (wood, bone, stone, basket), paint or pigment, 'stamp seals' and mirrors.

*Beads*

By far the most common artefacts are beads, which occur in large numbers — over 20,000 have been found, in groups of 3 to 2000. Beads were generally found in the form of necklaces or bracelets on skeletons, although sometimes they were scattered over a skeleton and may originally have been attached to fabric. Mellaart reports that on occasion it was possible to see the order in which the beads were threaded, sometimes forming multi-strand necklaces of up to 8 strands; however, when this was not possible, re-stringing has been left to the taste of archaeologists or museum staff, and it is therefore quite likely that any division into necklaces or bracelets simply reflects their present form. For instance, in some cases I have examined two or three threaded groups of beads which were inventoried under a single number, and I have no way of finding out on what basis these decisions were taken. Beads given number CHC712 are strung in three groups, one of which has a building number attached — can it be assumed that the other two groups can also be assigned to that building?; one of the necklaces reported to have been found with one of the atypical burials in EVIII:31, numbered CHC672, is strung in two groups, each consisting of the same three colours and the same type of beads, while another necklace from this building, numbered CHC669, is currently threaded in two groups, one with no context and the other thought to belong to EVIII:25. If this is the situation with the best-published grave goods from the site, described in detail in the report (Mellaart 1966, 182), any analysis of the occurrence of bead ornaments becomes much more difficult than expected. Altogether I have examined 119 groups of beads, recorded on the data base, but this may not be an accurate representation of how they were found as 15 of them share only 7 CHC numbers. Of the total 119, 32 have no information physically attached to them concerning context, 43 have information about level, and 44 have clear building contexts — some of which may be inaccurate, as shown above. Although a number could be assigned to buildings with some certainly via shared excavation/inventory numbers, and some with no context could be assigned to levels in this way, there is clearly a definite risk that mistakes will result from such an approach.

Despite the poor contexts, we can work with the beads in some ways. In a few instances we can assign them to a particular skeleton, or associate them with other grave goods. We can also calculate the approximate occurrence of bead ornaments as grave goods, and assess the implications of other

than average numbers occurring with some individuals. The beads themselves are extremely interesting, from the point of technology, materials, and design.

Almost all the materials used for beads are imports, some from distant areas. Mellaart lists the materials as follows, commenting that most come from areas involving at least a few days travel (1964, 97): copper (nearest source near Bozkir), lead (galena is available at the Cilician Gates), white paste, chalk, red ochre, baked clay, lignite, slate, boar tusk, bone, schist, mica, animal teeth, calcite, alabaster, carnelian, obsidian, apatite, serpentine, limestone, dentalium, cockle and whelk shell, freshwater shells, cowrie shell, and mother of pearl. A look at the occurrence of different materials over time might give us an insight into travel or trade patterns, changes in economy or ecology, as well as social and symbolic patterns. We are not yet in a position to say whether the population of Çatalhöyük left the settlement in search of all their raw materials, either for their own use or to trade, or whether they obtained them from outsiders, but one thing is clear — commonly available materials such as clay (used in architecture, figurines, pottery etc.), or bone (a by-product of food, used for a range of tools) were not widely used for beads, although they do occur. This information could lead into an investigation of rank and status. Before looking at the beads in detail, it should be made clear that Mellaart does not say who identified the materials for him and how certain these identifications are. In addition, materials are rarely mentioned in detail on inventories, and there has been no recent specialist identification.

The majority of beads are made of various types of limestone, but dentalium shell and deer teeth were also popular. Table 12.7 shows the quantity of each material over time, and Table 12.8 shows the number of bead groups containing each material. From these some changes in material can be seen — for instance, dentalium shells seem to have their heyday in level VI with 10 examples, 4 in VII, 3 in VIII and 2 in IX, but the majority of beads actually come from a single level VII necklace (c. 780 beads), and level IV has marginally more beads than level VI, though on fewer necklaces. Later levels have 1 from V, 4 from IV and 1 from III. As the shells come from the Mediterranean, this suggests long-distance travel or contacts around the time of levels VI and VII, which also appears to be the most flourishing period of the settlement. If we look at other materials from the Mediterranean, we see that whelk also occurs mainly in level VI, with 3 definite occurrences, one which is either VI or V, and only one other stratified example,



in level IV; cowrie occurs once in level VII, and cardium in level IV. The majority of these shells are not found on the shoreline, but in shallow water, so are unlikely to have been collected without premeditation. How much shell was required has not yet been assessed. Lead or lead ore beads are most common in level VI, although the earliest known are in level IX and the latest level II — galena is common in the mountains between the Konya plain and the Mediterranean. Mother-of-pearl pendants, which are reported from burials of babies, occur in small numbers from levels VIII to V, but this may derive from fresh water mussels rather than oyster. The concentration in level VI of materials from the Mediterranean area or en route to the coast does suggest regular contact at that time, but the numbers involved are too small to say more than that. Given this contact, it may be less surprising to discover that obsidian from the same region as that used at Çatalhöyük was reaching Cyprus in small quantities at some point in the early seventh millennium. Although the data could be skewed by the greater area excavated in level VI compared to the earliest and latest levels, this is not apparent when considering deer teeth, which are more common in levels VIII and VII than in later periods, with nine of the 18 occurrences dating to these two levels. The earliest occurrence is in level IX and the latest in level II. This temporal distribution could be tied in with changes in habitat, or changes in hunting practices generally, or a reduction in meaning assigned to deer teeth as beads. The source of the green and blue apatite used particularly for beads of unusual design is not known. Some of the beads may actually be of turquoise, which has sources in Sinai and Iran. Most of these beads occur in the middle levels of the settlement, clustering in levels VI, V and particularly IV, although three beads were found on one necklace of level VIII. A few beads may be made of copper ore, which was used to make pigment. Copper is known from levels IX, VIII, VII and IV, formed into beads or coverings for what de Vries and de Vries believed were weights on string skirts. Their poor state makes examination difficult.

Most beads are made of polished limestone in various colours. Technically they are of very high quality. Around half the total are tiny flat discs with polished outer edges sliced from cylindrical preforms which often bulge slightly in the middle. In diameter they are commonly as small as 2.5 mm, sometimes as large as 5 mm, and range in thickness from 3 mm to literally paper thin, with sizes of less than 1 mm far from unusual. These beads (type 1 in my typology) were used in large numbers — up to 1657 on one of

the necklaces from level VIII, often in multiple colours chosen generally from white, terracotta red, and black, although beige, dull yellow, orange and

Table 12.7. Beads: number of beads made of each material, by level.

Material	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	Unstrat.	Total
Stone	196	100	145	137	5719	2410	5671	1254+	2763	18,461
Agate?			12	15	49				1	77
Apatite?			2	2	1				4	9
Calcite?									5	5
Jasper?				5	14				3	23
Marble			77				425	5	2	509
Pebble					1					1
Rock crystal					1				3	4
Serpentine					8					8
Turquoise	17		60	21	6		6		26	136
Shell	1		3		3	13	1		6	26
Dentalium		51	181	70	167	781+	73	6+	1316	2594
Whelk			3	21	22					46
Bone			1	1	91		1	47		140
Deer tooth	1	1	18	1	17	25	50	6	20	139
Copper			1			1	6	1	5	14
Lead		1			36		8	2	3	48+
Clay								5	17	17+
Plaster				1					6	7
Red ochre					1				1	2
Coal			4							4
Mica									6	6
Obsidian				10	1					11
Shale					3					3

Note: This table does not contain details of every bead, as a number were too broken to count, or were inaccessible, but includes probably 99 per cent of those I saw. Some were counted from photographs or through glass. The addition of + to a number means that an unspecified number of additional beads of this material are known. The term 'stone' used for the first group should normally be regarded as implying limestone, but this may not be correct in every case. As stated in the text, some other stone identifications are uncertain.

Table 12.8. Beads: number of bead groups containing each material, by level.

Material	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	Unstrat.	Total
Stone	2	2	5	2	27	8	16	5	20	87
Agate?			2	1+	2				1	6
Apatite?			2	1	1				1	5
Calcite?									1	1
Jasper?			1	1					1	3
Marble			1				2	1	1	5
Pebble					1					1
Rock crystal					1				1	2
Serpentine					1					1
Turquoise	1		5	2	2		1		4	15
Shell	1		3		1	1	1		4	11
Dentalium		1	4	1	9	4	3	2	14	37
Whelk			1	1	3					5
Bone			1	1	3		1		7	13
Deer tooth	1	1	2	1	2	4	5	1	1	21
Copper			1			1	1	1	2	6
Lead		1			1		1	1	1	8
Clay								1	3	4
Plaster					1				1	2
Red ochre					1				1	2
Coal			1							1
Mica									1	1
Obsidian				1	1					2
Shale					1					1

Note: 'Stone' should normally be regarded as implying limestone, but this may not be correct in every case. As stated in the text, some other stone identifications are uncertain.

turquoise also occur. When viewed through a glass case in a museum the small size of many of the beads is not readily understood, but Mellaart states that modern steel needles cannot pass through the piercing (1967, 211). Larger versions of the same type also occur (type 21) but are not common, and often appear as loners in the midst of a string of another type. Perhaps originally they were not on necklaces, but tied onto clothes or used in some other way. Stone beads are most common in the early levels, reducing drastically after level VI. Although the total number in level VI is similar to that in level VIII, and they occur on twice as many necklaces, in comparison to the number of burials excavated in level VI they are far less popular.

While type 1 and 21 beads comprise the majority, a wide range of other forms occurs in small numbers. Probably the next most common is a straight-sided cylinder pierced longitudinally, with a diameter of 3–5 mm and some 5–10 mm in length. They occur in a variety of exotic materials, often highly polished and beautifully coloured marbled stones which are shown off more effectively this way than if sliced up, as well as rock crystal, marble, lead, copper, plus some dentalium. The colours are somewhat unusual compared to those found among type 1s, with blue-green and greys, orange-red and copper, as well as black and white.

The turquoise stones attracted noticeably more interesting design than most. Although a few disc-shaped beads are found, the majority are in fancy styles such as lozenges, 'double axes', and the famous birds or stylized goddesses published by Mellaart (1963, pl. XXVII). Turquoise beads usually occur in clusters, sometimes without any other colours, and rarely with the standard type 1 stone beads. They also display a range of unusual piercings, such as double piercings invisible from one side. Some of these may have been used as spacer beads or pendants. Certainly they stand out from the crowd.

Dentalium shell is nearly always sliced into discs, falling largely into the type 1 and 21 varieties. This is quite different from Cyprus, where sites of the same date have produced necklaces of multiple strands of whole dentalium shells — a well-known example comes from the aceramic Neolithic site of Khirokitia (Dikaio 1953, 303–4, pl. XCIX) — and from earlier Natufian sites in the Levant. Complete dentalium shells are rare at Çatalhöyük, perhaps because necklaces of type 1 stone beads had become an established style before dentalium is first attested in level IX, where they occur in a fully-developed type indistinguishable from later type 1 beads.

Mother-of pearl pendants are reported to come largely from burials of babies (1964, 95). One is mentioned on a necklace in the unusual adult burial in EVIII:31 (1966, 182), but the inventory records this as coming from the child's grave in the same building. The pendants are roughly triangular and almost always double pierced in one corner, giving them the look of a modern child's version of a ghost! Other pendants have also been found, in a variety of shapes and materials — an animal head in dark green-black stone with inlaid green eyes (369), a miniature celt in red-brown stone (93), an oval pendant of coal or wood (118), a small perforated bone spoon (318) which is probably a pendant, and a number of others in clay, rock crystal, shell and stone.

No work has yet been done on how these beads were produced, but clearly considerable technical skill was required — these are not odd pebbles or bones with fortuitous holes in them being put on a piece of string, but highly standardized and attractive artefacts. Although beads are the most common form of grave goods, and type 1 beads the most frequent, they should not be regarded therefore as 'cheap', 'simple' or 'low status' items. Mellaart comments that no tools have yet been identified as bead-making equipment (1964, 105).

#### *Ground-stone tools*

Mellaart reports that greenstone axes and celts were found in women's burials (1964, 95). Only two have been identified as having burial contexts, as has one pounder. Of the remainder, at least four came from storerooms, and one from a courtyard. They tend to be small, and some could be classed as miniature, while large ones are rare. Almost all are made of a dark green stone, although some are a light grey-green, and the size of stone nodule available seems to dictate the size of the product, as many bear traces of cortex. The two recorded as coming from burials are both miniatures, the slightly larger of the two being 53.8 mm long, although much smaller ones are known. A number of others must have come from burials, but information is lacking. No patterns can be seen between those found in burials, store and courtyards, but the numbers involved are very small and a larger sample might suggest differences — as could use-wear analysis. Maceheads are reported from male burials (1964, 94), but only four can now be associated with buildings. Mellaart also mentions them as offerings in shrines. I have seen 29 altogether, a number of which — all from level VI — appear to be unfinished, having clear shaping marks which have not yet been polished away. It is

possible that rather than being offerings, they were being made in a building. Unfortunately context is lacking, so this idea cannot be explored at present. Maceheads cluster in level VI although two are known from level V and one from level II. Only one is known from earlier, from a burial in EVIII:31, of which much more will be said later. Two of those from level VI were found in one burial, said to be male, in building EVI:20. Mellaart also reported finding two maceheads in the storeroom of AVI:1, one with a bone handle and one with a stick (1963, 52). The majority of maceheads have very narrow perforations, as small as 7.6 mm, and rarely greater than 3.5 mm. Few sticks or bones slim enough to fit through these perforations would be strong enough to support their weight, and I suspect many of them were slung on ropes. This would affect how they were viewed, for a stone dangling on a string offers rather different visions of authority from one held aloft! Some experiments may be in order. Obsidian mirrors are also known as grave goods — Mellaart reports ten, all apparently buried with female skeletons and all in shrines, although he later says that they occur in houses (1967, 79). Of the ten I have seen, two of which are broken, three have no context, one is from level IV, three from level V and three from level VI; only eight are shown on Mellaart's chart (1967, 81), four date to level IV, two to level V, and two to level VI. The technology for polishing mirrors is still not understood. They appear to be a rather late addition to material culture, first occurring in level VI, but this may prove in future to be incorrect.

#### *Knapped-stone tools*

Mellaart mentions obsidian and flint daggers, knives and projectile points occurring in graves, mainly in association with male skeletons but sometimes with female ones. There are few with good contexts, but for those the earliest occurrence is in level VIII, a single flint blade; two obsidian projectile points in level VII; 20 in level VI — a mixture of blades, scrapers and projectile points (eight of which were found as a group by the leg of a skeleton), a mixture also of obsidian, flint and chert; one obsidian fragment in level V; four obsidian tools in one building in level IV; and two flint items in level III. Many others may have been found in burials but no record is available. The huge preponderance in level VI is probably more than a result of the greater number of burials excavated, although it is affected by the cache of projectile points in a single burial. Obsidian is found in large quantities in the lower levels, but

does not appear to have been finding its way into graves. Perhaps the greater deposition of obsidian and flint in burials in level VI is a result of changes in society, of which other evidence is available — there is a change in knapped-stone tool types, in pottery technology, in figurine typology and material. Small numbers of blades and scrapers are known from burials across the levels, and according to Mellaart's sexing of the skeletons, they occur with both sexes, whereas he says projectile points and elaborate daggers normally occur with males (1964, 94). Unfortunately, with so few artefacts having strong contexts, this is yet another matter which is difficult to evaluate with the old data, but exceptions will be discussed below.

#### *Bone tools*

A number of modified animal long bones have been found, mainly worked into points plus a few chisels (*cf.* Chapter 11). None of these have a clear burial context. However, a range of needles, pins and spatulae have also been found which do seem to come largely, if not entirely, from burials. Several were illustrated by Mellaart (1964, fig. 42/43). These were interpreted by him variously as bodkins for basketry, clothing fasteners and ointment sticks. Of the seven needles and bodkins seen, three are recorded from burials; of the thirteen spatulate objects, five have burial contexts; and of three miscellaneous pins, forks etc., one has a context. Spoons and spatulae are reported from burials of women with babies (1964, 103) — of the six seen, two have contexts. Another item called a toggle by Mellaart was interpreted as a fastener for a cloak (1964, 100). Eleven are known, of which six have burial contexts. He reports that they were found with male skeletons, normally behind the shoulder. These come in a range of forms and sizes, generally made of antler but sometimes of bone, and could also be seen as weaving shuttles. At present, the purpose of the ones at Catalhöyük cannot be ascertained. Belt hooks and buckle plates, and bone wristguards, are also regarded by Mellaart as male items. They are rare — three wristguards, and 14 parts of buckles were found — eleven of them with burial contexts, including two sets of both hook and plate. In the future use wear analysis could potentially answer some questions about what some of these items really were, and how they were used.

#### *Wood, basketry and textile*

Several burnt buildings in level VI had burials containing carbonized wooden vessels and quantities of



textile — in which the skeletons had often been wrapped. Remains of at least 25 wooden vessels have been examined, with contexts in AVI:1, EVI:1, EVI:5, EVI:10, and EVI:25. This is probably not the complete record — Mellaart reports that a minimum of 20 wooden vessels was found in EVI:10 alone (1964, 86). They include bowls, cups and boxes with lids in various shapes. Baskets are also reported from burials, often with the skeleton placed inside. However, such items have not survived. Textile was recovered mainly from burials in buildings EVI:5 and EVI:25, which according to Mellaart provided over 100 fragments (1963, 101). I have seen some 100 pieces of textile, many very small and badly damaged, with contexts not only from these buildings but also from EVI:1, EVI:3 and EVI:8. Doubt remains about which raw material was used (Burnham 1965; Ryder 1965), but the fineness of some of the weaving is very clear. A number of fragments are attached to or wrapped around pieces of human bone, frequently mandibles, and many have skull contexts on their labels. Mellaart reported finding textile in the brain cavity of one skull (1964, 93), and the wrapping of individual limbs found in the unusual burnt burial of EVI:5 (see below) in textile after initial burning (1963, 99–101).

### *Sex and gender*

The information provided by Mellaart focused largely on a division of people into two sexes which were treated differently in a range of ways — in place of burial, treatment of the body, and grave goods. This aspect of his work has been a focus of considerable debate regarding the roles of men and women, particularly with respect to social power and hierarchy (see Chapters 1 & 19). However, before the answers can be forthcoming some serious questions have to be asked.

### *The problem*

Sex is regarded by archaeologists as a natural, given attribute of humans, and the division of humans into two sexes, usually with associated sex-based gender roles, has rarely been questioned. While I am not disputing that in various biological formats sex does exist, what is clear is that even in biology there is a continuum, which makes the sexing of skeletons uncertain, and that outside biology the concept of sex may not have existed in the past in the way it does now. A person whose skeleton we view as female may not have had a concept of femaleness, or placed itself within that category. Gender is a social status based on perceived sex — perceived, that is, by others

and by ourselves. It differs from some types of social status in having a biological base, and is justified on those grounds. However, the development of gender as a social construct is dependent first on the development of a concept of sex not just as a difference, but as *the* difference which matters.

In problematizing sex and gender, however, we remove many of the hooks we use to hang our data on. If we abandon the division, do the grave goods have a basis for patterning? Is much of the meaning of grave goods dependent on the sex-basis that we have given? If we abandon the concept, do we also throw out the tool for overturning it? — surely contravening the regulations is the surest way to prove them wrong, but is dependent on their prior existence. Because of the difficulties expressed here, I shall initially treat the material as though I accept the division, and work through other issues rather than attempting to address sex and gender separately. I shall then assess the data with reference to current theories of sex and gender at Çatalhöyük, to investigate the validity of both the theories and the concepts themselves.

### *The skeletons*

Ferembach found 135 female and 106 male adults, as well as 11 uncertain, 7 with female and uncertain elements and 8 with male and uncertain elements, totalling 267–82 adults. Angel found 131 female and 78 male adults, plus 2 female?, 3 female??, 8 male? and 1 male??, making a total of 223 adults. Either way it is clear that female skeletons outnumber male ones among adults, although the proportions are considerably more equal in Ferembach's data than Angel's. The question I now want to ask is, did the people of Çatalhöyük recognize this sex division themselves; if so, did they codify it in some way recognizable in the archaeological record; and if they did, can it tell us anything about the state of gender at Çatalhöyük?

In his first report Mellaart (1962, 51–2) said that people were generally buried under the northeast platform of the building, that grave goods were rare and that the use of red ochre on skeletons was not attested. In subsequent reports this situation was changed. Mellaart began to say that males were buried under the northeast platform and females and children under the main (that is, east centre) platform, that grave goods — while not present in all graves or in large numbers — were not rare, and that red ochre was applied to a small number of female skeletons. In addition, people were sometimes buried under other platforms, children were sometimes

uried under the floor, blue and green pigment was applied to some skeletons regardless of sex (and one case of grey pigment is attested, sex not mentioned). In addition a range of complex information was given — that burials in rooms called shrines tended to be 'richer' than those in houses, that red ochre burials occurred in shrines, that blue and green burials tended to be 'richer' than others, that red ochre burials were sometimes fairly poor, that the number of burials per building depended on the size of the building, that it depended on whether or not it was a shrine, that burials below level VI tended to be rejected while those in level VI and above were pushed aside into bone piles, that women were buried with necklaces and men never had more than a few beads, that men were buried with maceheads and daggers, that women had make-up and ointment sticks and tools for feeding babies with, that males were never buried with children and tended to be single burials. Finally, details of a few notable burials showed that there was considerable variation from any clear norm.

The skeletons received for analysis derive from 14 seasons of excavation, although the majority date to 1963. Area E is the main area represented, and level VI dominates heavily — of those skeletons with levels recorded 235 come from level VI, the remainder being shared rather unequally as follows: level I:0, II:8, III:10+, IV:20, V:21+, VII:57+, VIII:11, IX:1, X:0, XI:4, XII:0. Hence any analysis must take account that the data are strongly skewed, and that statistics are likely to present the situation according to level VI rather than the site as a whole. Few skeletons have recorded information regarding their position within the building, but 20 do appear to have these details.

#### *burial positions within buildings*

Building EVII:31 contained 46 individuals according to Angel, and 43 adults according to Ferembach. Angel's data break down as 16 female, 14 male, 2 possible male and 14 sub-adults (ranging in age from adolescent to baby) giving only 32 adults against Ferembach's 43, which break down as 15 female and 28 male skeletons with 2 indeterminate.

Angel's data give positional information for 7 skeletons, one of which also bears a group number which may enable us to place a further skeleton in that area. The positions given are southwest corner (one skeleton, Group C), southwest platform (five skeletons), and storeroom (one skeleton). The skeleton in the southwest corner may have come from below the platform but this is not stated. According

to Angel, it is female; it cannot be identified with any of Ferembach's skeletons. Those from the southwest platform are also only identified by Angel, and consist of one female, one possible male and three juveniles — a child aged 10 (long bones only), a child aged 5, and a baby of around 15 months. The skeleton from the storeroom is male.

Ferembach's data seem to give positional information on ten skeletons, regarded by Angel as six individuals. These skeletons have the letters N or NE added to their building number, and those which have been subdivided also have their CH number. Those coming from the north platform (N) are four females according to Angel, or seven females and one male according to Ferembach. All but one of them are identified by Angel as Group Y, the odd one out being Group A1. The Group A1 skeleton had been divided by Angel into an adult female and an adolescent which he sexed as male, and Ferembach then subdivided it into two females and one male. Five other skeletons from this building are labelled Group Y, and it would seem reasonable to suppose that they came from the same platform, hence the grouping. This extra group consists of two males, two females and two juveniles — a child aged around seven and a newborn baby.

The skeletons identified by Ferembach as NE — presumably northeast platform — are viewed by Angel as two males, and by Ferembach as four males. They belong to Group A, to which a further two skeletons belong, one a juvenile aged about five, one a baby aged 12 months+. Two more are labelled Group A(?) — a baby of about six months and a mid-adolescent separated by Angel from one of the adults.

One further skeleton is labelled Group C, and if the grouping has a straightforward meaning we ought to be able to assign it with the other Group C skeleton to the southwest corner. This one is female and was treated with red ochre, which makes its position within the building of particular interest. One other skeleton from EVII:31 is mentioned by Angel as being treated with red ochre, this time a male aged around 29. However, this one is problematic: Angel labels it 75CH, and also identifies it as number 20, a number it shares with a female (76CH) and a baby (77CH). Ferembach identifies two male burials as 75CH, one in EVII:31 with no identifier, and one in EVIII:31. This latter is identified by Angel as a male aged 21+, with number 51CH.

Three other groups of skeletons are mentioned in this building — Group B (two females, separated by Angel from one original), Group W (one female), and Group Z, (one male). It seems likely that more

than one individual was identified by the excavators in each group, in order for it to be called a group, but on available data no others can be added at present.

According to the plans, building EVII:31 had platforms in the north, northeast, east-centre, southwest and probably southeast. The northeast platform has a crawl-hole adjacent to it, leading to the storeroom along the north end. Symbolic assessments of the buildings at Çatalhöyük, based on Mellaart's publications, have suggested that the north end is male (Hodder 1990, 10), and the south end female. According to the available skeletal evidence, the situation is rather more complicated. Although males may occupy the northeast platform, not only do they share it with a number of juveniles (sex unknown), but the large north platform adjacent is heavily appropriated by adult females. The southwest area also has a high density of females, with one probable male, and one male is in the storeroom — an exceptional place for any burial. Hodder regards the north end as symbolically more elaborated, and as an inner area (Hodder 1990, 9–10). Both of these concepts must be questioned. Firstly, an aspect of architecture which seems to have gone unnoticed by commentators, though mentioned by Mellaart (1962, 46; 1963, 56), is that many buildings have an entry shaft in addition to the ladder at the southern end. This shaft can be in any area outside the main room, but in practice is frequently next to the storeroom, from which it is divided by a wall. Entry to shafts and storerooms from the main room is effected through a crawl-hole. Mellaart comments that in level VII and earlier the shaft tends to take the form of a corridor along one end of the building (1964, 50), but in level VI and later the use of a dividing wall creates two separate spaces, a small squarish shaft and larger rectangular store. The shaft is frequently at the north end, and may have been intended to offer an alternative method of entry when a smokey hearth makes the southern entrance uncomfortable to use. Although the north is often used for the shaft (for instance VI:1 and VII:4 - northeast; VI:28 and 31 - northwest, and VI:7 and 14 sharing a northern shaft) — even sometimes taking the space used for north-east platforms! (e.g. VI:44, VII:1), the south seems to be just as good (for instance VII:10, VI:8, AII:1 - southwest; VII:22 - southeast). The structural and symbolic inner nature of the north end of the building can no longer be maintained. Turning to the elaboration of the north end in general and northeast corner in particular, a glance at Mellaart's chart (1967, 102–3) — which does not include all buildings — shows that the northeast corner is not heavily decorated com-

pared to some other parts of the buildings, and when it is decorated, it is nearly always with paintings or reliefs running along the north or east centre walls as well. Mellaart says quite clearly (1964, 93) that the main platform is the east-central one, based on the level of elaboration of reliefs and paintings, and it is under this platform that he places the female and child burials. Unfortunately I have no documentation concerning the burials under this platform in building EVII:31, but obvious candidates are Group B (two female, one male), Group W (one female), and Group Z (one male). A further seven males, one possible male, five females and four juveniles (Angel), or ten females, 21 males and two indeterminate (Ferembach) need to be placed. The recurrent presence of bull figures on the north wall, noted by Mellaart (1967, 104), has been used by Hodder to support the association of the north end of the building with males — through the belief that the bull (which is, in fact, generally shown sexless) is a male symbol. The presence of predominantly female skeletons under the north platform challenges this interpretation. As it happens, EVII:31 is one of the buildings represented on Mellaart's chart of wall paintings and reliefs. It is the west wall which is most heavily elaborated, with cattle heads and a relief 'goddess', the north wall is blank and contains two crawl-holes (one to the storeroom, one to the entry shaft), the east wall was destroyed apart from the base of a red panel above the central platform and a relief 'goddess' and pair of breasts at the south end, and the western half of the south wall most unusually has another relief 'goddess'. In this particular building then, rather exceptionally, the southwest corner is the most elaborated and the north wall and northeast corner the least, with unanswerable questions over the east wall. If the position of the skeletons is plotted onto this 'symbolic' map, the elaborate southwest corner contains mainly female and juvenile skeletons, including one treated with red ochre; the plain north central area is also dominated by females; the plain northeast corner has males and probably juveniles. This clearly contests both the division of the building into sex-segregated zones, and the association of males with the more elaborate areas.

A small amount of information regarding context is available from the skeletal data concerning three other buildings: EVI:8, in which Skeleton A, sexed female by Angel, came from the ante room (which was to the south of the main room on the eastern side). According to Mellaart's chart, in both VIA and VIB (it is not known from which level the



skeleton derives) the whole of the west, north and east walls were decorated including the southern end of both east and west walls, and the south wall was blank. EVI:1 had a male lower jaw from the entry shaft in the northeast corner — possibly accompanied by three others bracketted by Angel with the male jaw for unclear reasons — all female in Angel's view, one female and one uncertain in Ferembach's notes. According to Mellaart's chart, VII:1 (VIA:1 is not shown) has only simple decoration in the form of red panels which occur on the eastern half of the north wall, the central and southern sections of the east wall, and the eastern end of the south wall; the west wall was destroyed. No decoration occurs on the northern end of the east wall, which contains a crawlhole. Finally EVII:45 has skeletons listed, of which two are assigned to the west platform (one female, one male according to Angel, one female and one uncertain according to Ferembach) and one to the central platform (a baby about 6 months). According to Mellaart's chart, the central section of the north and east walls and the southern end of the east wall were decorated, while the west wall was destroyed. The walls surrounding the northeast corner were blank. It should also be noted that published reports say that burials did not occur in anteroom, storerooms or shafts (1964, 101). Angel's notes show that they occurred in all these, although they should probably be considered exceptional.

#### *The northeast platform*

Mellaart reported a burnt burial from building EVI:5 which contained the remains of 6–8 individuals, 2 or 3 of whom were children under the age of ten (1963, 101). The building is recorded as a 'less distinguished house' which nevertheless had rich grave goods with burials (1964, 94). The burial reported was made under the northeast platform. In the midst of the most 'characteristic' level of the site, with highly standardized architecture, elaborate symbolism etc., is a burial of children under the 'male' platform. Artefacts found in the burial included a flint buckle, seen as a male item, which, if true, suggests the breaking of another rule — the burial of children with a man. One of the skulls was treated with red ochre, which contravenes several other rules — that red ochre was applied to females only, that females are not buried under this platform; that red ochre burials occur in shrines only; and that red ochre burials tend to be poor in terms of grave goods. Two skeletons from EVI:5 were seen by Angel, who recorded them as a male aged 40 and a

female, age illegible but possibly 'youth'. Ferembach did not record these skeletons, although they may appear without their building number. There is no trace in the skeletal record of the children or the red ochre skull.

There could be a good reason for the disparity between the burial record in EVI:5 described by Mellaart and the general rules he sets out — the bodies had not been excarnated, but had been burnt prior to burial and wrapped in textile after this burning and before the fire which destroyed the building. This could be seen as a 'foreign' burial rite. On the other hand, the grave goods are no different to anything else on the site, so these are unlikely to be foreigners. Mellaart stated (1963, 98) that in no single case was there evidence of a hole made hastily in a platform for burials, and proposed instead that burials took place at a set time, perhaps coinciding with a festival and probably with the annual replastering of the buildings. Some evidence for this lies in the different degree of excarnation shown among the skeletons, some being disarticulated whilst others seem to have had ligaments intact. This could be the reason for an unusual burial, if a group of people died just at burying time. By burning them, the worst problems of putrefaction could be overcome, and by putting them all in one building, whether or not they all lived there, any problems would be restricted to a small area which could be closed if necessary. Why they should choose to put a large number of bodies under the small 'male' platform is more difficult — unless there was a strong taboo concerning burial areas for men, restricting them to one part of the building, which did not apply so strongly to women or children. As seen from EVII:31, males do seem to be buried under the northeast platform, but not exclusively there, and they do share it with juveniles.

In 1961 Mellaart reported that people, not males, were regularly buried under the northeast platform. This suggests that in the first season of excavation few burials were found under other platforms. Mellaart never published a list of which buildings were excavated each year, but a good idea can be obtained from the plans, reports, and inventory lists. As far as can be ascertained buildings BI:4, 5, 6, 7; BII:1, 2, 3; AIII:1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7; EIV:1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12; EV:1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7; EVI:1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7 and EVII:1 and what later became 28 and 29, were excavated in 1961. Of these, no platforms are shown on the plans of level I; BII:3 has none, BII:2 has two, northeast and east centre, BII:1 has three - northeast, east-centre, and northwest; in level III platforms do

not abound — AIII:3, 5, 6 and 7 have none, AIII:2 has one in the northeast, AIII:4 has an east central one with burials under and another in the south-west, AIII:1 has three, northeast, centre-east and west/centre north; in level IV buildings 3, 5 and 9 have no platforms, EIV:2 has one in the southeast, EIV:6 has one in the northeast, EIV:10 has one east centre annotated as having numerous burials underneath, EIV:12 has one east centre/north, EIV:7 and 8 have two, in the northeast and east centre, EIV:4 and 11 have three, northeast, east centre and southwest, and EIV:1 has five or more, leaving only the south-centre and part of the north centre definitely platform free. In level V buildings seem rather more standardized, with all but storerooms having platforms, always a northeast platform and the others generally ranged on either side of it, with only one southwest platform occurring, in building 2, and building 4 being unusual in having only two platforms, in the north/centre-east and north/centre-west. Levels VI and VII show more variation again, with a single north/centre east platform in level VI:1 (burials below) and 2, burials below a possibly centre east platform in building EVI:3, two platforms in EVI:4 at north centre and southwest, and two also in EVI:7 in the north-east and east centre, both with burials; and in level VII platforms against most wall space in EVII:1, a northeast one in EVII:29 and northeast and centre east in EVII:28, both with burials underneath.

These rather complex data suggest that the patterning offered by Mellaart was only a rough guide in the first place, and has had too much built upon it. If the northeast corner is the one most likely to have a platform, it is not surprising that it is also most likely to contain burials. It is clear from the limited information available in the publications that burials occurred in other parts of the buildings throughout the sequence.

#### *Male and female: numbers in context*

The 'excess' of adult female skeletons at Çatalhöyük has already been mentioned — although as Angel comments, it probably actually represents a dearth of adult males (1971, 79). So far, no basic counts seem to have been made of the number of skeletons of each sex per building, and although we must always bear in mind the incomplete nature of the data, and the lack of certainty as to whether those groups which did survive for analysis represent practically the entire assemblage from each building or only a fraction of it, sex counts can be illuminating. A number of buildings appear from the surviving data, some of which is apparently complete, to have

single-sex burials: BII:1 (two females), BII:2 — whether more of BII:1, or BII:3 — which definitely had burials (five females and one possible female); FV:75 (two males [Angel], or five males [Ferembach, who mis-labels them EV:75]), EVIII:25 (one female, one juvenile), and EIX:1 (one female). Furthermore, despite the preponderance of females overall, in several buildings males are in a majority: AVE:1 (four males, three females), EVI:20 (four males, three females [Angel], eight males, three females, one indeterminate [Ferembach]), EVI:29 (three males, five females [Angel], four males, three females [Ferembach]), EVI:34 (five males, six females [Angel], 11 males, seven females, three indeterminate [Ferembach]), EVII:31 (14 males, 16 females, one possible male [Angel], 26 males, 12 females [Ferembach]), EVIII:31 one male [Angel], four males, one female [Ferembach]) and an uncontexted group called G by Ferembach (six males, five females). Even bearing in mind that the great majority of skeletons examined are from level VI, it is still interesting that all the groups with known context with high numbers of males come from levels VI to VIII, mainly level VI, and the later levels seem to have greater numbers of females. Why this should be is not clear — it could relate to economic changes, trade patterns, health and disease, emigration, falling birth rates, changes in diet etc.. It does appear that age at death is slightly lower for adults during level VI, and the majority of juvenile skeletons are also from levels VI and VII. This may be tied in with other aspects such as the close packing of houses, economic and technical changes, and social changes which seem to take place at that time. The preponderance of female skeletons in the later levels may well tie in with the new and growing emphasis on the depiction of mature women in the figurines and the absence of clear representations of males after level VI. Whether it also reflects a reduced male population living at the settlement is not known. Although it has been suggested (Angel 1971) that population crash may have been involved in the abandonment of the site, there is no evidence yet that it was really abandoned, as the lowest levels of the western mound may prove to follow immediately on from the upper levels of the east mound. We must await its excavation to discover whether the settlement simply shifted, or ceased.

The lack of males in Angel's data between the ages of 13+ and 20, compared to the 17 females in the same age range, may be the result partly of the greater ease of sexing females after puberty. It is also likely to be related to cause of death, although suggestions concerning the presence in the settlement of differ-

ent groups at different ages should also be taken into account. Adult age at death may be caused by a number of factors. We see a broad range of ages for both sexes, but male burials are at their highest in their thirties, while female deaths peak rather younger, in their twenties. This may be the result of differential depositional practices. Another possible explanation is that female deaths are related to childbirth, and this may well be true, but a second explanation may underlie the data. Weak male babies tend to die early, while females have better survival rates. The stress of childbirth may be the event for females which shortens life-span. If so, this ought to be seen as equalizing the sexes, rather than creating a net drop in the number of females. Death in battle or while trading is often posited as the male equivalent, but despite sundry comments about sling stones and head wounds, the evidence for violent deaths is minimal. The occasional head-wound or parry fracture — regarded by Angel as suggestive of fighting (1971, 91) — could also be a result of the system of roof entry, at least in some cases. The deaths of males in their thirties would therefore be viewed as natural deaths, and a substantial number of females also survived into their thirties and beyond, the sexes being roughly equally represented with 36 females and 37 males in their thirties, 18 females and 15 males in their forties, one female and two males around 50 and two females and one male getting to 60. (All ages taken from Angel's data alone.) A re-aging of the skeletons might well overturn these data (Molleson & Cox 1993).

The sex ratio of skeletons varies considerably over time, and although this may be purely a result of the unequal excavation of different levels and minimal data available from some of them, it is worth considering. Unfortunately, adult (aged over 15) data from Angel's and Ferembach's analyses differ somewhat. The results are shown in Table 12.9 (numbers of juveniles up to and including age 15 are added for reference).

**Table 12.9.** *The sex of adult skeletons in the different levels according to Angel and Ferembach.*

Level	Angel		Ferembach	
I	7 female	0 male	1 juvenile	3 female 0 male
II	3 female	3 male	3 juvenile	0 female 0 male
III	12 female	6 male	3 juvenile	13 female 6 male
IV	11 female	5 male	1 juvenile	11 female 17 male
V	34 female	29 male	32 juvenile	49 female 50 male
VI	25 female	19 male	18 juvenile	27 female 32 male
VII	3 female	2 male	4 juvenile	3 female 4 male
VIII	1 female	1 male	0 juvenile	1 female 0 male
IX	1 female	0 male	3 juvenile	0 female 1 male

A further 11 females and 14 males (Angel), or 35 females and 23 males and a number of indeterminate (Ferembach) and several juveniles are unstratified. Ferembach only identified a small number of juveniles, and they have been added to Angel's data when it is clear there is no duplication. The most striking differences between the data sets are levels V and VII, in which Ferembach has a majority of males against Angel's majority of females.

### *The juvenile data*

It is not only male and female adult skeletons that refuse to comply with neat normative patterns. The juveniles must also be considered. Altogether 90 juveniles were identified, with ages ranging from 0 to 15, and all ages have fairly equal representation (Table 12.10). No age is missing, and although a few seem to have slightly higher numbers than others this is partly due to the inexactness of age measures, and to the imprecise ages given for a minority of

**Table 12.10.** *Juveniles by age. (Based on Angel with some additions from Ferembach.)*

Age at death	Totals by 1-year intervals	Total by 3 year age-groups
0-3	0-1-6	0-3-21
0.5-2	1-2-12	3-6-12
<1-1	2-3-5	6-9-18
1-5	3-4-6	9-12-7
1.25-2	4-5-5	12-15-29
<1.5-5	5-6-5	
2-3	6-7-5	
2.5-2	7-8-8	
3-2	8-9-5	
4-4	9-10-1	
4-1	10-11-2	
5-5	11-12-4	
6-4	12-13-9	
6-1	13-14-6	
7-6	14-15-6	
7-2	15-3	
8-2	plus 5 imprecise	
8-3		
9-1		
10-1		
10-1		
11-2		
11-2		
12-3		
12-6		
13-3		
13-3		
14-5		
14-1		
15-3		
adolescent-4		
mid-adolescent-1		

Note: Some of the 0-ages were very imprecise (8-10, 10-13 etc.), and these start around age 7, making some imbalance in the older ages.

### *Juveniles by age and sex: Angel's level of certainty (total 44)*

1-1 M <sup>12</sup> F	5- M <sup>12</sup> M <sup>12</sup> , M <sup>12</sup>	12- M <sup>12</sup>
1-1 F 25- M <sup>12</sup> , F <sup>12</sup>	6- M <sup>12</sup> F <sup>12</sup>	12- M <sup>12</sup> M <sup>12</sup>
1-25- (M)	7- M <sup>12</sup> M <sup>12</sup> , M <sup>12</sup> , M <sup>12</sup> F <sup>12</sup>	13- M <sup>12</sup> M <sup>12</sup>
1-5- M <sup>12</sup>	8- F <sup>12</sup> F <sup>12</sup>	13- F <sup>12</sup>
2- M <sup>12</sup>	8- (M) M <sup>12</sup> M	14- F <sup>12</sup>
2-5- M <sup>12</sup> M	9- M <sup>12</sup>	15- F 1-1
3- M	10- (M) <sup>12</sup>	adolescent- M
4- M <sup>12</sup> M <sup>12</sup> (M)	10- (F) M <sup>12</sup>	
4- M <sup>12</sup>	11- M	



Table 12.11. *Juveniles by building*

NEB1	0
EV1:11	20
EV1:2	2
EV1:3	0
EV1:7	1
EV1:12	2
EV1:11	3
EV1:17	10
EV1:18	2
EV1:11	3
EV1:20	2
EV1:29	2
EV1:32	6
EV1:34	12
EV1:35	2
EV1:44	3
EV1:50	2
EV1:29	1
EV1:31	14
EV1:35	1
EV1:45	2
EV1:10	1
EV1:25	1
EV1:31	1
EV1:35 (25)	3

individuals (e.g. 8–10, or 11+). The number of juveniles per building varies widely, from none in some, to 14 in EV1:31 (Table 12.11). Of the 38 buildings with skeletons attributed to them, 25 have the remains of individuals aged 15 or under using Angel's estimates, with additions from Ferembach, who aged but did not sex a number of juveniles. This means that for unknown reasons 13 buildings — or one third of those represented in the skeletal data — had the remains of adults only. The proportion of juveniles to adults also varies, from a single baby

with two or three adults in EV1:29, to one juvenile with eight adults in EV1:11, to six juveniles with one adult and one sub-adult in EV1:32, to 12 juveniles with 11 (Angel) or 14 (Ferembach) adults in EV1:34. It is difficult to interpret these figures without any knowledge regarding biological relationships or cause of death. If we assume that the dead were buried where they had lived, this suggests very varied child mortality rates in different living units. It has been argued (Forbes, pers. comm.) that the burial record cannot be complete due to the over-representation of adult females and under-representation of babies. However, there is no question that all ages are represented at Çatalhöyük, and that any social selection was thus not based purely on age.

Angel sexed 44 of the 77 juvenile skeletons he examined. Although the sexing of juveniles is inexact, the data may not be totally redundant. Angel stated that the sex imbalance seen in adult skeletons was reversed among juveniles, and suggested that the one explains the other. In fact, looking at the complete assemblage rather than level by level, adult females never outnumbered males by 2:1, yet among the juveniles Angel's sexing shows males outnumbering females by 3:1. Although these 33 juvenile males could still not make up the entire 'deficit', it would make some difference, particularly if we assume that the juvenile assemblage has suffered greater loss due to fragility or alternative methods of disposal.

Angel sexed skeletons partly on robustness, and this would have been his main criterion for juveniles, other attributes being less developed. It is largely on this basis, therefore, that the majority of

juveniles were regarded as male (33 males, 11 females). Angel may have been correct, and this would certainly help explain the low number of male adults. On the other hand, it may be that juveniles at Çatalhöyük displayed an unusual robustness of physique, reflecting a general robustness which could also partly account for a low rate of child mortality. Of the 17 infants and babies under the age of five, 15 were sexed male; if we look just at the nine babies under two and a half, seven were sexed male. While this suggests a greater death rate of male babies, the extent of the sex difference is rather startling. One explanation would be that Angel was deceived by the robustness of the population into incorrectly sexing them male. If the sexing is accepted, social selection for burial could also be implied, but the low rate of juvenile females when compared to the high proportion of adult females receiving burial in the same places is perplexing. The extremely low number of females could suggest a female-preferred culture — one of Angel's explanations for the high number of adult females found in buildings. Statistics show that in male-preferred societies, while young male babies still die at a higher rate than female ones, once past the age of 12 months this is reversed as female toddlers die of neglect (Janssen-Jureit 1992, 72; Morgan 1984, 297, 427, 457, 460, 638; Venkatramani 1992, 125). Another explanation would be male infanticide, regarded in some cases as a reasonable explanation for surplus female deaths or a shortage of female adults (Ucko 1969). Such an explanation could also suggest a female-preferred culture (the reverse of the Yanomamo), or could reflect a struggle within society over sex-based power or the development of gender roles. The removal of male babies could be an effective weapon for women whose social power was being eroded, both in opposing an ideology of women as mothers and carers of males, and in creating their own majority.

Looking at the data by level is complicated by the small numbers involved. Level VI, which gives the greatest range of context with data from 13 buildings, shows a high level of juvenile mortality with 52 juveniles to 84 adults. Of these, 13 are infants under three, only three of them being less than a year old. Similar numbers of skeletons are attested within each roughly three-year age group from 0–15, and the fairly equal spacing of deaths across these ages, with the exception of the very low number of young babies, does not suggest a single cause of death such as male infanticide. The low number of neonatal deaths could be seen as an indicator of different treatment, but the presence of six neonate skeletons across two

levels (VI & VII) in the restricted assemblage received by Angel shows that if such different treatment did occur, it was not a fixed rule. Although we know from Mellaart of a neonate buried in a brick in the wall of EVI:14 (1963, 75) — a skeleton not seen by Angel and therefore additional to the six he recorded — it had apparently been given similar treatment in terms of excarnation, application of red ochre, wrapping in textile, and provision of grave goods. Its presence in a brick cannot therefore be seen as the hurried disposal of rubbish, but could indicate a leath at the wrong time of year for normal burial, a wish to preserve delicate bones from long exposure while awaiting burial, a foundation deposit, or a desire to provide a baby-sized equivalent of a mud-brick platform which would still ensure that the burial took place within a building, and a flexibility of custom which made it possible to seize opportunity (brick-making and house-building) when offered. It is possible that more neonates would be discovered if all bricks were broken, and it is almost certain that we have lost a disproportionate number of infant skeletons during excarnation, burial, excavation and cleaning due to their fragility.

#### *Fragmentation*

One aspect which is quite clear from Ferembach's data, and to some extent also from Angel's, is the high degree of fragmentation of the skeletons — by which I mean separation of body parts from each other, not damage to individual bones. Mellaart was clear that the burials were secondary, occurring after excarnation, and suggested some sort of mortuary structure where dessication, vultures or insect action reduced the corpses to bones and ligaments (1963, 98; 1964, 92). This has been questioned by Dodd (1976, 67), yet the skeletal data show even greater disturbance of the bones than Mellaart reported. Mellaart said that complete/intact burials were rare, although the majority of skeletons displayed sufficient articulation to suggest that some ligaments survived at the time of burial. According

Ferembach's data, complete or almost complete skeletons are extremely rare — only nine approached such a state, five female and four male. Ferembach used 20 bone categories in her tables, omitting duplicates for left and right sides. Of the maximum 282 adults and 35 juveniles she identified, only one skeleton had examples of all 20 categories, while 88 adults and 24 juveniles were identified from a single bone category. (This does not mean only a single bone was present, however.) While some of this is certainly due to variable survival of different bone

categories, and problems during and after excavation, it cannot all be, as demonstrated by the particular bones present. This shows a level of fragmentation not previously suggested, and causes major problems with counting individuals. Furthermore, there seems to have been some confusion of identities, either deliberate or accidental, during or after burial — 45 individuals identified by Ferembach were separated from skeletons previously thought to represent one person; 26 of these were mixed male and female bones, while a further 15 were mixed with bones of indeterminate sex, the remainder being duplicate bones of the same sex. These occur in levels V, VI and VII, perhaps III, and a number of burials without context. If Mellaart was right, and bodies were exposed on platforms — presumably on the textile in which they were wrapped for burial — it is possible that bones which fell from the platform were added at random to any skeleton nearby, thus inflating our estimates of individual skeletons; it is also possible that skeletons were deliberately mixed and then shared out among various buildings or platforms within a building. This could imply that complete skeletons are intact because there happened to be no others available to mix them with — an accident of death. Such mixing could relate to kinship or non-blood relationships, in order to share a skeleton amongst significant others, or could have ritual implications concerning the mixing of clans, social groups, both sexes etc. in death.

We do not know whether the dead had lived in the building they were buried in. Mellaart reported that no evidence was found of holes being made in platforms (1963, 98), and rather than assume that all buildings in which a death had occurred were disturbed for a single burial, it is possible that each year, for instance, all the skeletons were gathered up and given burial in a few selected buildings. This could account not just for the mass burnt burial in EVI:5, but also for the bone piles common in level VI. Some levels may have lasted for at least a century, but this alone does not explain why according to Mellaart some buildings contained up to 32 individuals (probably a considerable under-estimate in view of Ferembach's data) buried in three or four layers, while others contained only a couple of skeletons. Mellaart suggested that burial in 'shrines' was more popular than burial in houses, to account for this discrepancy (1967, 206), but his description of layers of burials also suggests several episodes of group burial rather than a regular trickle of deaths as the years passed. Occasional mass burials could also explain the use of several platforms, one after

another. The selection of buildings for burials could be purely practical, depending on which ones had experienced a death among the occupants, which ones had a suitable platform, which ones needed repairs anyway or were due to go out of use, which clan, totem or 'religious' symbol was favoured by the dead individual and occurred in the building etc.. This last suggestion could explain the higher numbers of skeletons in some heavily ornamented buildings, regarded by Mellaart as shrines. Alternatively, we could be seeing the result of epidemic diseases. However, there is some evidence of more individual burial, and the presence of mainly male adult skeletons (accompanied by juveniles) beneath the north-east platform of one of the buildings which could be investigated through the skeletal data does suggest that mass burial was not always carried out, and that some information about the individual was retained to the point of burial. The identity of skeletons could have been retained through the textile on which they were exposed for excarnation, or a similar method. A scattering of female bones among mainly male ones or vice versa could represent, as suggested above, some form of ritual or deliberate mixing, or accidental addition during excarnation. Overall, however, individual burial seems to have been rare.

#### *Adding the artefacts*

The excarnation and fragmentation of skeletons also raise issues concerning grave goods. The common occurrence of mass burials and disarticulated skeletons interferes with simple identifications of many grave goods, or associations with individual skeletons. Mellaart mentions necklaces around necks, rings on fingers, belt hooks at the hips, even a string skirt, and suggests that many skeletons were clothed when buried. This is surprising if excarnation was taking place. It is possible that some items were placed on the body before excarnation, and others were added to the grave during burial. If bodies were exposed on textiles, it would be a simple matter to carry the bones back to the settlement for burial with clothes and ornaments *in situ*, but it is unlikely that they would be undisturbed. Mellaart regards some antler and bone items as fasteners for cloaks for males, as they were found sometimes behind the shoulder, while females sometimes had bone pins at the shoulder. Few grave goods have clear skeleton contexts, although a burial from EVI:20 sexed male by Mellaart and also by Angel and Ferembach was accompanied by a buckle, an item Mellaart claims is male, and only one skeleton is reported from EIX:1, sexed female by Mellaart, Angel and Ferembach and

accompanied by two necklaces. It is not clear whether the palette and bone fish-hook from this building were found in the burial, although palettes were reported by Mellaart from female burials.

A few burials have strong associations with grave goods. These are described in the reports and are generally individual burials. Thus the burial of a child in EIV:8 was accompanied by a bracelet of turquoise-coloured bird or goddess beads, a bone pin and a fine obsidian blade. Red ochre was applied to the skull and entire upper body (1964, 93). This burial was unusual in that the body was in an extended position with its head to the wall and feet to the centre of the room — though this may have less ritual than practical meaning, as a child might be short enough to fit within the platform space in an extended position, whereas adults are too large and have to lie in a contracted position. The bracelet, bone pin and red ochre are regarded by Mellaart as female, the blade should normally be male and adult. A skeleton in EVI:7 had a dentalium-bead necklace, a white marble armlet, and a red-painted basket (1964, 95). It was sexed by Mellaart as female. Armlets are shown on several figurines, some clearly female but others generally regarded as male. In EVI:14 the baby in the brick was treated with red ochre and accompanied by an obsidian chip and a piece of shell, while a child was buried with eleven bone rings on its fingers (1964, 95). In EVIB:20 a skeleton said to be female had an obsidian mirror, a dentalium bead necklace, a round basket and an oval basket containing 'rouge'. The skull had been treated with cinnabar; another skeleton, said to be male, had a bag of 8 obsidian projectile points beside its leg. EVI:25 contained only two skeletons — a young adult said to be female and a child (1963, 101). Although the burials are reported to be among those in shrines which border on poverty (this building was earlier regarded as a house, not a shrine) the adult was buried in a string skirt weighted down with copper tubes, and accompanied by a necklace and bracelets, an oval wooden bowl and another wooden object as well as much textile. The burnt burial in EVI:5 contained wooden vessels, fruit, flowers, a mica pendant, a polished bone tool perforated at one end, a two-part belt buckle, textile, fur and a wooden peg with copper on it, all from a mass burial (1963, 99–101); a needle, pendant and flint tool are also known from this building. Since these skeletons were not identified by Angel or Ferembach, it is not possible to test the sexing given by Mellaart against the grave goods described, in order to investigate the gender aspects.



EVIA:29 is described by Mellaart as a less distinguished house which contained rich grave goods (1964, 94). There were several skeletons, ten of which were seen by Angel. He sexed them as three males, aged 30??, 35 and 47+, five females aged 18, 27, 28, 30- and 30, plus two juveniles aged 3 and 7. Unfortunately there is no method of identifying one of these skeletons with the one Mellaart describes as a male accompanied by a white marble bowl, a fine flint dagger with bone handle in the shape of a snake, a bone or horn scoop, green pigment and ointment sticks.

EVIII:1 had a burial described by Mellaart as consisting of a woman with a child on top of her, with red ochre applied to the skeleton, and accompanied by fresh water mussel shells filled with red ochre, an adze, a flint dagger with a chalk pommel, a spoon and a spatula (1967, 207). These last two, he says, generally occur when a child is buried with a woman (1967, 209). Red ochre is regarded as female, and so are adzes. Daggers are supposed to be male. This particular dagger has not yet been identified among the artefacts.

EVIII:31 contained the most complicated burials in some ways. They were reported by Mellaart in great detail (1966, 180-83), and consisted of an unspecified number of burials without grave goods below a white floor, and two strange burials under painted platforms — a young child ('little girl') in a basket, the skeleton partly stained with cinnabar, accompanied by two bracelets and two necklaces — one with a mother-of-pearl pendant and many deer teeth; and a young adult sexed *in situ* as female, disarticulated yet in a vertical sitting position, with red ochre covering the body and applied in stripes to the skull and neck, wearing three long necklaces including a mother of pearl pendant, with two bone rings and a macehead near the body, as well as the long bones and skulls of many mice and a single shrew. This burial is of interest first because of the unusual method of burial and the unusual surrounding building, next because of the presence of a macehead with a woman — regarded by Mellaart as a symbol of authority and a male attribute — and finally by Angel's sexing of the skeleton as male. This apparently male skeleton was literally covered with necklaces of a type apparently only found with female skeletons — not the few beads Mellaart says occur with males, not just one long and elaborate necklace, but three. A bodkin and a bone handle/comb are also annotated as coming from this burial. Another bone item, possibly a palette, comes from this building and although it does not have a burial context it may well belong to the same group.

Juveniles tend to be found buried with adults. Mellaart reported that babies and infants were buried with women (1964, 93), but as in the above case the sexing may need to be questioned. He also reported that certain grave goods sometimes accompanied such burials, such as spoons and spatulae which he thought were for feeding the infant with, and shell or mother-of-pearl pendants (1964, 103).

#### *Pigment*

Mellaart reported the use of red ochre on 21 skeletons, blue pigment on 10, green pigment on three, grey on one and cinnabar on several. He did not attempt to explain it, but did try to give it associations. Red ochre was applied almost entirely, and possibly solely, to female skeletons, and these almost always occurred in 'shrines'. Mellaart is also clear that red ochre burials, although possibly high status, are not rich — they are generally accompanied only by a necklace. Red ochre also occurred in graves in other forms — in baskets or shells as 'rouge', or in one case just lumps of it in a grave with some blue pigment but not on the bones (EVII:1). I have a total of 26 occurrences of associations between skeletons and red ochre culled from the records. By far the most are in levels VII (six or seven) and VIB (six) but with the exception of VIA, which may have suffered in the records from the adjustments between VI, VIA, VIB and VII occasioned by changes in the understanding of the stratigraphy, the number of instances seems to correlate quite well with the number of burials excavated per level, although none is known from level II or from earlier than level IX. The skeletal data do not give a great deal of information, as only five skeletons with red ochre were examined, of which three were female and two male. It does seem to occur in certain buildings — there were two in EVII:31 (one male aged 29, one female aged 42), two or three in EVII:10 (one female labelled as having red ochre but none visible, aged 34, one female with no label but ochre visible, aged 37, one female labelled and with ochre visible, aged 39), and two in EVI:14 (one of them a neonate). In addition, in some cases they occur in buildings above one another — in EIV:14 and EV:17; EVIA:5 and EVIB:5; EVIB:12 and EVII:12; EVII:1, EVIII:1 and EIX:1; and with a pause during levels V and VI, EIV:8, EVII:31 and EVIII:31.

Green and blue pigment are said to occur on skeletons of both sexes, and with rich burials (1964, 94). Green pigment was applied as eyebrows to a skull sexed female in EVIB:20 and occurs on a skeleton sexed male in EVIA:29 (1967, 208). I have also

found traces of green pigment on a long dentalium necklace from level VII (171) and one necklace from AVI:1 (208). Blue pigment was applied to the skull and neck. Traces of blue pigment survive on a necklace from EVI:10 burial 8 and on another from EVI:44. There is no record of which building the grey pigment occurred in, but it was in level V. Cinnabar was found on the child in EVIII:31, on a skeleton sexed female in EVIB:20, accompanied by a mirror, necklace and rouge (1964, 95), and on the skull of another in EIX:1 whose body was covered in red ochre, accompanied by necklaces and some copper and lead beads.

Pigment could have been applied to skeletons for a range of reasons. They could relate to the status of the dead person in terms of their occupation (wall-painter?), their role within the 'family' or 'society', their age, sex or gender, or could refer to an outside factor such as cause of death. The presence of 'rich' grave goods need not imply that they themselves were wealthy or had high status (*contra* Wason 1994), as we do not know who the artefacts belonged to before burial, why they were put in a grave, nor what was regarded as wealth. At present there is no indication from the records nor the skeletal data that the use of pigment was restricted to a particular sex or age group, and although it may cluster in certain buildings, these often also contain many non-pigmented burials. It is possible that future work can investigate any links with cause of death, and any particular accompanying grave goods that could suggest a pattern.

Mellaart suggested that red ochre burials were often accompanied by obsidian mirrors, and according to my data this occurred in three, or possibly four cases (the burial in EVIB:20 is not certain — the skull is said to be treated with cinnabar, but a red ochre burial is also recorded), while five burials with mirrors have no record of ochre being used. Of the three definite burials with red ochre and mirrors, one took place in a building regarded by Mellaart as a house rather than a shrine (EV:17) as did at least one other red ochre burial (EIV:12).

#### *Wealth, status and hierarchy*

The question of wealth and status is difficult to approach, as the meanings of these words are value-laden. Indicators of status can be very variable, and before we can recognize them we need to have some idea of which statuses could be involved. Status indicators in the burial record could include the type of burial/disposal; place of burial (within or outside a building); which building is chosen; which part of

the building; whether the burial is individual or mixed; if mixed, with whom; articulated or not; involves pigment; is in the earth, on a mat, in textile, in a basket; is contracted, extended or sitting; is accompanied by grave goods; if so which grave goods, etc.. It is not possible at present to address many of these easily, and some have been discussed already.

Grave goods may or may not indicate status. A major problem is whose status they represent — that of the dead person, the person responsible for burying them, the person who lives in the house they are buried in, the 'family', the community etc.. What is clear at Çatalhöyük is that while nothing was obviously made purely for burial, many grave goods required considerable investment of effort when produced. Maceheads are regarded as high status symbols, symbols of authority, and Mellaart reports that they were found with male skeletons although few can now be assigned to burials. Necklaces of hundreds of tiny stone beads are the most common grave goods and occur apparently with female skeletons, although there are clearly exceptions. They are not regarded as high status, although Mellaart makes it clear that the majority of burials have no grave goods (1962, 52) and therefore a necklace could be regarded as a step up from none. However, the effort required to produce a necklace was probably far greater than that involved in making a macehead. The materials used for necklaces are largely imported and include exotica such as Mediterranean shells, deer teeth, lead, copper, rock crystal, and stones of many colours carved into interesting shapes. Maceheads were made generally of limestone, sometimes with unusual mottling but sometimes plain. If the level of status depends on the level of investment in work and materials, many of the necklaces would outweigh the maceheads very easily. Mirrors were regarded by Mellaart as high status items for women, and he reports that they occur mainly in 'shrines'. They would have required a great deal of work — it is still not known how they were polished without being scratched, and of course they are made from imported obsidian. Bone belt-buckles were high-status objects for males, suggested to be used for fastening leopard-skin clothing on priests and occurring in 'shrines'. It is clear that they did not occur solely in 'shrines', and evidence from the figurines shows that leopard skins were not regarded as male rather than female attire. The buckles are made of easily obtainable and worked material (bone) and are not very elaborate. Their status seems to be based on their rarity alone. The suggested female equivalent of belt-buckles, bone pins, is not considered high status,

although at least one is decorated. Elaborate obsidian and flint blades and projectile points are seen as occurring with males, and regarded as items requiring specialist craftspeople, while polished stone adzes occur with females and pass without comment. The investment of time is far greater for a polished than a chipped stone tool, and the materials for both were imported.

Mellaart describes some buildings as containing rich burials or burials bordering on poverty (1967, 207). Returning for a moment to pigmentation, and remembering that he argued that red ochre burials were not rich but may denote high status, it is interesting to look at his assessments of wealth. Of those burials described as rich, three had red ochre burials AIII:1, EVI:5, EVII:12), while those bordering on poverty included two with red ochre on the skeleton EVI:12, EVI:14) and one burial with lumps of red ochre as a grave good (EVII:1). Red ochre survives in a necklace of deer teeth and copper from level III, and the two red ochre burials in each of EVIII:31 and EVIII:25 had long elaborate necklaces. The burials in EVII:21 were described as simple and include skull treated with red ochre and with cowrie shells placed in the eye sockets (1966, 183). Broadening the view to include other grave goods, building EVIA:25, known variously as a house or a shrine, contained only two burials — an adult and child. Said to border on poverty, this burnt burial included two wooden artefacts, a necklace, bracelets of stone and shell, textile, much thread and a string skirt with the ends weighted with copper tubes. Considering that the majority of burials are recorded as having no grave goods, this one seems rather rich to me, particularly in the use of copper — a very rare material, and the presence of more than one string of beads. Food and textile may be considered to have been lost from most burials, as these were preserved in this case by the severity of a fire which destroyed the building. The burials in EVI:14 are also said to border on poverty (1967, 207), although the baby in therick had a piece of shell and an obsidian chip, and a child had eleven bone rings, while a needle, a fastener and a stone armlet have not been attributed to individual skeletons. Simple burials are mentioned in EVI:10, which contained at least 20 wooden vessels including boxes with lids, and several baskets. The simple burial in EVII:21 has been mentioned above. EVI:34, a 'large well appointed house' also had 'no signs of luxury' in the grave goods (1964, 207), which consisted of a number of baskets, two sets of beads and two projectile points. Rich burials, on the other hand, may contain only necklaces and a

spatula (AIII:1), necklaces, armlets, mirror, celt, projectile points, scraper and pendant (AIV:1 — no individual attribution of grave goods), wooden vessels, fruit, flowers, a pendant, a perforated bone tool, a buckle, textile and a copper-covered wooden peg (EVI:5, the mass burnt burial). This one seems to me to differ little from the impoverished burial in EVI:25, particularly when considering that only two skeletons were found in EVI:25 and 6–8 skeletons were found under a single platform in EVI:5 — no information is available as to whether others were found under other platforms. EVI:29 was a 'less distinguished house' (1964, 94) but had rich grave goods, said to include obsidian tools and weapons although they have not been traced (a single projectile point is known from the building), two necklaces (which include 18 beads probably made of lead ore) and a mother-of-pearl pendant which I have seen, and a collection mentioned above said to be buried with a male. EVII:12 is a big building with wealthy grave goods, said to include obsidian weapons and tools, and a boar's tusk collar (in Ankara Museum). I have also found a spatula and buckle belonging to this building and doubtless deriving from the burials. With data of this nature, assessments of rank and status are bound to fail.

A brief comparison can be made with what is known of the burials at two very important sites in the broad neighbourhood of Çatalhöyük. Aşıklı Höyük) is an aceramic site, somewhat earlier than Çatalhöyük but with many similarities which proffer it as an ancestor of sorts. Intramural burials below the floors of dwellings are known in small numbers — four males, five females, two infants (Esin 1991). They are generally single, although burials of infants with adults are known, as is one double burial of adults. Grave gifts are said to be rare, but beads appear not to be regarded as grave goods, rather they are personal items. The beads themselves show strong similarities with Çatalhöyük, and both deer teeth and copper have now been found on necklaces in graves (Esin 1995). Other grave goods consist of a stone axe and a sharpener, items which — along with beads — are rare among the artefacts assemblage. At Köşk Höyük (Silistreli 1984; 1990), somewhat later than Çatalhöyük, at least 17 burials were excavated, all but two juveniles. Grave goods consist of shallow ceramic bowls, sometimes with spoons, weapons and tools made of bone and obsidian, and beads made of various stones. One burial of a child (said to be female) had a clay figurine, a stone miniature 'idol' and a bone stamp with geometric curvilinear motifs. On the other hand adult skulls



are represented, with plastered features similar to those known from Jericho. One, treated with red ochre after plastering, was found with a pair of black stone eyes (unfortunately not *in situ* but believed by the excavator to come from the eye sockets). Both these sites show rather different burial customs from Çatalhöyük — a dearth of burials, or emphasis on juvenile burials within the settlement, the presence of apparently adult grave goods with children, the presence in graves of items not found at Çatalhöyük — yet there are similarities such as intramural burial, beads in graves, use of red ochre. Çatalhöyük even has one skull with cowrie shells in the eyes, although it was not plastered, and bone items very like the belt buckles at Çatalhöyük are found at Aşıklı Höyük, but are not mentioned as grave goods. Given the variation, we cannot look to other sites for assistance, but can be aware of the range of artefacts and burial rites in use in the area.

### Conclusion

As noted at the outset, there are serious problems with the data. Nevertheless, I hope that in the foregoing I have demonstrated that some information can be teased from them. The sex segregation of the burials has been demonstrated, in those few groups of skeletons with sufficient information, to be imprecise. There may be an element of segregation in the burial of males under the northeast platform but this must be tested further, as few examples are available, and they were certainly accompanied by juveniles. Males were definitely not only buried under the northeast platform, and its symbolic elaboration is dubious. The sex/gender base of grave goods must certainly be scrutinized further before it can be accepted — there has been little opportunity to evaluate published records against the skeletons themselves. It may be that what needs to be questioned is not the sex of the skeleton, but the gender of its owner. If necklaces were worn exclusively by women, then the male skeleton in EVIII:31 may have been owned by a woman, yet if maceheads are really male items, that woman was also somehow a man — a gender-crosser. Gender-crossers can only exist where gender exists, and perhaps the entire edifice has been built on modern assumptions — perhaps, after all, the skeleton in EVIII:31 represents a person, who wore necklaces and had a macehead, and had notions of men and women very different from our own. The female skeleton in EVIII:1 with the dagger, the male skeleton in EVIA:29 with the ointment sticks, the male skulls with red ochre, males buried under female platforms etc. — all are candidates for gender-

crossing, but perhaps rather than suggest they were bending their gender, we should consider whether we have not been bending the evidence to fit our own preconceptions.

In attempting to separate grave goods according to sex we are bound to run into difficulties due to the mixing and fragmentation of burials. We know from the skeletal record that mixed sex skeletons were buried together. In such circumstances, not only need we question whether grave goods belonged to individuals, but also whether the sex of the individuals was relevant at all. Burial practices at Çatalhöyük seem on one level to be quite fixed and conservative, yet in others they show flexibility — the range of position, wrapping, pigment, grave goods etc., and the great variation in numbers of burials per building. Some of it may reflect expediency, some design. Most of these variations have been viewed as reflections of the status of the dead, but I remain unconvinced by the data at present. Difference need not mean structural inequality (Wason 1994). Ranking by age, achieved status, social roles based on skill and knowledge etc. do not necessarily contradict an egalitarian ethos.

This examination of the evidence has by no means exhausted all avenues, but it is clear to me that although more statistics could be examined, and labels could be checked again, the information we will gain is limited. Sufficient has been found to show that burial practices at Çatalhöyük were not as simple as was thought. In order to progress, we now need new data, which must be collected with the questions I have raised in mind.

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## APPENDIX 2

### BRIEF DESCRIPTION OF BUILDINGS AND SPACES FROM THE CURRENT EXCAVATIONS

#### **1: Buildings**

Building 1 is just below the summit of the northern eminence and has been excavated completely. Originally the occupation of this building was interpreted as having eight phases based on episodes of rebuilding or alteration: 1 – construction; 2 – occupation I; 3 – occupation II; 4 – occupation III ended by fire; 5 – demolition and abandonment; 6 – occupation IV; 7 – demolition and abandonment; 8 – post-abandonment activity. This phasing is currently being re-assessed and adjusted during post-excavation work. Alongside this adjustment is a re-numbering of spaces (although the phases all remain within the life of a single building and presumably within the same ‘level’. The complexity of changing space numbers by phase as well as level has not yet been discussed team-wide, but we analysts just have to take what we are given at times!). However, as that work is not yet finalised, I shall continue to use the old phasing and labelling in this thesis. This will not affect stratigraphic interpretations, but means that the phase and space terminology I use for Building 1 will not match that used in the final publication due out in 2002.

The building belongs roughly to Mellaart’s levels 5 and 6 according to an analysis of the pottery, knapped stone and figurines. It consists of two original rooms – the main space 71, and the western narrow room space 70 (now thought to have been divided into two throughout its life, hence new space numbers will be allocated). Some time around the middle of its occupation the southern half of the building was burnt and abandoned, but the remainder continued to be lived in. The restructuring which took place after the fire involved the building of a retaining wall through the centre of space 71 to hold back the burnt rubble, the enclosure of the east-central platform to become a small room (space 110) and the enclosure of the corner immediately north of space 110 to become the tiny space 111 (see plans 8-13).

Many burials were found in Building 1, far in excess of what could reasonably be regarded as the resident population, so that some of those buried here must have lived elsewhere.

Building 2 belongs to level IX and consists of two rooms, the main one large and elaborate, and furnished with two platforms. No burials were found in this room (space 117), which was unexpected, particularly as the room appeared to have been fairly elaborate – it had two niches on the north wall, and a large fallen bucranium at the west end, as well as traces of wall paintings. The minor room, space 116, has not been



excavated completely, and this may never happen. It was probably used largely for storage and contained a collapsed structure which may have been a large bin with work-surface. It is unlikely that any burials would be found under this room, although we have had one burial from the subsidiary room in Building 6.

The lack of burials in this rather splendid building is pertinent to my comments concerning Building 1 (chapters six and eight), that the people buried in it cannot all have lived in it, and that the right to burial in a particular structure is likely to relate to lineage and will result in some buildings having no burials in them at all. It is important negative evidence.

Building 3 is on the northern eminence close to Building 1 and consists of a large room (space 86) with the western side separated at a late stage into a small room (space 158). Excavation is ongoing. Space 86 has five platforms, and originally had six before 158 was walled off. Some or all of the three small spaces along the southern edge (87, 88 and 89) may belong to this building, but none has a crawl-hole linking it to any other, and they may therefore have been attached to other buildings to the south. Part of a collapsed roof was found in space 86, and several burials have also been excavated. More skeletons are known to lie beneath the north-west platform.

Building 4 belongs to level VIII and is in the South area. Approximately half the building has been excavated above floor level, as the southern half of the structure falls within the 20 x 20m trench. It lies directly beneath Space 113, and has two spaces – 151, the main room, and 150, the south-east corner of the building, walled off from space 151. This arrangement of space is not known from other structures excavated by the present team. Two large deposits of obsidian pieces were made in the fill of 150, and an oven was built into the northern wall of 150, accessible from 151. No clear platforms have survived, but a burial is known to exist beneath the south-western floor.

Building 5 is on the northern eminence and lies directly beneath Building 1. The entire building has been excavated down to the upper floor levels and the building is currently on display. No burials are known, but they are suspected to lie below the platforms. Four spaces make up this structure: the main, central one is 154; to the east is a long narrow room 155 entered by a gap at the north, and with a small ‘hatch’ in the wall between the two spaces; and to the west are two small inter-connecting rooms, 156 to the north, and 157 which contains several built bins and can be entered directly from 154.

Building 6 is a level VIII structure in the South area. It consists of below-floor excavation of Mellaart's Shrine VIII:10. It has two spaces: 163, the main room; and 173, an anteroom to the west. The floors were truncated by Mellaart, making it difficult to understand the sequence of the new burials found. Only three skeletons are recorded by Angel from the original excavations.

Building 7 is a level VIII structure in the South area. It consists of remnants of Mellaart's Shrine VIII:8, and has one space, 176. No new burials have been found, and none occur in Angel's or Ferembach's records.

Building 8 is a level VII structure in the South area and consists of remnants/walls of Mellaart's Shrine VII:1. It has one space, 165. No new burials were found, and only one skeleton is recorded by Angel and Ferembach from Mellaart's excavations.

Building 9 is a level X structure in the South area underlying Building 2. It consists of two spaces, 166 and 167, but excavation has been limited to what was necessary for the construction of a shelter for the deep-sounding in 1999, and this building is therefore barely known archaeologically.

Building 10 is in the Summit area and belongs to levels III or IV. Excavation is ongoing, but has been suspended for the past three years. Platforms are known and burials can be seen beneath one of them.

Building 16 is a level IX structure in the South area consisting of the remnants of Mellaart's Shrine IX:8. It seems to have two spaces, the northern of which is known as space 164. No burials are recorded by Angel or Ferembach and none were found during current work.

Building 17 is a level IX structure in the South area, consisting of two spaces: 170, the main room; and 182, an anteroom to the west. This building lies below Building 6, and has been excavated to floor level. Several burials have been found, and more are known to exist beneath platforms and floors. A more detailed description is given in Appendix 6, taken from the Archive report as an example of the complex changes found within buildings at the site.

Building 18 is in the South area and consists of the remnants of Mellaart's Shrine X:8, the remainder of which was removed when he dug his deep sounding. Only the southern part of the main room (space 171) and northern edge of the northern subsidiary room (space 172) remained. A burial was found during recent work; neither Angel nor Ferembach records skeletons from the earlier excavations here.

Building 20 is in the South area and comprises remnants of Mellaart's Shrine VII:8, recorded as Space 175. No burials were reported by Angel or Ferembach, and no new burials have been found.

Building 21 is in the South area and consists of remnants of Mellaart's Shrine VIII:1, labelled space 174. No burials were reported by Angel or Ferembach, and no new burials have been found.

Building 22 is in South area and comprises remnants of Mellaart's Shrine IX:1, now space 177. One burial was reported by Angel and Ferembach, but no new burials have been found.

Building 23 is in the South area and consists of remnants of Mellaart's Shrine X:1, now spaces 178 and 179. No burials were reported by Angel or Ferembach, but burials were found in 1999.

## **2: Other spaces**

The following spaces do not belong within numbered buildings, either because they are external areas or because they are parts of spaces or buildings, the extent of which is unknown. They are grouped together according to their geographical proximity.

Space 69 is an external area on the North mound, outside the western wall of Building 1. Space 73 is another external area on North, outside the eastern wall of Building 1. Both contained a number of interesting artefacts as well as building debris and some domestic refuse.

Space 105 is an external area in the South area in level VII, the new name for Mellaart's Court VII:15. Space 106 is remnants of Mellaart's VII:16. Space 107 is remnants of Mellaart's VII:2, and Space 108 is remnants of Mellaart's VII:12. These four spaces run in a line through the middle of the trench, and Spaces 107 and 108 are linked by a doorway or gap in the dividing wall, while Spaces 107 and 106 are linked by a crawl-hole.

Space 109 is in the South area and comprises the south-east corner of Mellaart's VII:19. A burial has been found here. The adjacent Space 112 is the southern half of Mellaart's Shrine VII:9, surviving beneath the latest floor. A number of burials have been found in this early phase. Space 113 is below-floor remnants of the southern half of Mellaart's VII:7, overlying Building 4. These three spaces run along the northern edge of the 20 x 20m trench.

Space 114 is in the South area and consists of remnants of Mellaart's Shrine VII:14, and represents mainly cleaning rather than excavation. Ferembach records a single burial from this building, and Mellaart also reported on it.

Space 115 is in the South area and is a large external area containing midden-type deposits, running almost the whole length of the trench underlying Spaces 105, 106, 107 and 108. The deposits are multiple thin ashy layers and lenses interleaved with dumps of food remains, coprolite and building debris. It is the source of many artefacts in addition to faunal and botanical remains.

Space 152 is on the North mound and is an external area to the north of Building 1, while Space 153 is an external area to the south of Building 1. 153 contained heavily burnt deposits, including a rich clay artefact assemblage of beads and figurines. The burning relates to the burning of the southern part of Building 1.

Space 161 underlies Space 109, and consists just of the south-east corner of a building. Space 162 underlies Space 112 and consists of just the southern half of a building. They are both level VIII structures in the South area.

Space 168 is the eastern remnants of Mellaart's VII:6, and the adjacent Space 169 is the eastern remnants of Mellaart's VII:5. They lie along the western edge of the 20 x 20m trench in the South area. A burial has been found in Space 169.

Space 181 is the deep sounding beneath Building 18 in the South area, below level X deposits. It extends down for four metres, and is an external area. It is the source of numerous artefacts as well as rich faunal and botanical remains. Because of the restricted size of the deep sounding, we do not know how closely it was surrounded by buildings and how near to the edge of the settlement it lay. Burials were found.

## APPENDIX 3

### DESCENT AND FAMILY RELATIONSHIPS

The difficulties of trying to plot family relationships are compounded by the lack of clear phasing and the presence of disturbed and partial burials in Building 1. Nevertheless, a few pointers can be made, and in the following pages I explore some possibilities. They remain only possibilities, and have not been checked against DNA evidence, which has so far been unable to give us information, although samples have been taken from most skeletons.

First I shall deal with those skeletons with evidence of genetic relationship (see chapter 6), starting with those from the east-central platform. Skeleton 2527 was buried in the foundations in the north-central floor during the construction of Building 1, and was mature, aged perhaps between 30 and 40. Skeleton 2115 was buried in the east-central platform during the first occupation phase, perhaps within the first ten years of the house's life, and was elderly, probably aged over 60. It is unlikely therefore that this could be a daughter of 2527; rather, it seems more likely that if the relationship was direct, 2527 was the daughter of 2115, although they could also have been sisters or cousins. The next to be buried in this platform was 1995, a female aged around 18-24 years, during the third phase of occupation when the building was perhaps 30 years old or more. The grave was placed directly over 2115 but care had been taken not to disturb the underlying skeleton. Does this indicate a close family relationship? It is certainly possible, although one must also take into account that it was also the next person who happened to die and whose place of burial was the east-central platform. Nevertheless, 2115 occupied one half of a large grave-pit she shared with juvenile 2119, yet 1995 was placed only over 2115. If she was buried some 20 or so years after 2115, it is just feasible that she was a daughter. It is also feasible that 1995 was a daughter of 2527. Angel certainly believed that the older females continued reproducing into their 40's (Angel 1971) although the practice of judging parity rates (number of births per woman) from the pelvis is now regarded as insecure. We must also remember that puberty is likely to have taken place substantially later than in modern Europe, probably in the late teens as in some parts of Africa today. Age of puberty has dropped dramatically in the past century and especially the last few decades in Europe, owing to our rich diet. Thus it is unlikely that first births occurred regularly to females under the age of 18.

It is not clear during which phase 1467 was buried, as the remains were disturbed for the burial of 1466 which is thought to have taken place towards the end of the fifth occupation phase. 1467 could therefore have been buried during the later third or earlier fifth occupation phases. The skeleton had been pushed to both sides of 1466, which could be accidental or again could represent relationship of some sort requiring mingling in death. 1467 was also probably female, similar in age to 1995. Without

knowing when the burial was made it is impossible to even guess how many years had elapsed since the burial of 1995, and therefore whether a sister or daughter relationship would be the most likely candidate for a close link. We are on safer ground with 1378, the final skeleton to be buried in the east-central platform and possibly the final burial in the building. The grave dates from the end of the fifth and last occupation period, and the remains are those of an elderly male aged over 50. If we are correct in assessing the length of life of the building at 45-50 years then this individual would have been born a few years before it was constructed, and could conceivably have been the son of 2527, or of 2115. If this would suggest that, since 2527 was not buried in the area of the east-central platform, even though we can assume the plan of the building was known at the time she was buried, she was perhaps not the daughter of 2115 but a sister, cousin or aunt. It would also suggest that, since Mellaart found strong evidence that the east-central platform is the most important, 2115 was the head of the eldest or main line of the family so that she and her descendants were buried in the east-central platform.

Perhaps 2527 had no surviving offspring and was therefore buried in an area not designated for future burials, but it seems more likely that she had a child who had established a home elsewhere, possibly due to over-population or splitting of a lineage for other reasons. This is supported by the late arrival, as it were, of a group of burials in the north-central floor area, which had not been marked out for burial by the construction of a platform. No burials were made in the area during the first occupation phase, and F31 is notable for containing the secondary burials of a number of adults and an adolescent who had palpably been buried elsewhere and been exhumed only when all peripheral elements, including most limbs, had fallen away. The bones appear to have been exposed for some time before re-burial, possibly for the removal of remaining flesh, although the accurate positioning of some of the vertebral columns indicates that some ligaments were still intact. Two or three cases of enamel defects among the skeletons from the north-central floor link these individuals again to 2527, above whose grave they were buried. All this suggests that a child of 2527, possibly herself a member of a junior or young branch of the family or lineage, had set up a new family elsewhere. The very high infant mortality rate, and deaths of young adults, shown by the burials in the north-central floor suggest that this line had failed (possibly due to genetically induced anaemia shown in at least two of these skeletons, see Appendix 4), and that in recognition that the group was not viable they therefore returned to their old family house for burial during the second occupation phase, and upon the death of the last infant (1498) they not only buried it in the north-central floor during the third occupation phase but retrieved a group of adult skeletons which had previously been buried elsewhere. This also suggests the likelihood that there will be no burials in another building, although there is no possibility of identifying the building these burials came from. This scenario again suggests that descent would be matrilineal, as the north-central floor group appears to be related to female 2527.



What then of the other burials in the foundations? How did the elderly male 2529 end up buried by the west wall rather than beneath a platform? If female descent were the pattern, he would have the right to burial in his mother's home but we have to assume that his mother pre-deceased him since he was probably around 60 when he died. His mother's house would already have been abandoned, since he is buried (a primary, articulated burial) in the foundations of a new house. Why then was he not buried in the old one? Clearly the occupants of Building 1 must have lived somewhere during the construction of their new home: even if the buildings were not actually lived in as homes as ours are today but were used more for storage and for shelter in adverse conditions, while living went on outside, perhaps on the roof, a building would still have been needed, so presumably they moved to a temporary home. In that case, there may have been no access to the old building for burial. We do not know whether the underlying structure, Building 5, belonged to the same people, but given that frequently the stubs of walls are re-used as foundations for the next building, and given also that the position of walls appears to be remembered for a considerable length of time even after long abandonment, with new buildings erected on the same alignment (see Chapter 8), it seems likely that building plots were allocated to or in the possession of certain groups (be they families, lineages, clans or cult grouping etc.) and were re-used by those groups. Thus if Building 5 and Building 1 were occupied by the same people, clearly in filling in the lower part of Building 5 as foundations for Building 1 they were removing the possibility of burying those who died during this period in their normal places. Perhaps they could have cut through the infilling to reach an old platform, but we have no evidence of this occurring in any building we have examined. There may well have been closure rituals which precluded adding new burials. Whatever the case, if 2529 had right to burial in his mother's lineage's house, any offspring he had would not be entitled to the same – they would have rights of burial in their own mother's house. Thus he would have been a solitary figure, a survival from an older generation. If the platforms were designed to hold the remains of females and their descendants, no platform would be appropriate for him, and hence he was buried in a separate area. As for the neonates buried at the crawl-hole between the two rooms, along the west wall, there is nothing so far to tell us to whom they were related. Molleson and Andrews (1997) state that the burial of neonates at thresholds is known ethnographically, (which could relate to their transitory presence in this world), although ours are not at the entrance to the building but between two rooms and may therefore have a different relevance. So far the significance of these burials is not apparent, although further discoveries might elucidate the issue.

Overall, the genetic and placement evidence from Building 1 gives some – though slight – grounds for suggesting that descent was reckoned through the female line, and that some building contain the burials of more than one branch of an extended family or lineage. Further excavation, and DNA studies, should be able to confirm or deny this pattern, but so far matriliney seems to be the best fit according to the limited evidence.

## APPENDIX 4:

### THALASSAEMIA AND FAVISM

#### **1: Thalassaemia**

Thalassaemia is an inherited defect of haemoglobin, resulting from impaired globin synthesis. It has varying effects on life expectancy depending on the form suffered, and for those affected, certain periods are more dangerous than others. Thalassaemia genes can be carried without presenting any symptoms in the carrier. Adult levels of globins are reached by the age of six months, so defects will kick in at this time and infant mortality would be expected to rise in the first months of life.

Thalassaemia results in red blood cells being formed with an inadequate haemoglobin content, which makes it difficult for the malaria parasite to enter the cell, thus conferring protection from malaria on the sufferer/carrier. In order to compensate for the low haemoglobin content, the bone marrow expands in an effort to produce extra haemoglobin, resulting in thick porous bone centres with thin outer casings. This 'porotic hyperostosis' is seen particularly in the skulls, while long bones may be deformed and sometimes have a peculiar inner shell, and the facial bones are frequently deformed. It is this that is recognised in archaeological samples, with the skull being the part most commonly showing signs of disease. This is partly due to the good survival rate of cranial bone, while facial bone survives poorly. (See Angel 1964 for a discussion of the varied terminology used and expressions of the defect on archaeological bone.)

#### **1.1. The thalassaemia syndromes**

There are several forms of thalassaemia depending on which globin chain synthesis is depressed (alpha or beta) and how many alpha genes are affected (see de Swiet 1984: 50-56). There are three haemoglobins, all of which require alpha chains but only one of which – HbA ( $\alpha_2\beta_2$ ) – uses beta chains. HbA represents roughly 97% of total circulating haemoglobin in an adult, while the other 3% is made with non-beta chains (HbA<sub>2</sub>= $\alpha_2\delta_2$  and HbF= $\alpha_2\gamma_2$ ). Thalassaemia syndromes are divided into two main groups, alpha and beta thalassaemias.

#### **Alpha thalassaemia**

Normal individuals have four functional alpha globin genes. Alpha thalassaemia is normally the result of gene deletion, and the two main forms are the result of inheriting two ( $\alpha_1$ ) or three ( $\alpha_2$ ) normal alpha genes. The offspring of two adults with alpha-1 thalassaemia will have alpha thalassaemia major, a condition with no functioning alpha genes and thus incompatible with life: they will usually be born prematurely and will die

within a few hours if born alive. Pregnancy with such a foetus can also be fatal for the mother and the birth itself carries severe risks due to foetal and placental abnormalities.

### Beta thalassaemia

Thalassaemia major is homozygous, resulting from the inheritance of a defective beta globin gene from each parent. It leads to severe bone deformities in those that survive childhood, due to massive expansion of the marrow tissue. Before blood transfusions were available most individuals with this condition died in the first few years of life from anaemia, congestive cardiac failure and intercurrent infection (de Swiet 1984: 53). In those that survive, puberty is delayed or incomplete, and successful pregnancy in a transfusion-dependent girl is still very rare. Even with blood transfusions, survival is only prolonged into the teens or early twenties. Iron overload from the transfused cells leads to hepatic, endocrine and myocardial damage, with cardiac failure as the common cause of death.

Thalassaemia minor is heterozygous, with one defective beta globin gene inherited. People with this condition can expect a normal life span, but pregnancy carries risks due to iron depletion and inadequate haemoglobin for delivery at term. The low level of beta chains will lead to lower than normal HbA levels with increased HbA<sub>2</sub> ( $\alpha_2\delta_2$ ) with or without raised HbF ( $\alpha_2\gamma_2$ ) as a result of excess use of gamma and delta chains in combination with alpha chains. The child of parents who are both carriers of beta thalassaemia (i.e. heterozygotes) has a 1 in 4 chance of inheriting thalassaemia major.

### **1.2. Implications for Çatalhöyük**

Thalassaemia was originally regarded as a Mediterranean phenomenon, with Cyprus the most severely affected (one in seven of the population as carriers), as well as Turkey and the Aegean, but it also occurs across the Middle East and in South-East Asia. Angel's work shows that thalassaemia probably developed during the Upper Palaeolithic (Angel 1971: 85, 88 plus references) and thus it is likely that this is the correct explanation for the porotic hyperostosis seen at Çatalhöyük. Both sexes can suffer from thalassaemia, but boys seem more likely to die very young. This could be relevant to the very high ratio of male to female infant mortality claimed by Angel (see Appendix 1/Hamilton 1996b: 255, table 12:10). While sexing children is generally regarded as unreliable, one has to consider that if Angel was correct, there must be a reason for this. Thalassaemia is one possibility.

Thalassaemia could also explain the different reproductive success of the three branches of a family which we seem to find buried in Building 1 (see Appendix 2). Since thalassaemia is not apparent in carriers, it is quite feasible that two of the three groups consisted of breeding adult pairs/groups carrying alpha-1 or alpha-2 thalassaemia genes or thalassaemia minor, resulting in high levels of infant mortality among their offspring. Although anaemia and porotic hyperostosis has not been reported widely among the Building 1 skeletons by our human remains team, two skeletons in F30 did display it (a

juvenile/adolescent ?female, and a 3-6 month baby). In the South area two cases were noted in Space 112 in level VII (an infant 15 months and a juvenile seven years); in level VIII there were two in Building 6 (a neonate and a baby 2-3 months), with a third very poorly preserved marked as having 'possible bone pathology' (an infant around 18 months) while the young adult male buried in external Space 115 had extremely porotic and malformed bones; space 170 in level IX has two possible cases out of four (an infant 18 months with 'pathology' and an adult female skull with thickened bone); and finally space 171 has one case (neonate) and space 178 another case (baby 4-5 months) both in level X. It may be of interest to note that both 4861 (space 178) and 5177 (space 170) had a band of red pigment on their skulls, and both were infants (4-5 months and 18 months) with signs of pathology and anaemia. The use of pigments is discussed in chapter six. It is not possible with our small data group to assess whether frequency increased or decreased over time – whether it became more common due to inbreeding (as in Cyprus), or less common as it was recognised.

The protection given by thalassaemia against malaria ought to lead to an increase in survival into adulthood of people with alpha-1 and alpha-2 thalassaemia, while women with thalassaemia minor may not have survived pregnancy, and girls with thalassaemia major would probably have failed to reach puberty. Most affected males and females would have died in infancy. This could explain the low number of sub-adolescent juveniles compared to the high percentage of babies and infants. An individual who could survive the first seven years had a good chance of reaching mature adulthood.

## **2: Favism**

Favism is technically glucose-6-phosphate dehydrogenase deficiency (G6PD, also known as primaquine sensitivity). This is an enzyme deficiency which causes acute haemolytic anaemia, and can be triggered either by a range of drugs which includes the antimalarial primaquine, or by ingesting broad beans (*Vicia faba*, or fava, hence favism) which are eaten in Mediterranean countries. Favism is a genetic defect carried on the X-chromosome and is therefore sex-linked, occurring only in males. Rare in white populations, it occurs in around 5-10% of Africans, and is most common in the Mediterranean, with anything from 2-36% of Sephardic Jews and 48% of Sardinian males reported by Damon to be affected (Damon 1964: 378), while Timbrell puts the figure as 53% of male Sephardic Jews from Kurdistan (Timbrell 1995: 71). Mediterraneans have been shown to have more severe reactions than Africans, although both groups are healthy provided their red cells are not subjected to chemical stress. Whether acute anaemia of this type would show up in the skeletal remains is not clear, since the attacks can be fatal.

The geographic distribution of G6PD deficiency is similar to that of malaria, prompting speculation that, like thalassaemia, it might have a protective role against the malaria parasite, and evidence to support this has now been found (Emory and Rimion 1990:

1875). It is reasonable to suggest, therefore, that it might also have been present at Çatalhöyük. I have long known through personal contacts that in Cyprus broad beans are regarded as dangerous – indeed lethal – to thalassaemic boys. Whether this is true, or whether the two conditions have become mixed up in people's minds, is not clear. However, what is certain is that Cyprus, with its extremely high incidence of thalassaemia and malaria and its proximity to Turkey, also has favism in its male population. Given the close links between Cyprus and Anatolia throughout prehistory, and indeed most of the historical period, it may be that favism played a part in the male mortality rate at Çatalhöyük. However, until this is investigated by palaeopathologists, and until we have some idea of the earliest occurrence of favism, it must remain speculation. Favism was certainly known by the ancients (Emory and Rimion 1990: 1875), but we do not know when it originated.

## APPENDIX 5:

### FIGURINE TYPOLOGY

This typology was developed as an ad hoc practical tool for recording figurines which had been found by Mellaart and were stored in various museums. It utilises both form and fragmentation, as well as subjective description, and has been added to as new items have been recovered during the current excavations. Animal figurines are not shown in the list below but are normally included in the typology, where they account for the missing numbers. I make no claims for this typology being objective or complete.

- 1: humanoid, whole (i.e. head on body), with divided 'legs'.
- 2: humanoid, whole (i.e. head on body), with conical base.
- 3: humanoid head or head and neck only.
- 4: humanoid without head, with divided 'legs'.
- 5: humanoid without head, with conical base.
- 6: 'fat female' whole (i.e. head on body), seated.
- 7: 'fat female' without head, seated.
- 8: head (not in humanoid style).
- 9: male.
- 10: human female plus animal.
- 11: human male plus animal.
- 12: human other with head, standing,.
- 15: unclear if human or animal.
- 16: human other no head, standing.
- 17: human limb only.
- 20: uncertain part.
- 21: human other, seated.
- 25: multiple humans.
- 26: 'fat female' no head, standing.
- 27: 'fat female' with head, standing.
- 28: female human? lower part only, seated.
- 29: concretion.
- 30: humanoid limb or lower part only.
- 31: human body only, no head or legs.
- 32: humanoid body only, no head or legs.
- 33: human base only.
- 34: phallic.
- 35: modified pebble.
- 36: human upper body.
- 37: female other, no head, seated.



## APPENDIX 6

### **BUILDING 17 – DESCRIPTION TAKEN FROM THE 1999 ARCHIVE REPORT, COMPILED FROM EXCAVATION RECORDS BY SHAHINA FARID**

The earliest exposed but not excavated phase in Space 170 revealed a series of features along the north and south walls with a large expanse of floor [5365] in the central area. The floor comprised successive applications of floor plaster and packing visible in the sides of excavated intrusion cuts. Floors [5365] represented the 'clean' area of the room and clear demarcation from other activity areas and features was created by edges of platforms and raised ridges. To the west was a shallow rise in floor (584) which may have marked the area of an earlier circular feature. Other signs of features cutting this surface, detected but left uninvestigated through lack of time, included 587 to the south and 582 to the northeast, possible grave cuts. In the southeast corner forming an arc was a low ridge which formed a boundary in the south east corner which contained circular hearth 545 and associated ash and rakeout deposits [5046] forming the 'dirty' area. To the west the ridge joined the raised edge of platform 558 which extended to the western corner of the room, where it merged with a series of three plaster basin type features located in the extreme southwest corner. The platform was roughly rectangular and stood about 20cm above the floor. The floor plaster was contiguous with that applied over the platform as [5375].

Aligned against the western wall, the plaster features consisted of two basins, 586 in the southwest corner and 585 to the north, and a central feature 574. The basins were shallow rimmed whilst 574 appeared to represent a work bench constructed as a small shallow platform with a flat surface. However an animal hole revealed a core of carbonised wood suggesting that the feature may have been a post pad.

To the north, the northeast corner was occupied by the truncated remains of oven 579 with remnants indicative of a domed superstructure. The remains of associated fire installation 580 to the south may have been a hearth or horseshoe shaped fire structure. The associated ashy deposits were contained to the 'dirty' northeast corner by shallow ridge 581, while abutting the centre of the north wall was a double plaster basin 577/578. The floor in the northwest corner was associated with the access hole to Space 182 and as such was worn and irregular. The 'dirty' floors to the east appeared to merge in with the 'worn' area. A delineation may have existed between the access passage and the 'clean' floors in the main body of the room to the south, in the form of a plaster partition as suggested by a wedge of plaster lipping out from the wall face immediately to the south side of the access hole. This protruded as far as the post retrieval hole and lay on the same alignment as demarcation ridge 581 which contained the oven activities to the northeast corner.

A packing, levelling or foundation layer, [5364], was laid over floors [5365] which defined the next phase of the room over which lay the discontinuous floor [5362].

Shallow ridge [5363], formed a partition between the worn area associated with the access hole in the northwest corner and the main body of the room, and it was also aligned with ridge 581 to the east which continued through to this next phase. A thick white make up/packing layer of a plastery composition, [5356], was deposited across the main body of the room over, which a small repair, [5361], was made to the partition ridge before floors [5344/5339] were laid down.

Cutting the floors against the east wall were two infant burials, 564 to the north and 576 to the south, both of which contained single crouched interments in baskets.

The 'dirty' area in the southeast corner continued in use through to this phase, the ridge having been raised by the same material as the make-up. Within the area were ashy rakeout deposits the earliest of which, [5043], produced the head and torso of a physically ambiguous figurine and the head of another. These multiple deposits were associated with a circular rimmed hearth, 541, which was a rebuild of the earlier 545. The platform to the west also continued through to this phase. It was cut by an adult burial 563, which was sealed by plaster 'floor' [5161]. The platform was reduced in length as a further plaster basin, 569, and a small plastered work bench, 575, were constructed to the east of the three plaster features from the earlier phase. Floor [5182] was traced around these features in the southwest corner across the western half of the room and linked to the northwest corner. Two ovens were constructed over 579 and 580 in the northeast corner, an earlier one represented by 571 and the later 555. Both appeared to have been free standing as neither abutted the walls and both had signs of domed superstructures. Evidence of several phases of firings, remodelling and repair were recorded, and, associated with a phase of oven 555, was shallow pit or depression [5156] filled with complete and fragmented clay balls, located at the 'head' of the oven structure.

A major change in the spatial use of the room took place in the final phase, it consisted of successive plaster floors [5020] in the main body of the room forming a 'clean' area. The basins and 'work benches' in the southwest corner were infilled and deposit [5171] sealed them creating a raised platform along the length of the west wall. Oven 546 was constructed over this new platform in the southwest corner with a domed superstructure and a shelf-like feature on its dome (similar to oven 268 in Building 2). The associated floors on the platform were represented by [5072] and [5073].

The ovens in the northeast corner were sealed by the construction of plastered platform 553, apparently constructed for the sole purpose of raising the area in this corner as there was no evidence of the platform being used. Rather a series of plaster bins, 547, were constructed over the top incorporating several phases and rebuilds.

The only features that continued in use to this final phase were platform 558, against the centre of the south wall, and the 'dirty' hearth area in the southeast corner with a later hearth construction 538.

The wall plaster, where exposed, consisted of multiple applications resulting in a thickness in excess of 1cm in places. The surfaces were irregular producing ridged effects to the extent that in the northeast and southwest areas it appeared as if a deliberate 'dado rail' effect had been fashioned but which was not continuous all around the room (a study of these irregularities in wall plaster was made and appeared to be the result of a fault in the initial plaster application, either as a small ripple or a piece of grit, which then became consistently exaggerated through successive plaster applications to finally appear as a deliberate 'feature'). Areas of red paint were noted on the southeast facing wall and in the northwest corner two small ledge or shelf features, fashioned from a dense plaster matrix, protruded from the corner beside the access hole 583 which connected through to Space 182.

Access hole 583 was a rectangular opening circa 0.5m in height with a step in the threshold forming a barrier between the deposits of one room from the other.

The floors in Space 182 appeared to consist of accumulated occupation deposits, trampled through wear, to form discontinuous floor horizons [5245], [5246], [5243] and [5240] over which numerous fragments of debris were recovered. These consisted of obsidian and flint artefacts, bone, pottery fragments, traces of basketry and general domestic waste debris. Three horizons of similar deposits were identified, which probably relate to the three phases excavated in Space 170. A small portion of an unidentified feature, 573, was found in the southeast corner but which extended into the arbitrary section to the south of this space. The wall faces were plastered in a 'mud' rendering and there were areas of thickened walls which suggested that at an earlier phase, rebuilds were added to the north and east walls to act as supports for possibly weakened walls.

At the end of the life of the building the access hole was blocked with fragmented bricks and solid material prior to dismantlement of the roof, resulting in an initial infill of fragmented brick and mortar. The archaeological record then shows that the upright roof posts from Space 170 were removed before the deposition of the finer graded homogenous building infill. The infill of Space 182, however, differed in that differential tip lines falling from west to east were traced, consisting of similar finely graded homogenous material.

Of interest was post retrieval pit [4604], in the northwest corner of hole resulting from a greater force required to drag or dig the post out. Within the backfill of [4604] was a redeposited human skull, [5022]. The question of whether this could be the head of the last individual buried in the underlying building ritually carried through to the next generation was much debated.

Clearly the two rooms of Building 17 served different functions, Space 182 showing great similarities to the 'dirty' areas in Space 170. A clearer interpretation of the different activities performed in the two areas will be available once the results of the micro analysis are completed.

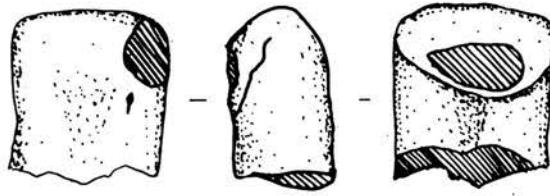


Figure 1: 5323.H1, a faceless humanoid figurine. Level pre-XIIC. Clay. 1:1.

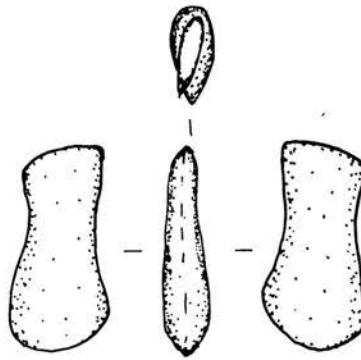


Figure 2: 4709.H4, a humanoid figurine. Level pre-XIIB. Clay. 1:1.

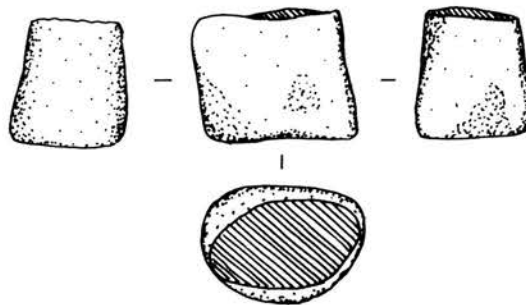


Figure 3: 4868.H1, possible base of a human figure. Level pre-XIIA. Stone. 1:1.



Figure 4: 4656.H1, a miniature T-shaped humanoid figurine. Building 17, Space 170. Level IX. Clay. 1:1.

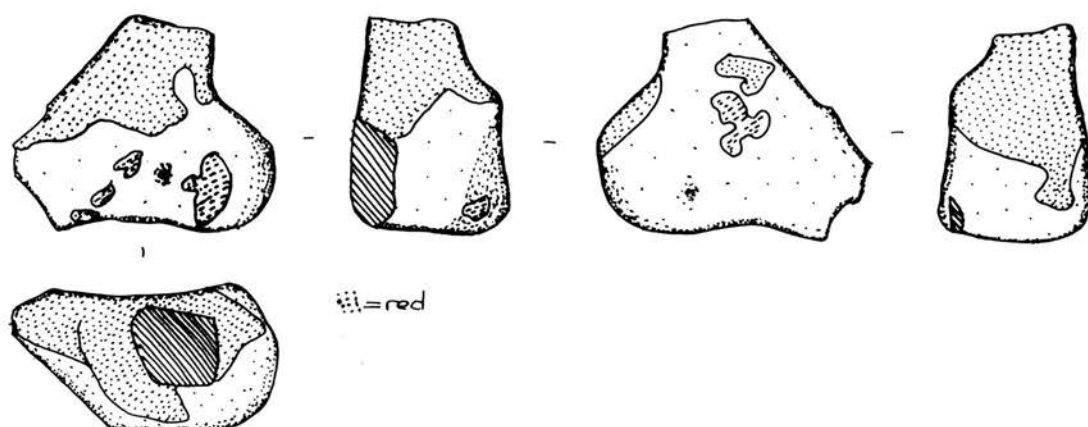


Figure 5: 1664.X2, buttock of composite human figurine, with red pigment. Building 2, Space 116. Level IX. Clay. 1:1.

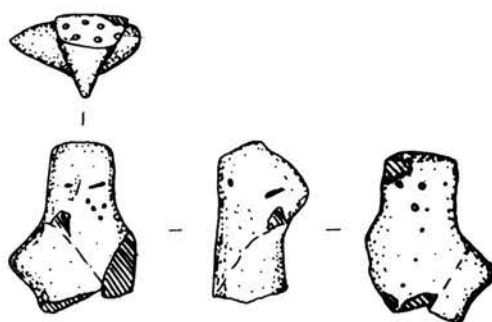


Figure 6: 1664.X4, stylised human figure with stub arms and puncture in head. Building 2, Space 116. Level IX. Clay. 1:1.

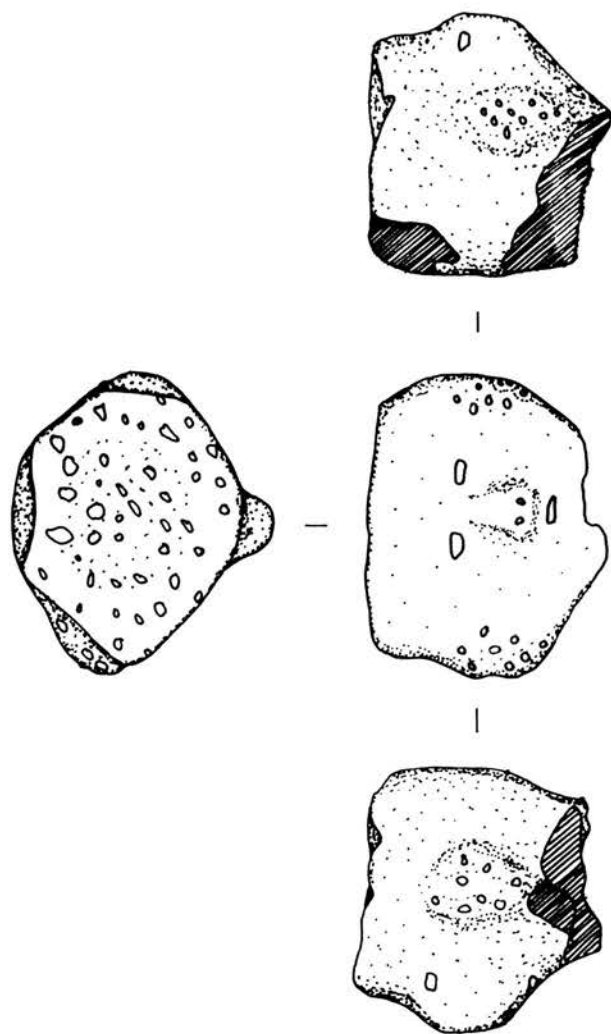


Figure 7: 5021.D1, head of human figurine with punctured and incised features.  
 Building 17, Space 170. Level IX. Clay. 1:1.



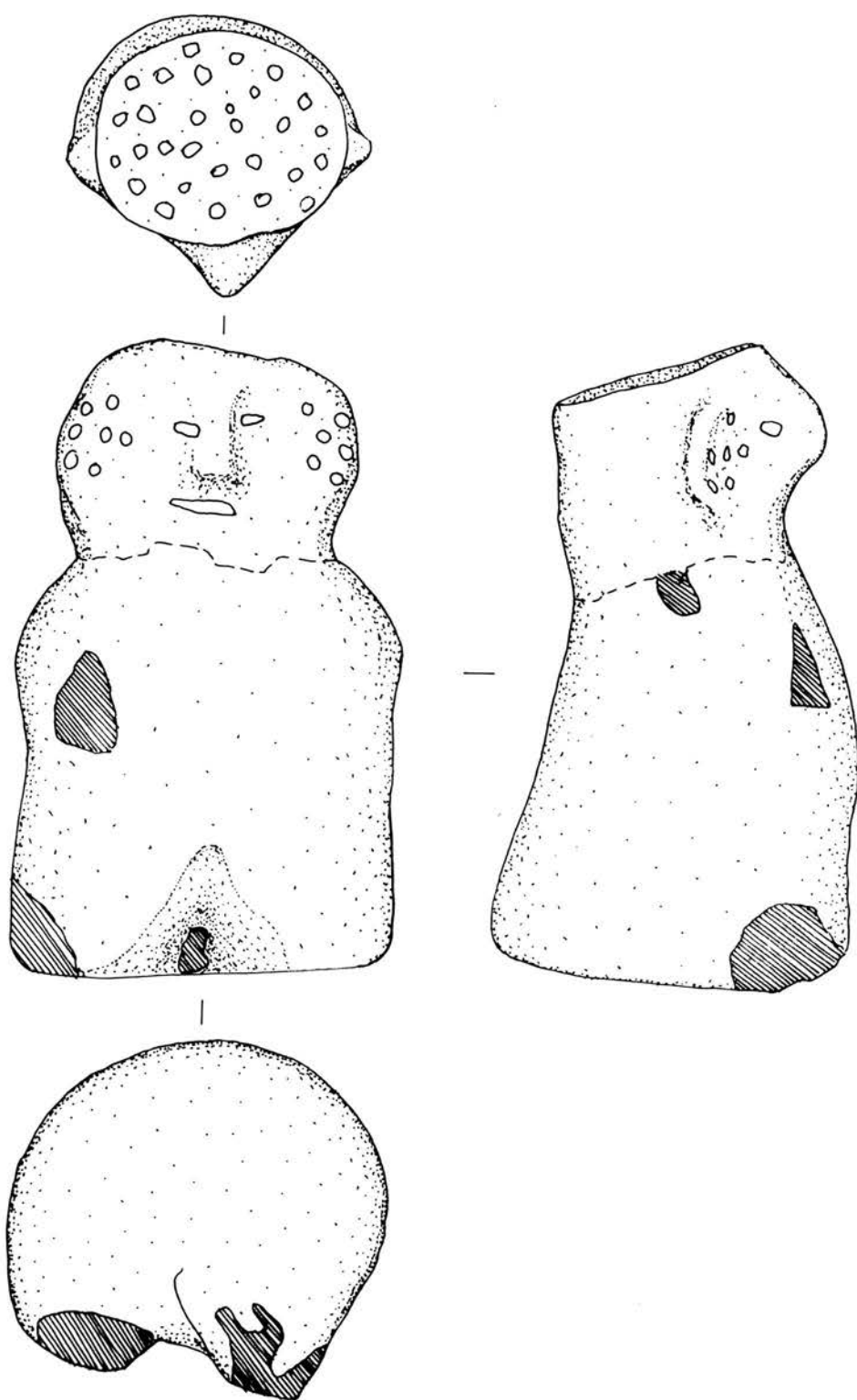


Figure 8: 5043.X1, sexless human figurine with punctured and incised features. Building 17, Space 170. Level IX. Clay. 1:1.

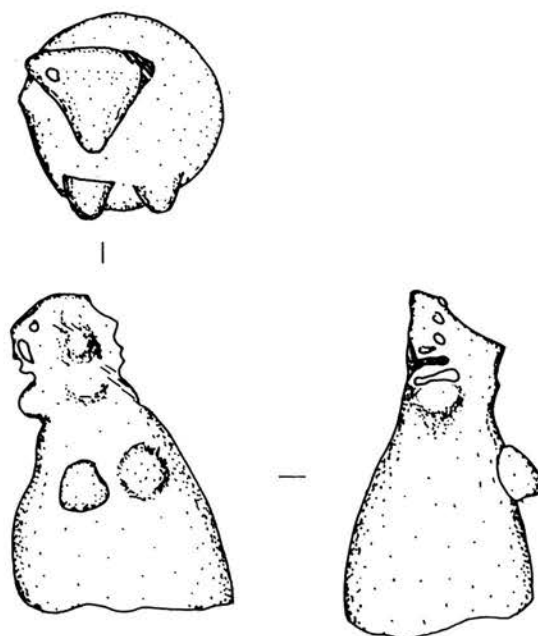


Figure 9: ÇHÇ 686/2, human/humanoid cross-over with one appliqué and one moulded breast, and streaks of red pigment emanating from nose. Mellaart's excavations. Level VIII. Clay. 1:1.

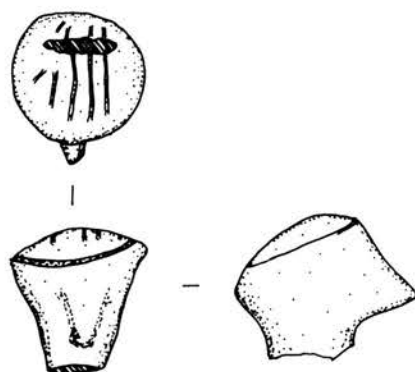


Figure 10: 2899.H1, humanoid wearing hat showing stitching? Space 115. Level VIII. Clay. 1:1.

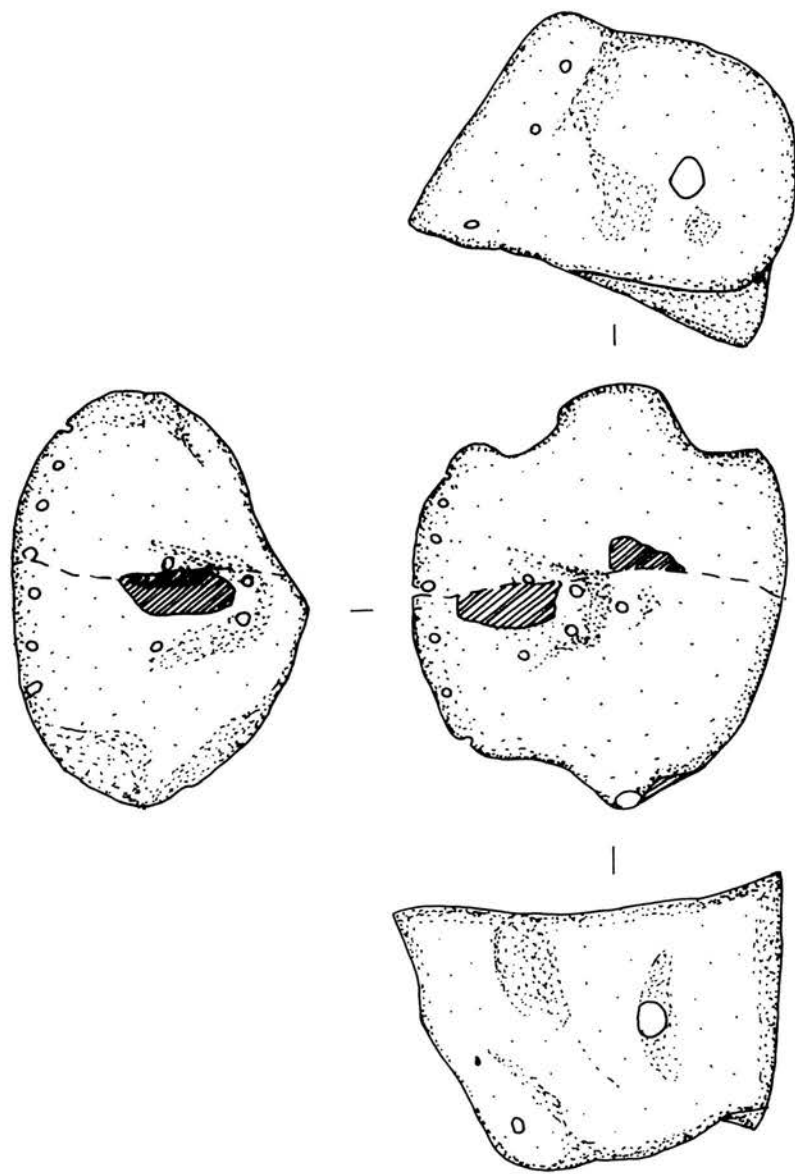


Figure 11: 2793.H1, large figurine head with incised and punctured features. Space 115. Level VIII. Unbaked clay. 1:1.

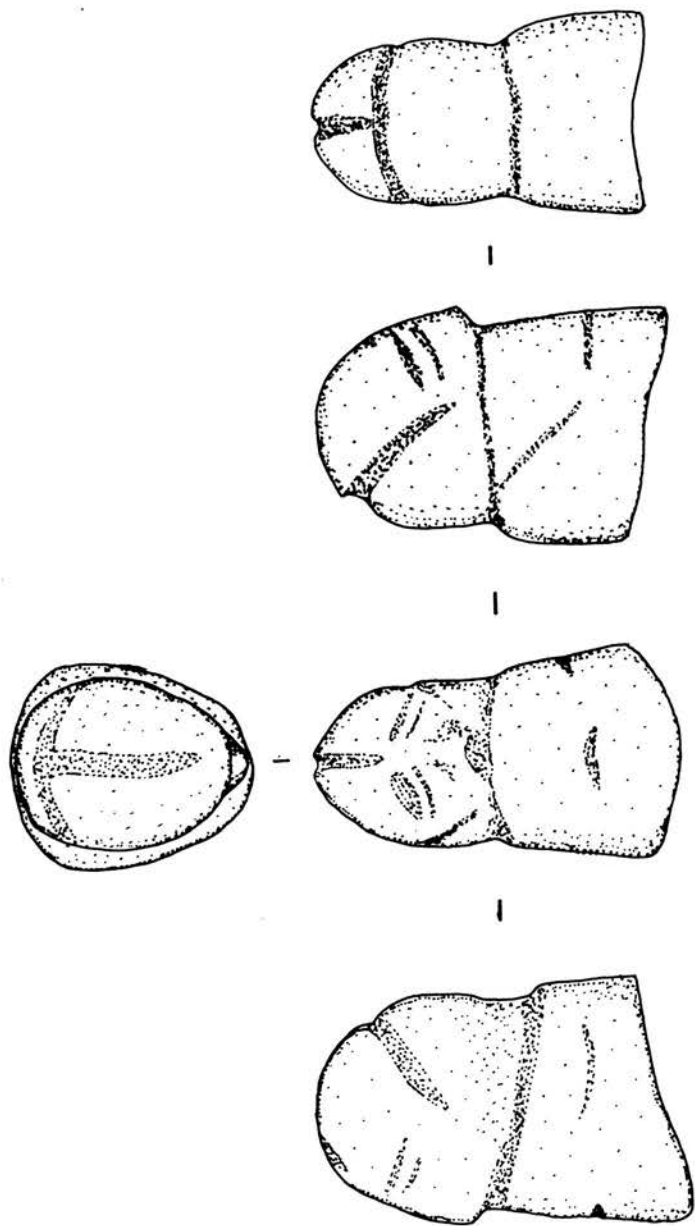


Figure 12: 4116.D1, phallic figurine. Unstratified (level VII?). Stone. 1:1.

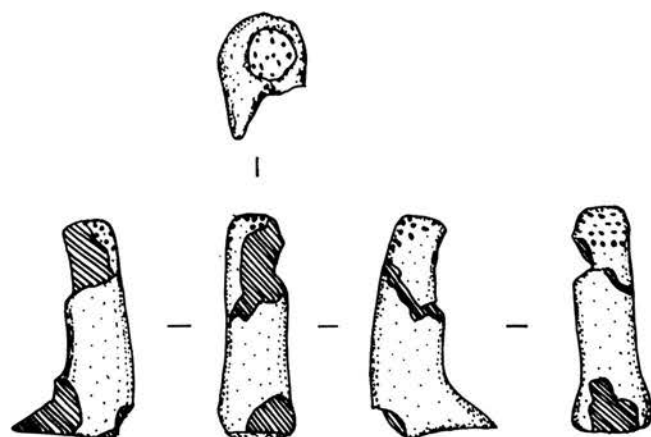


Figure 13: 2198.H1, human/humanoid cross-over. Classic humanoid body with head covered with punctures commonly found on human figurine heads. Building 1, Space 71. Level V/VI? Clay. 1:1.

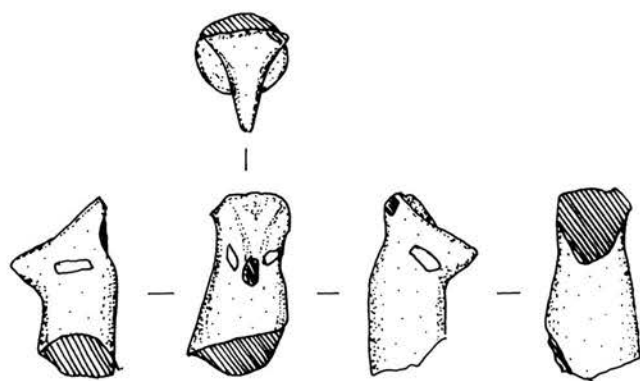
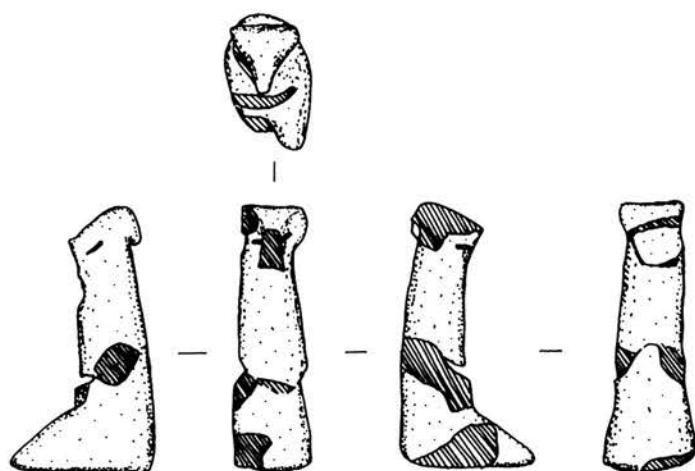


Figure 14: 2229.D1, 2229.D2, humanoids with incised eyes. Building 3, Space 86. Level V? Clay. 1:1.



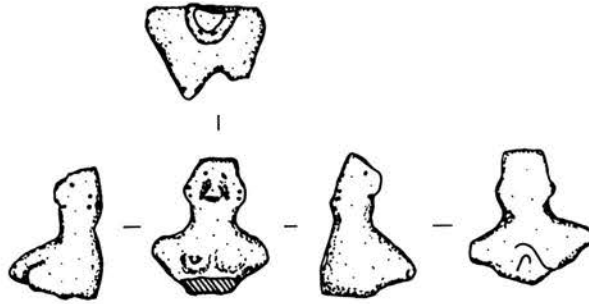


Figure 15: 6260.X1, human figurine. Unstratified (Level V?). Clay. 1:1.

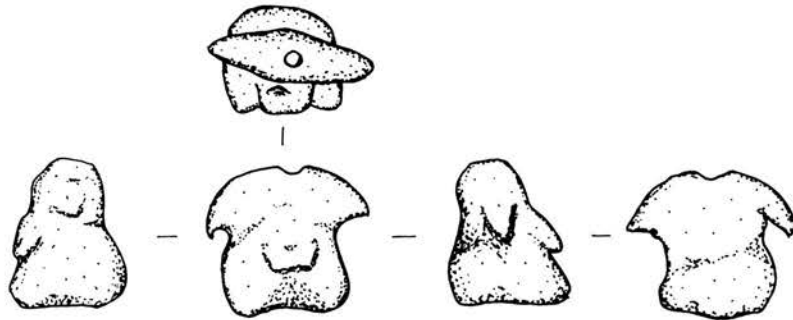


Figure 16: 2675.X1, breastless but apparently female figure. Outside building 10. Level III/IV? Clay. 1:1.

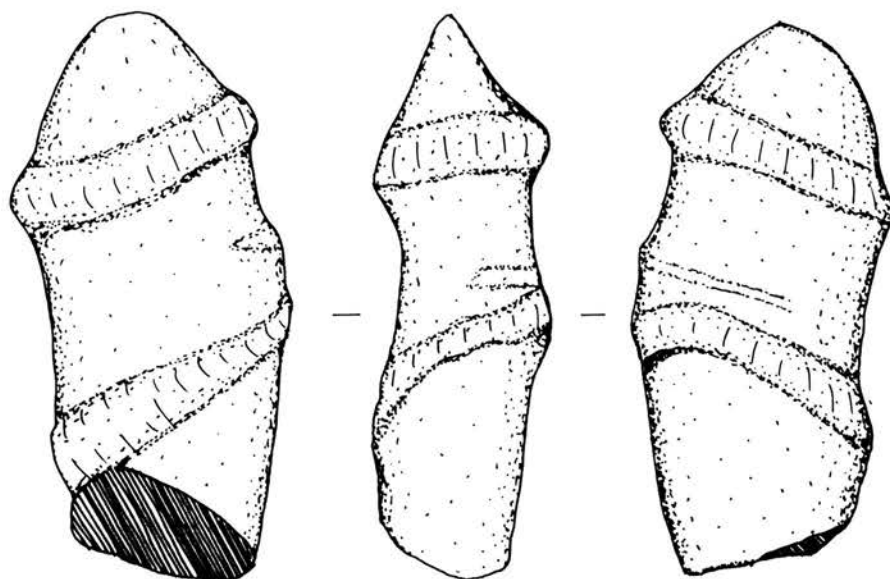


Figure 17: 1505.X1, phallic fossil. Space 106. Level VII. Stone. 1:1.

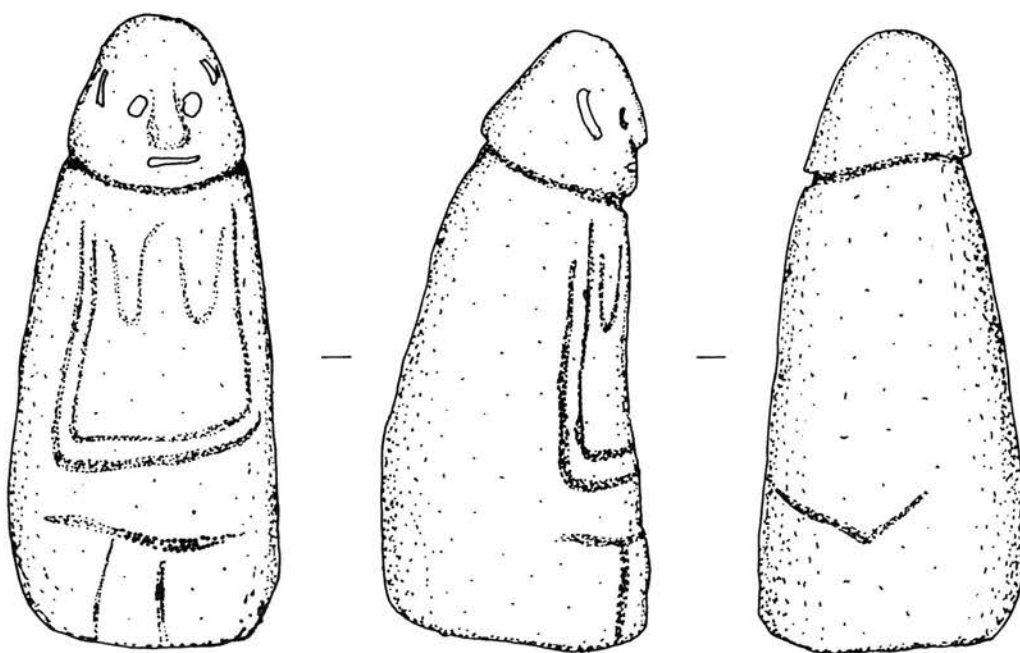


Figure 18: ÇHÇ 167, mixed sex figurine with phallic body and incised breasts. Mellaart's excavations. EVIA: 10. Stone. 1:1.

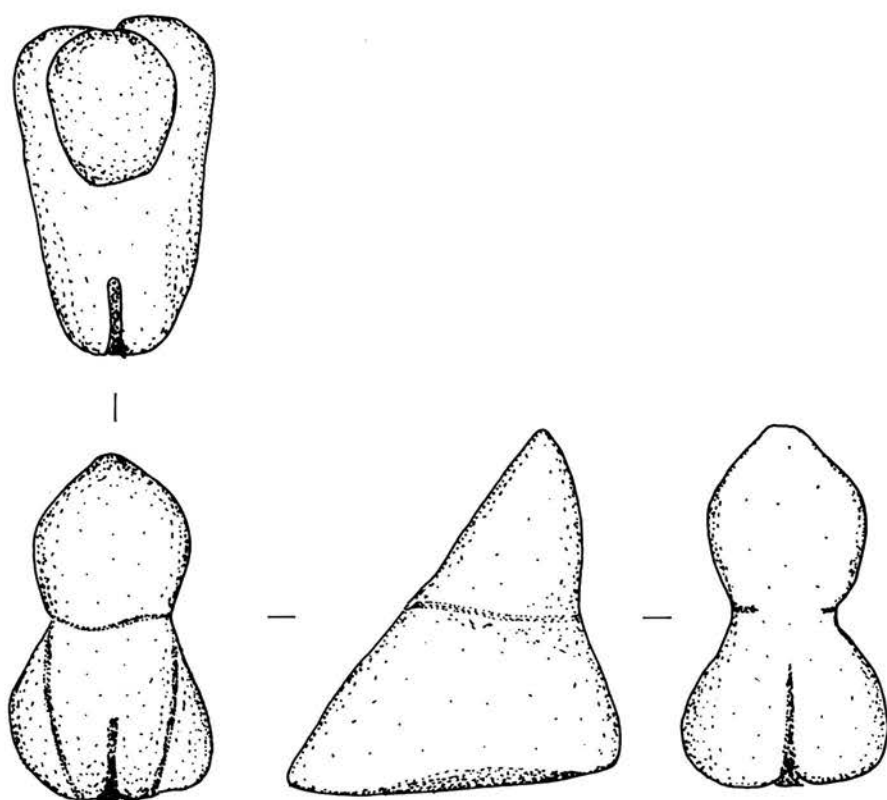


Figure 19: ÇHÇ 465, mixed sex schematic figurine with female front view and phallic back view. Mellaart's excavations. EVIA: 44. Stone. 1:1.

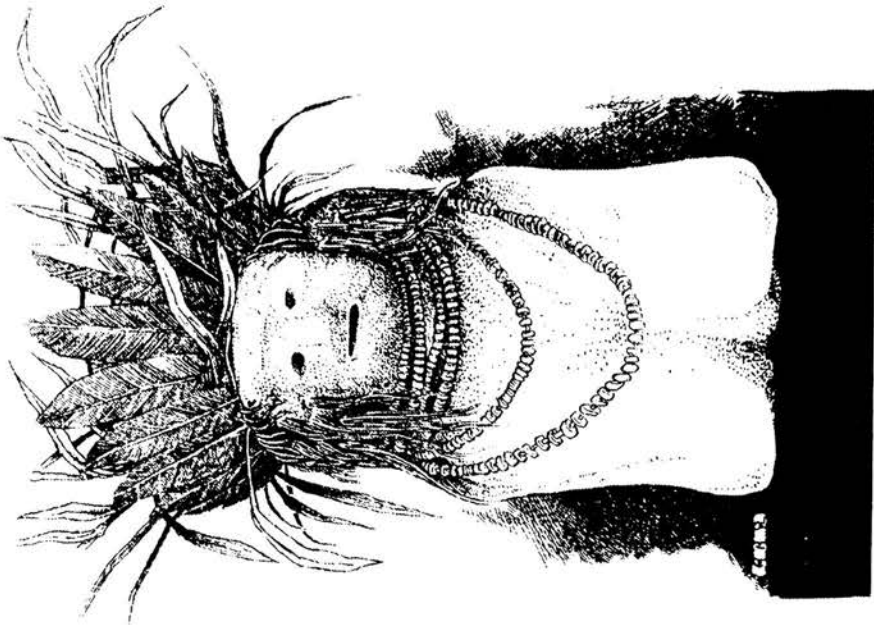
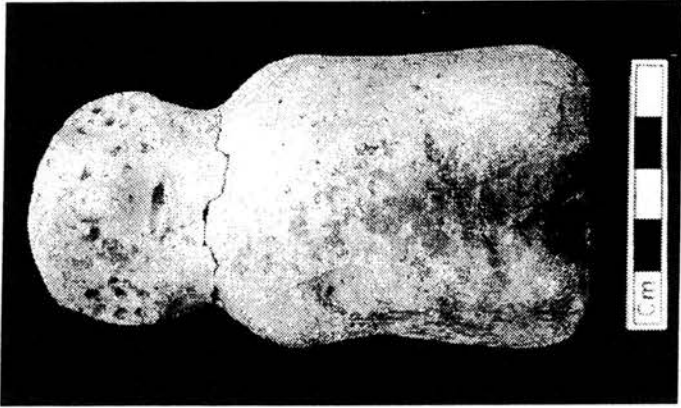


Figure 20: 5043.X1. John Swogger's reconstruction, interpreting this as a female torso. Note, however, the altered proportions of the body (see figure 8).

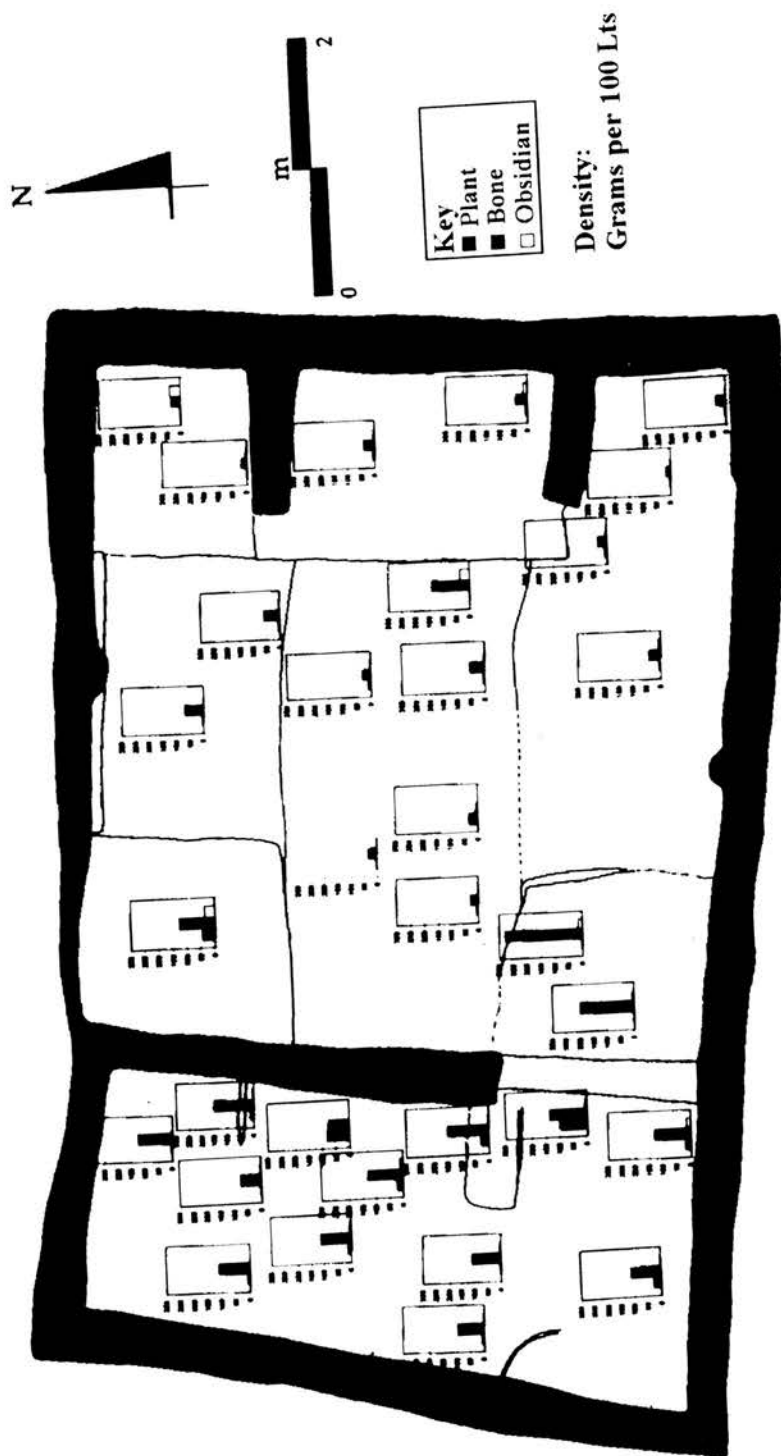


Figure 21: Chart showing distribution of micro-artefacts on the floors of the phase 1 occupation, Building 1.

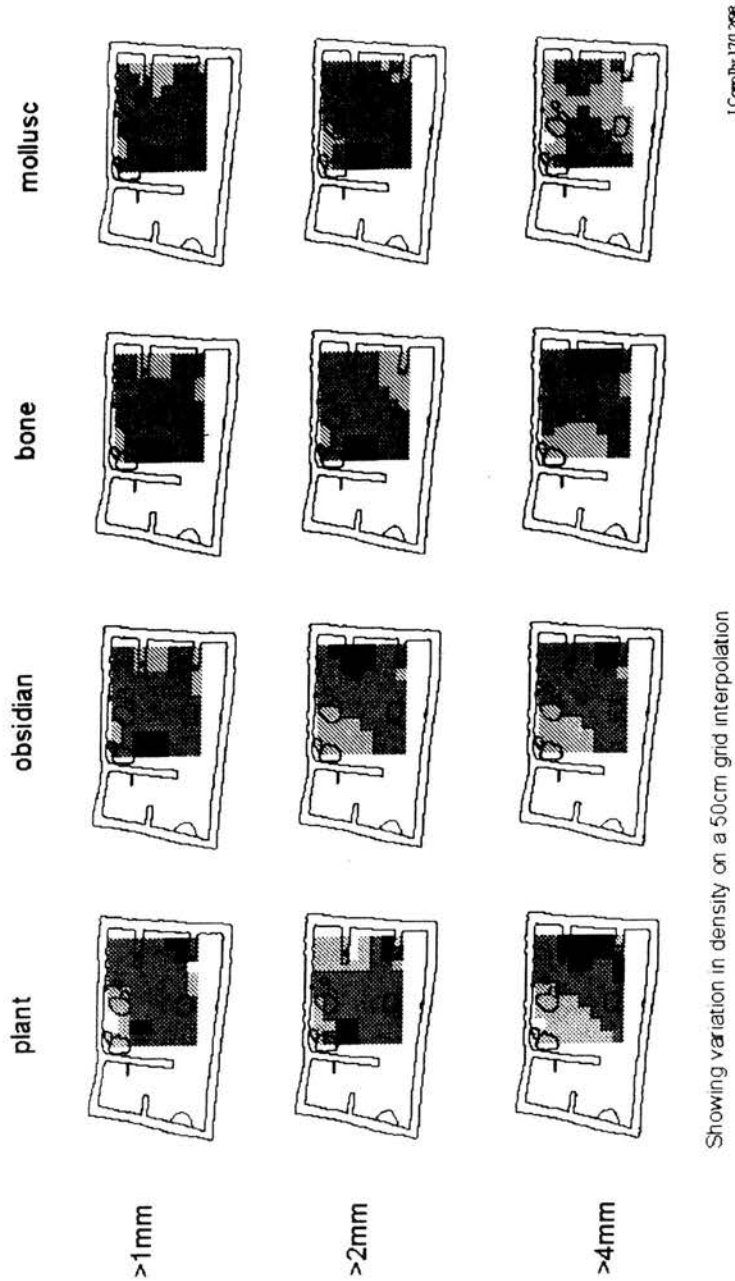
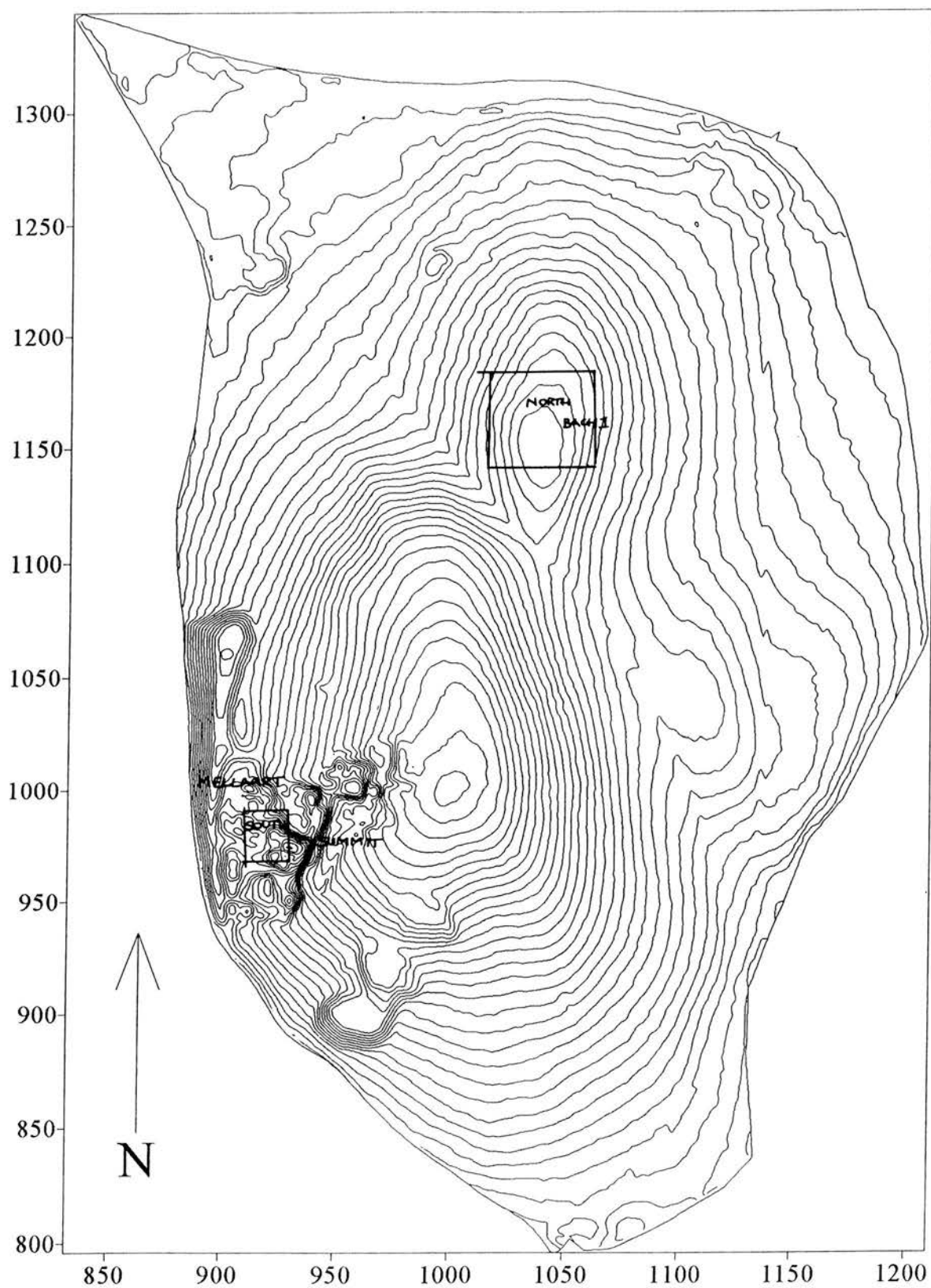


Figure 22: Chart showing distribution of micro-artefacts on the floors of the phase 3 occupation, Building 1.

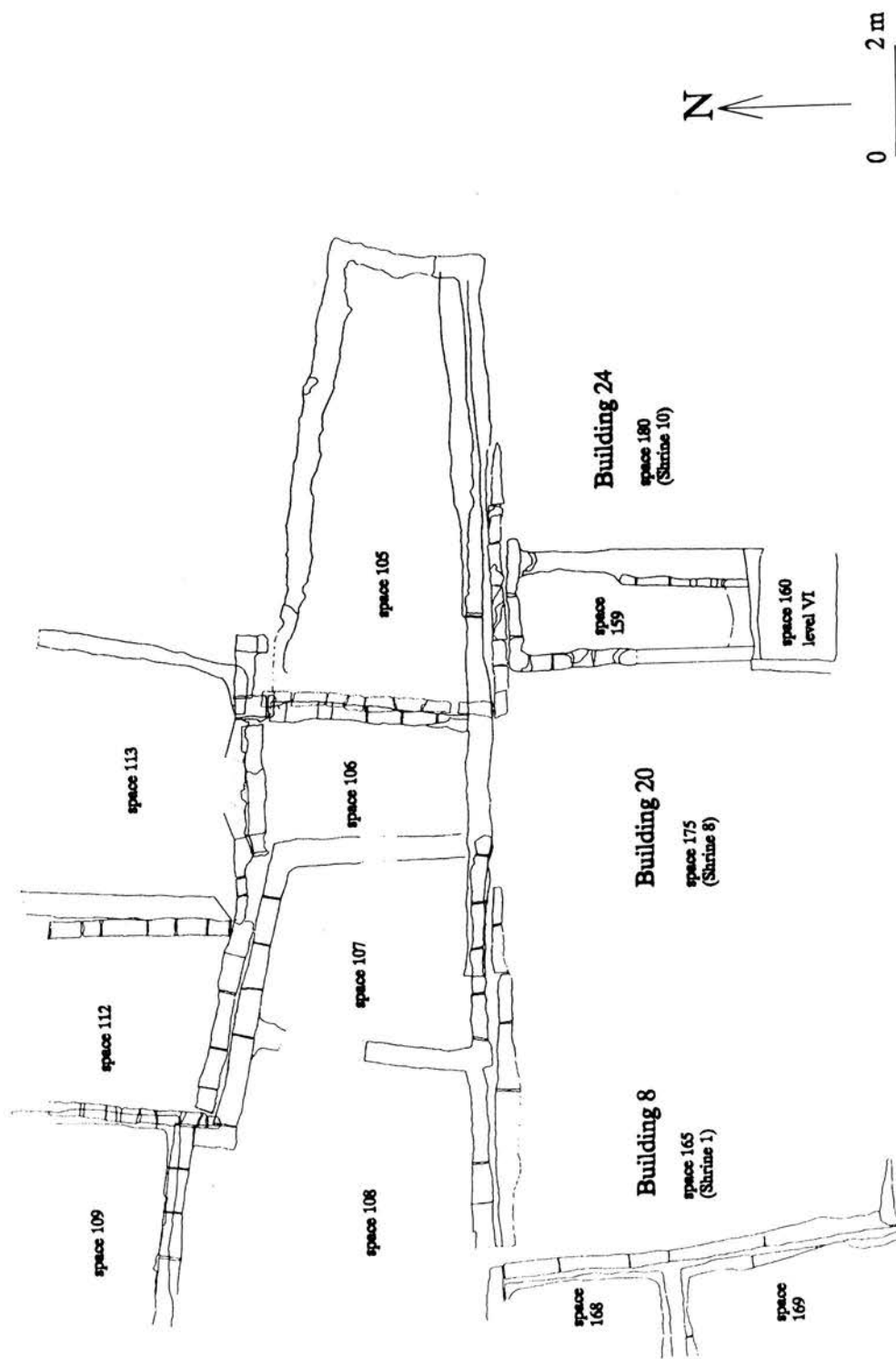




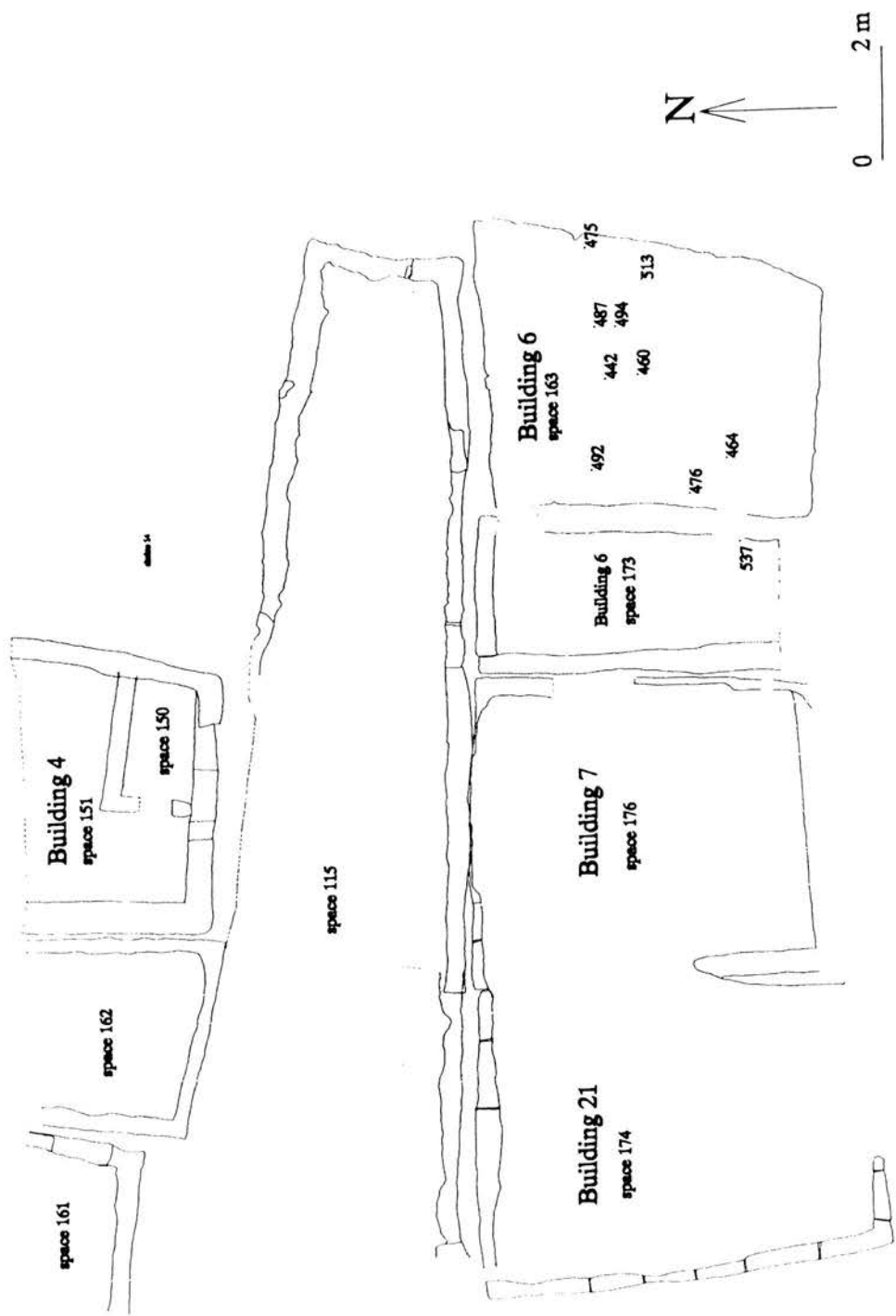
Plan 1: The site, showing contours and trenches.



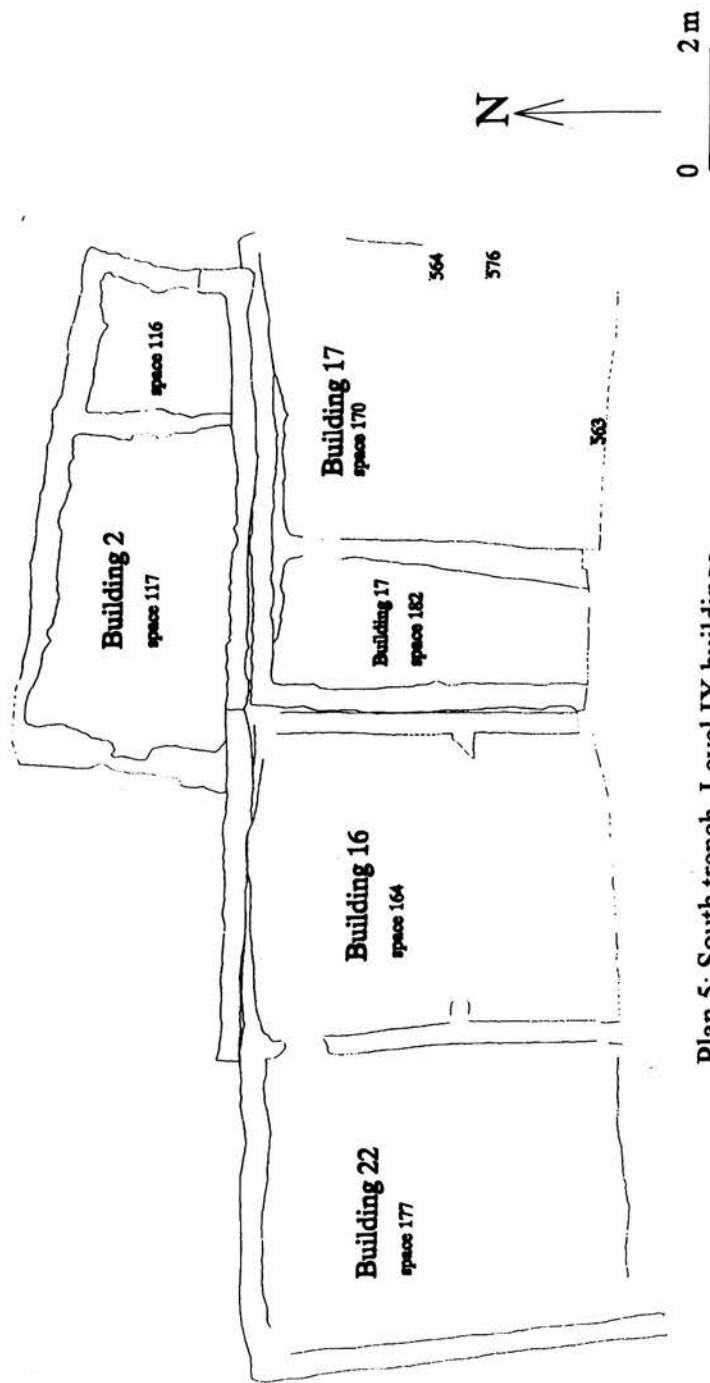
Plan 2: The 40 x 40m scrape area on the Northern eminence. Reproduced from Hodder 1996c.



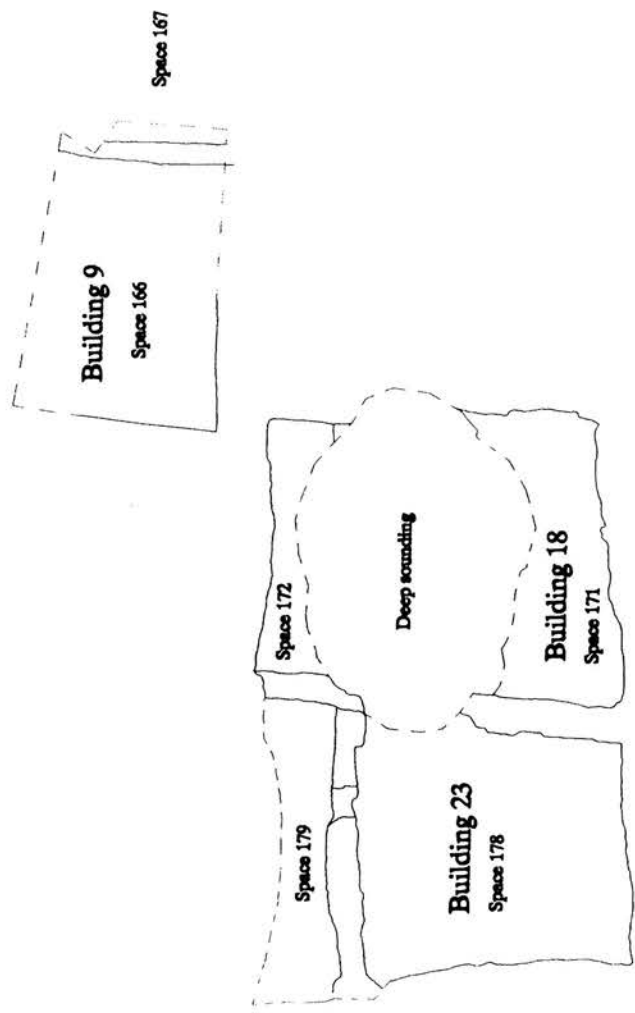
Plan 3: South trench, Level VII buildings.



Plan 4: South trench, Level VIII buildings.



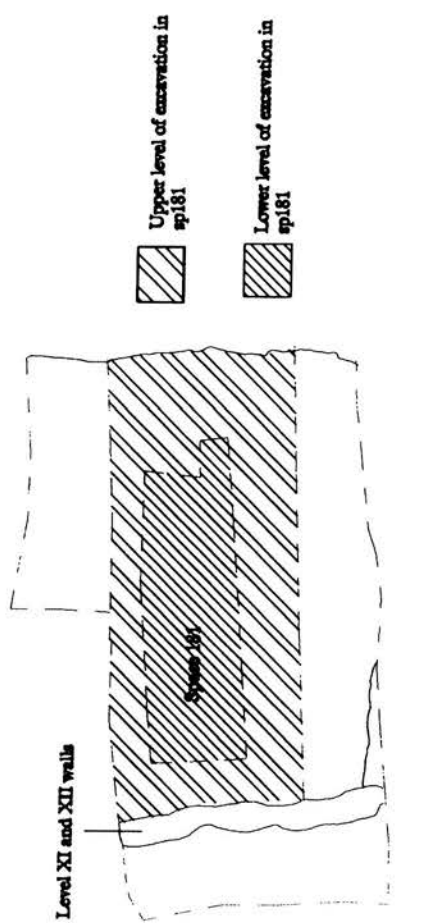
Plan 5: South trench, Level IX buildings.



0 2 m

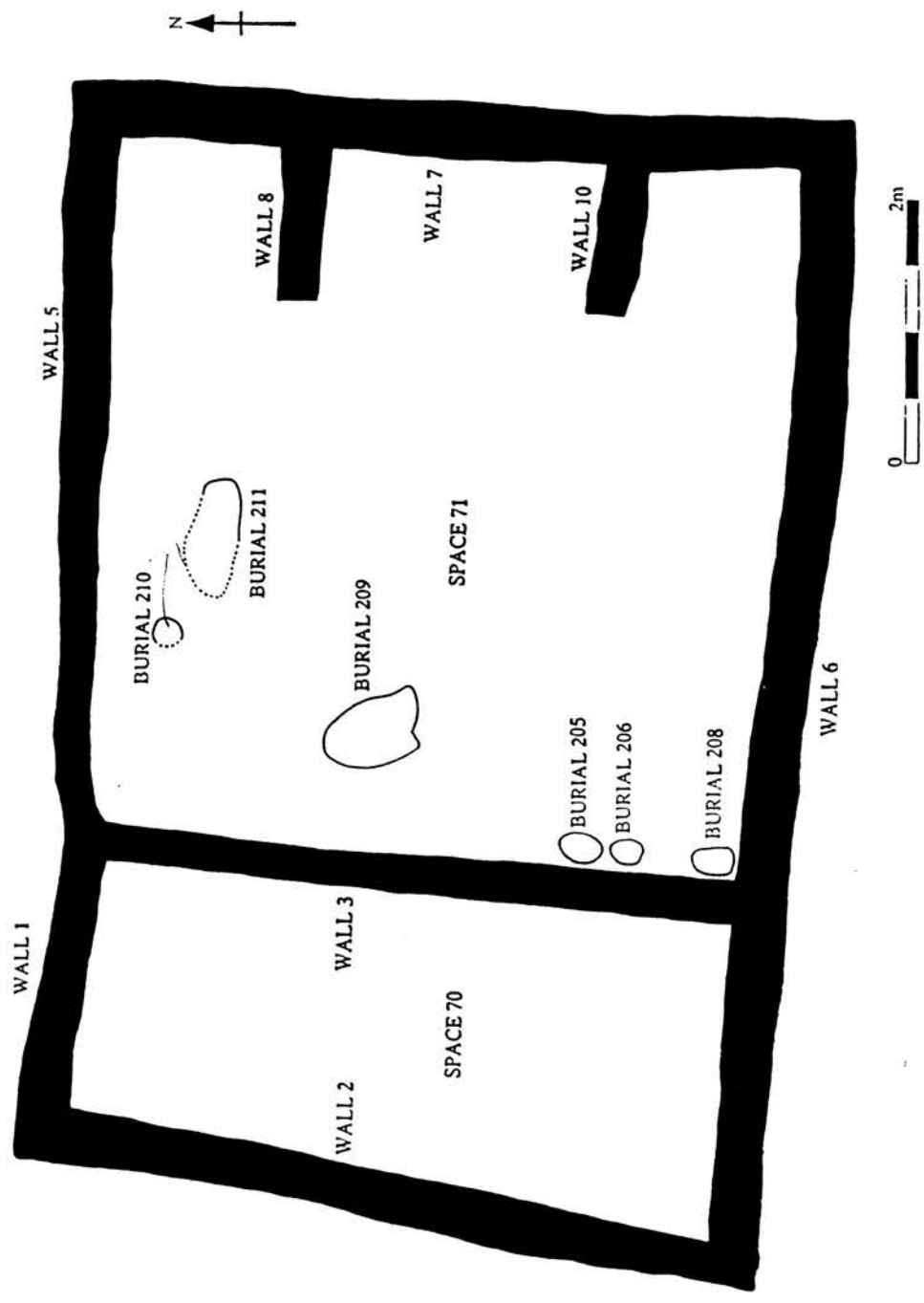
Plan 6: South trench, Level X buildings.



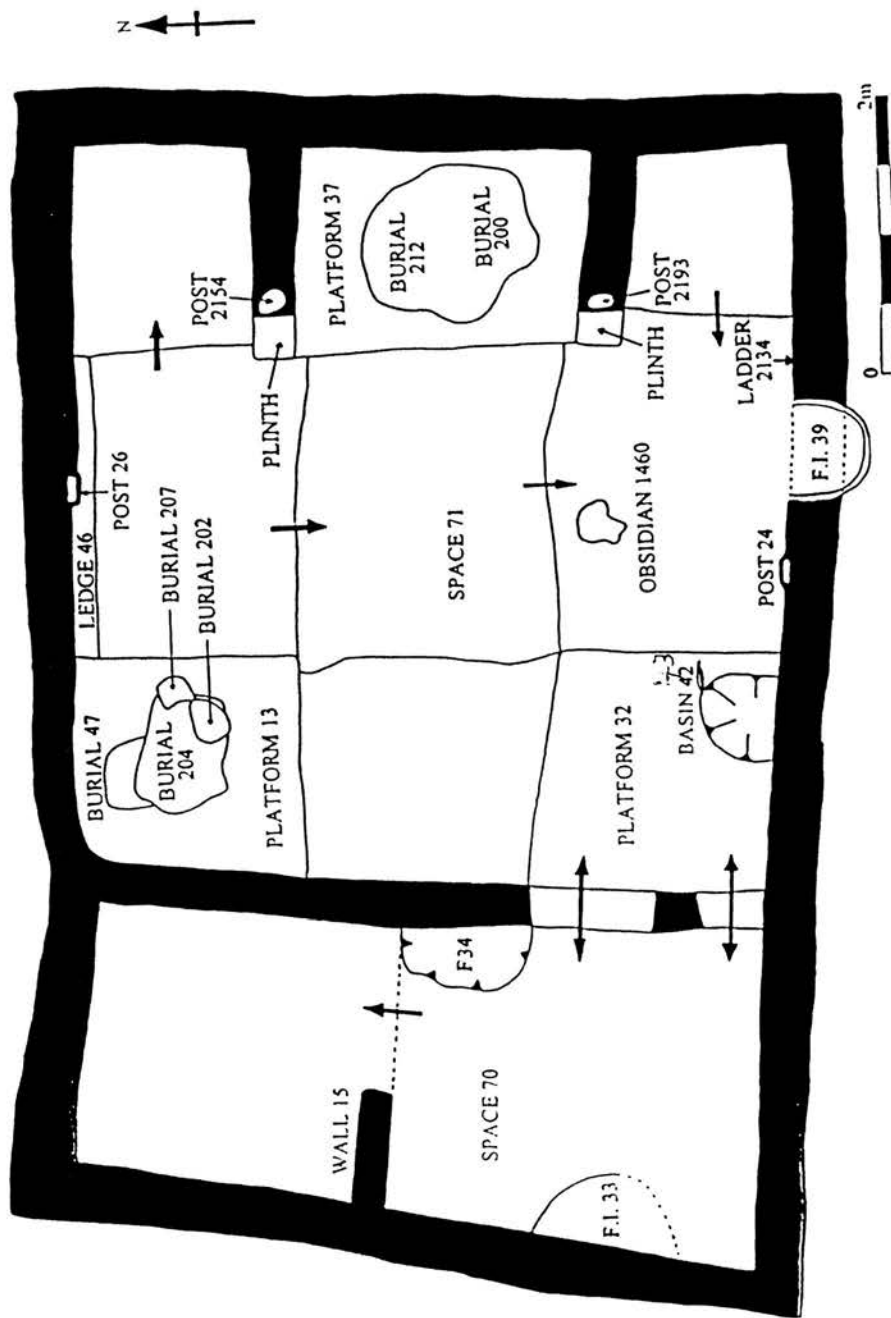


0 2 m

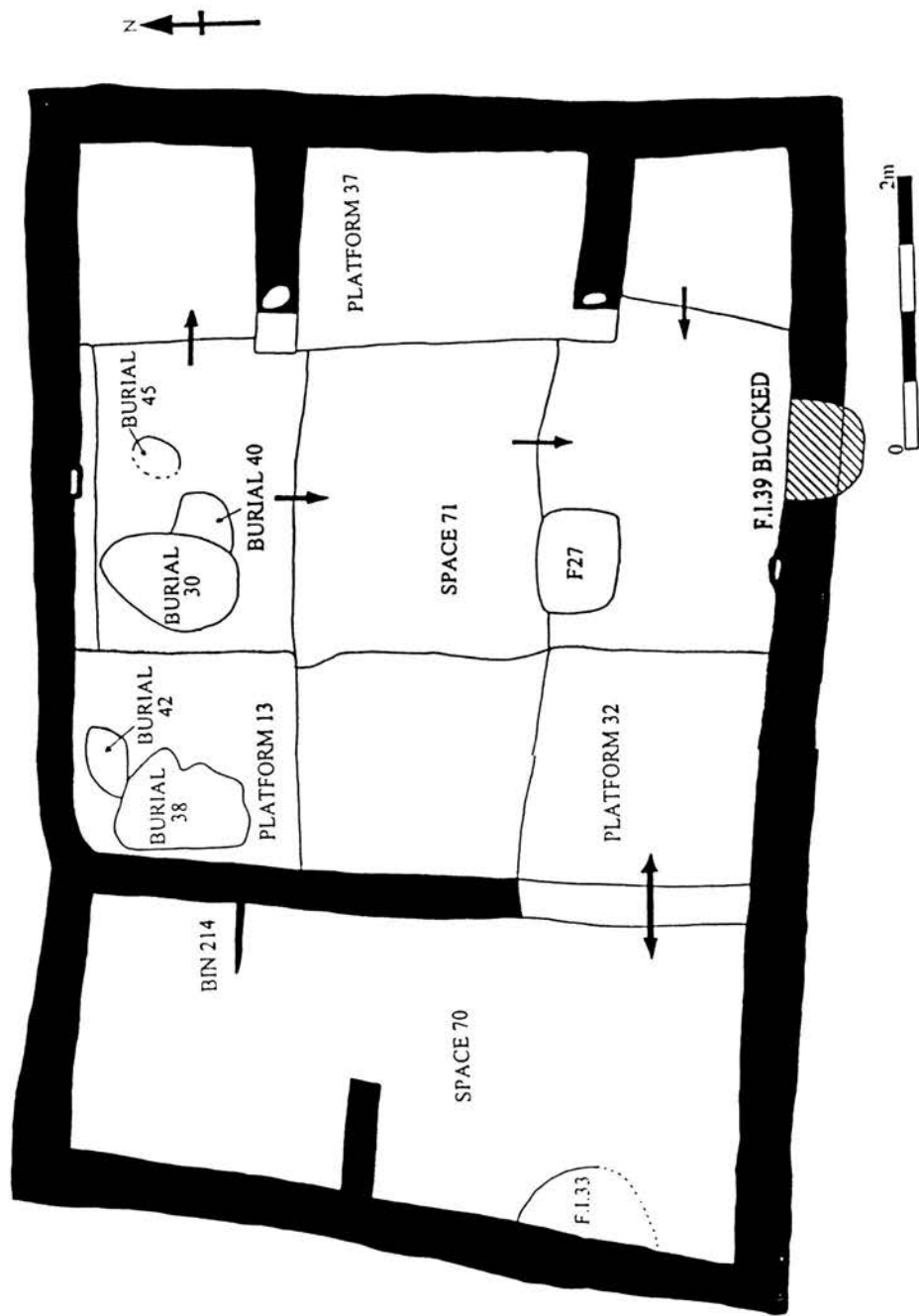
Plan 7: South trench, the 1999 deep sounding.



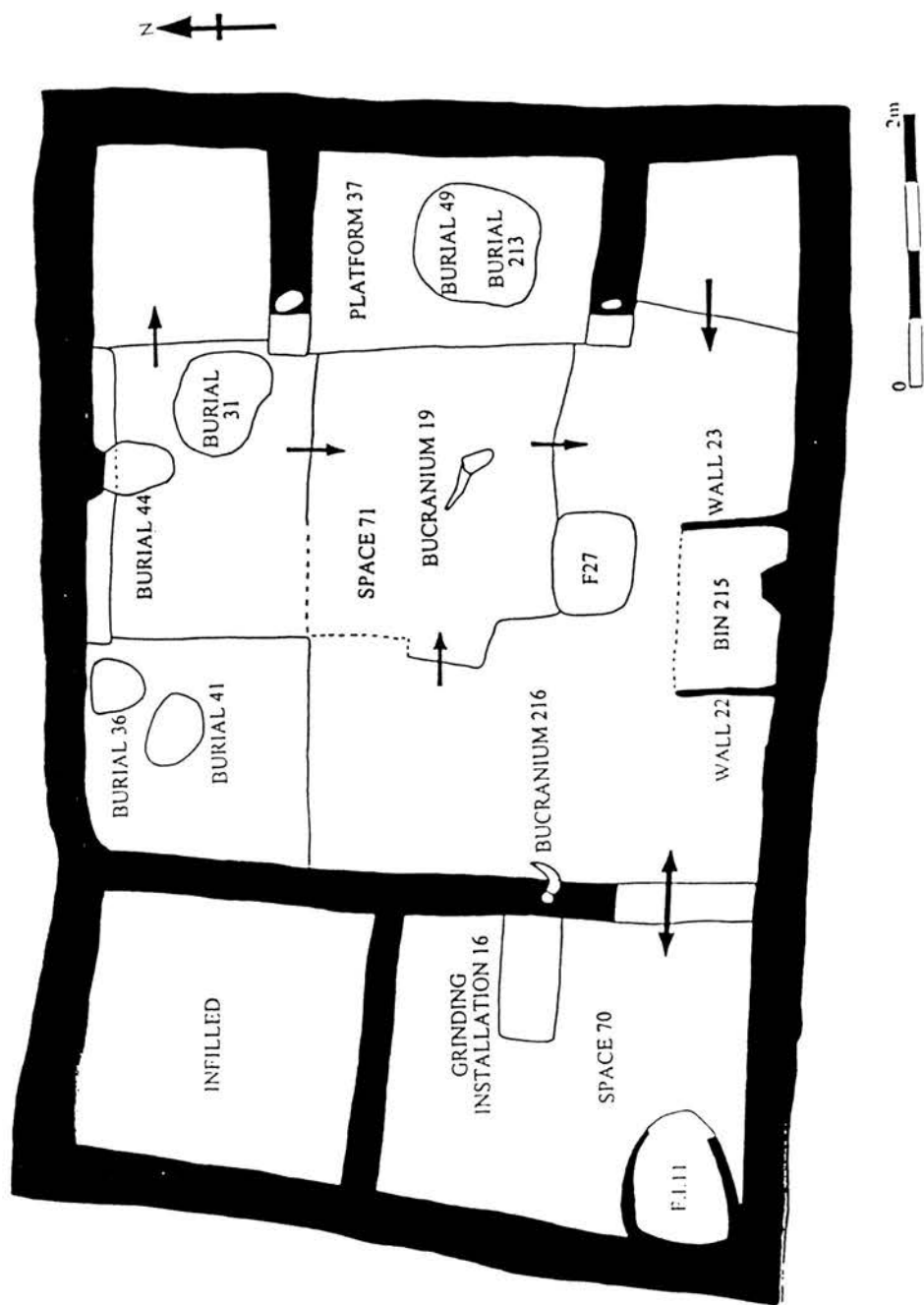
Plan 8: Building 1, phase 1 (construction) showing burials in foundations. From a drawing by Craig Cessford.



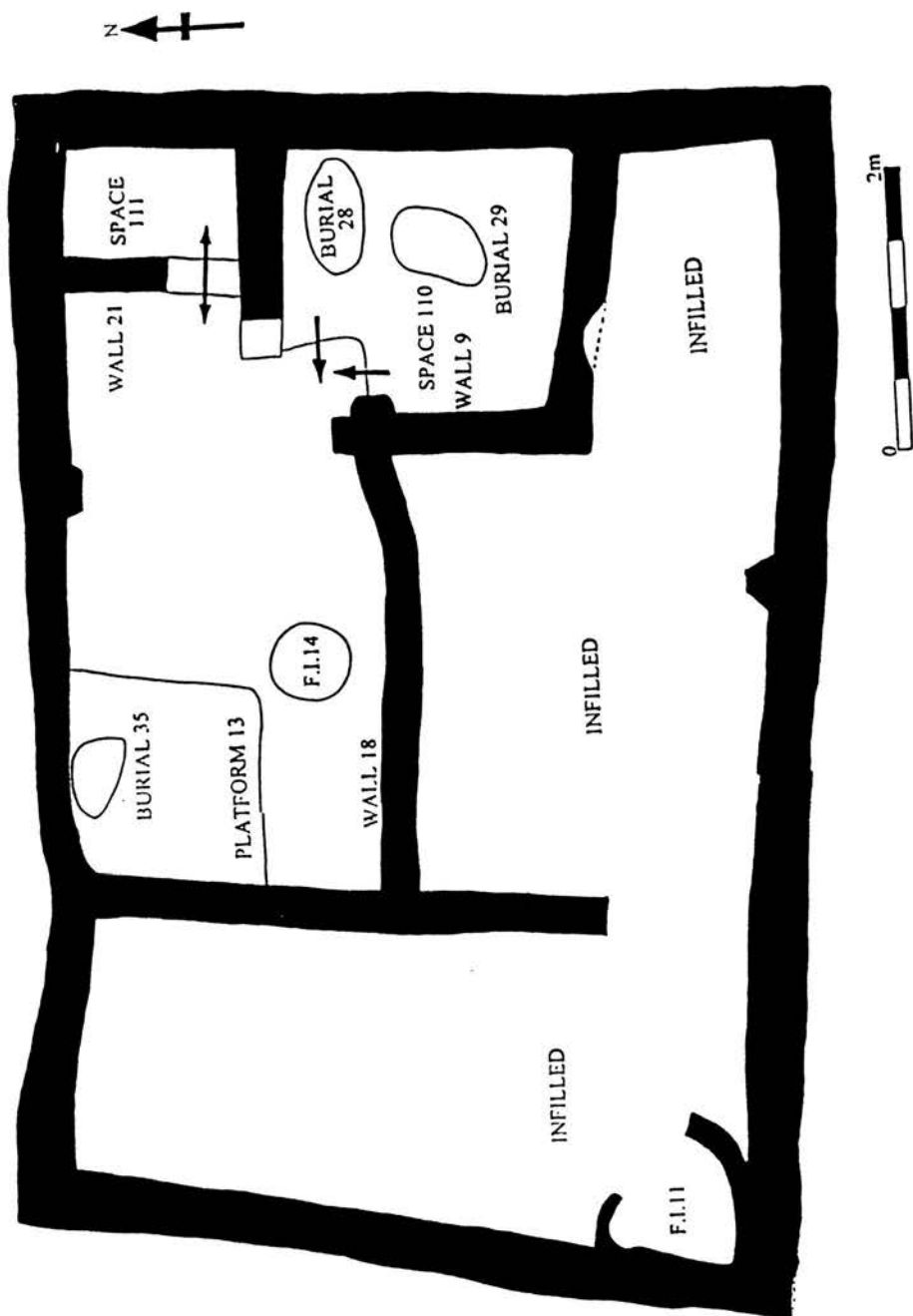
Plan 9: Building 1, phase 2 (occupation I). From a drawing by Craig Cessford.



Plan 10: Building 1, phase 3 (occupation II). From a drawing by Craig Cessford.

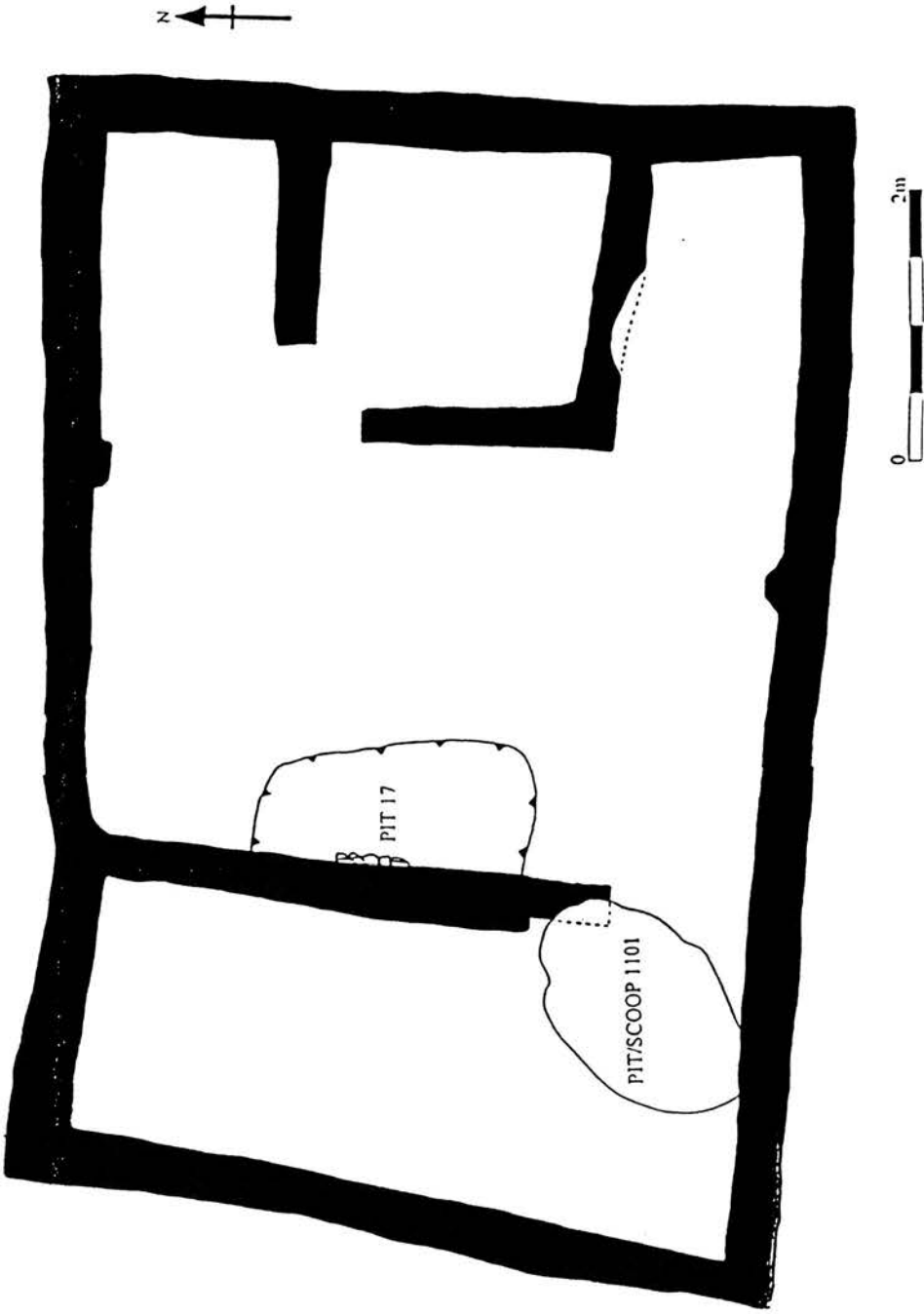


Plan 11: Building 1, phase 4 (occupation III). From a drawing by Craig Cessford.

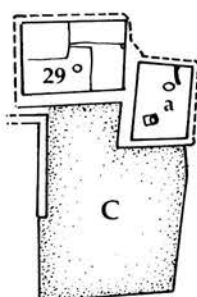
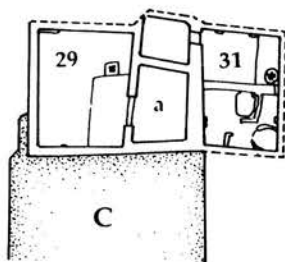


Plan 12: Building 1, phase 5/6 (demolition and abandonment/occupation IV).  
Reproduced from a drawing by Craig Cessford.

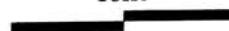




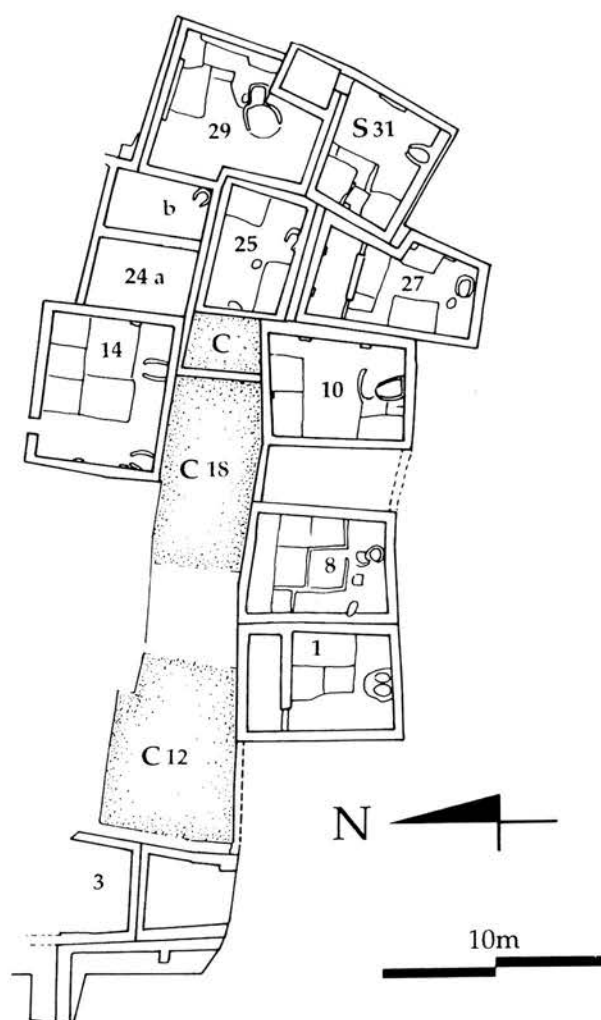
Plan 13: Building 1, phase 7/8 (demolition and abandonment/post-abandonment).  
From a drawing by Craig Cessford.



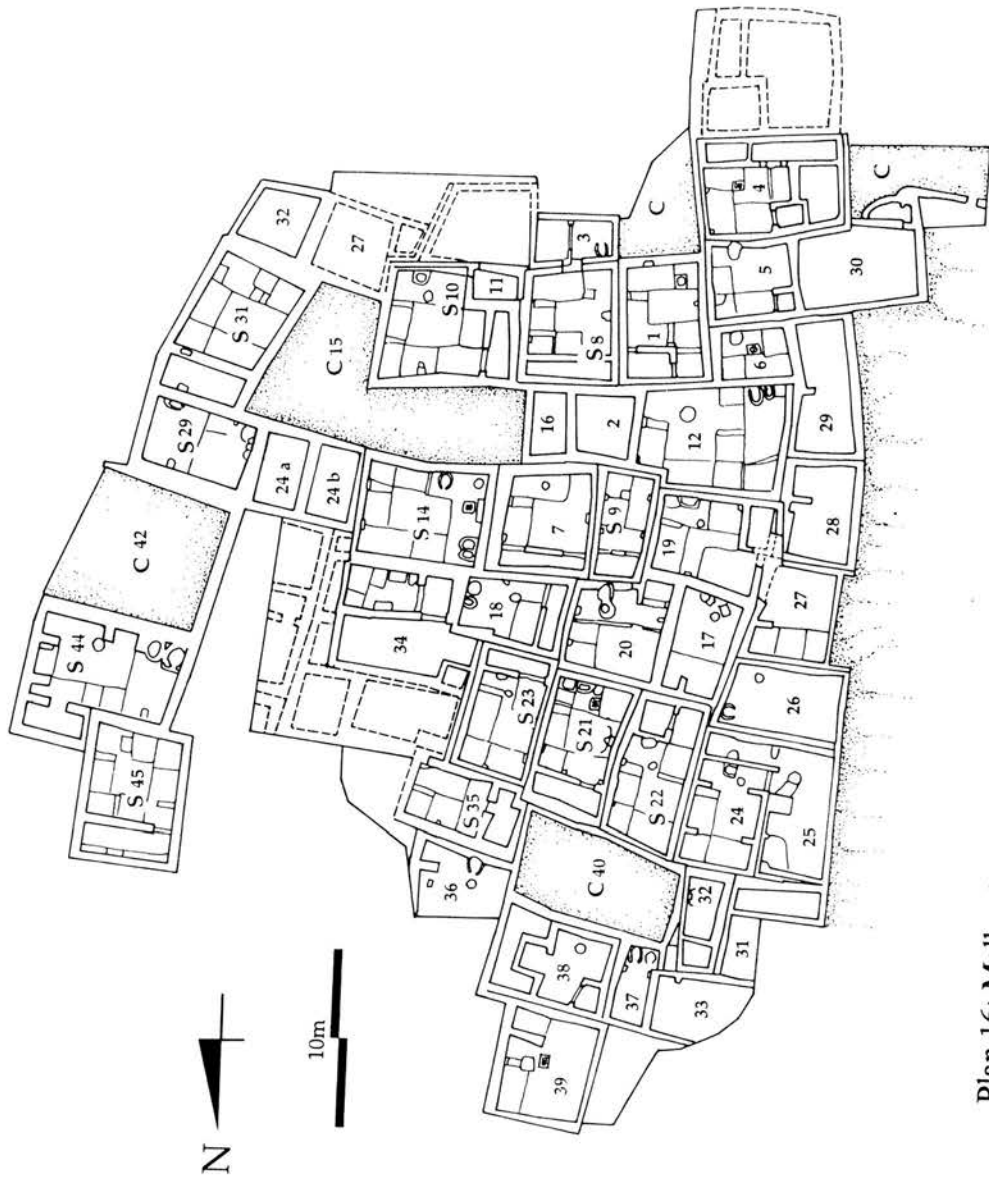
10m



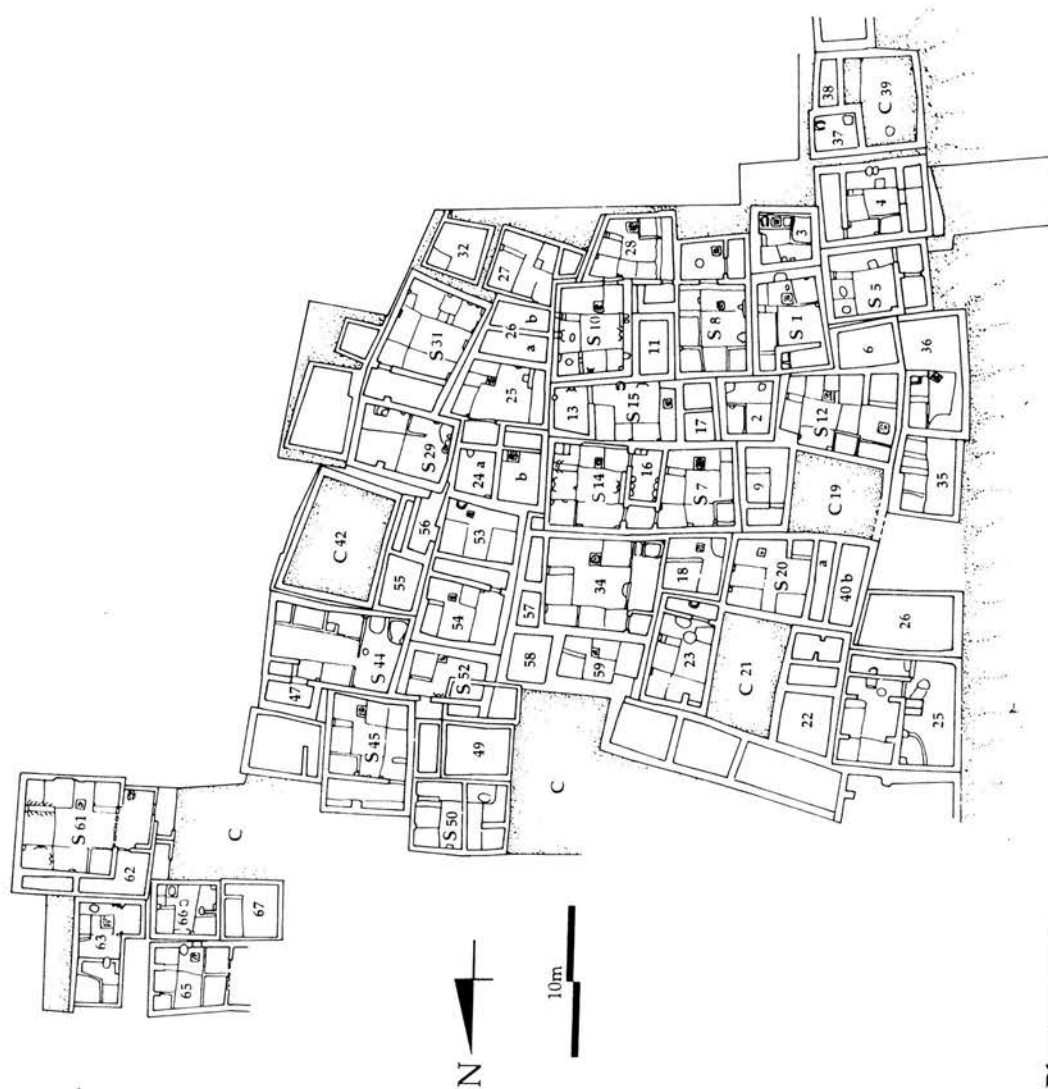
Plan 14: Mellaart excavations, levels XII, XI and IX, 1965 deep sounding.  
Reproduced from Hodder 1996c.



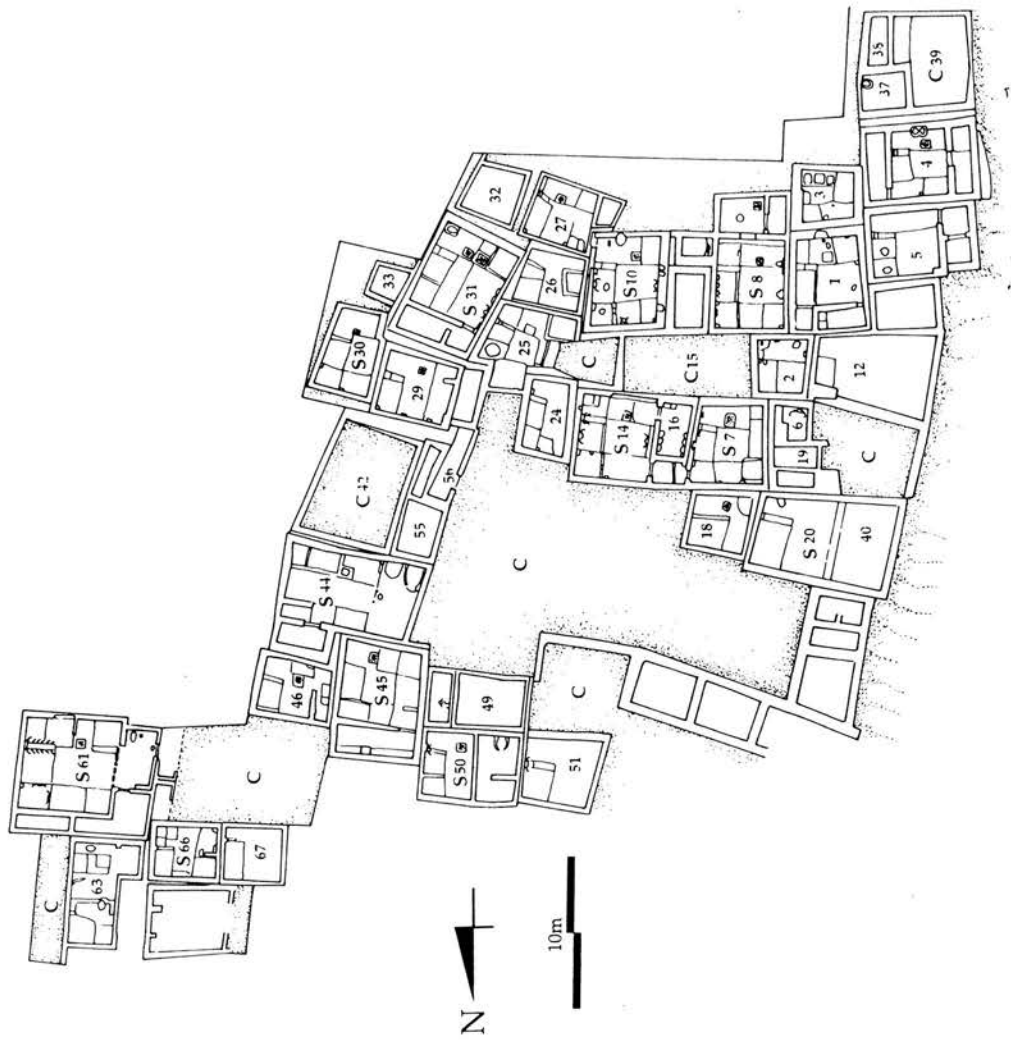
Plan 15: Mellaart excavations, level VIII. Reproduced from Hodder 1996c



Plan 16: Mellaart excavations, level VII. Reproduced from Hodder 1996c.

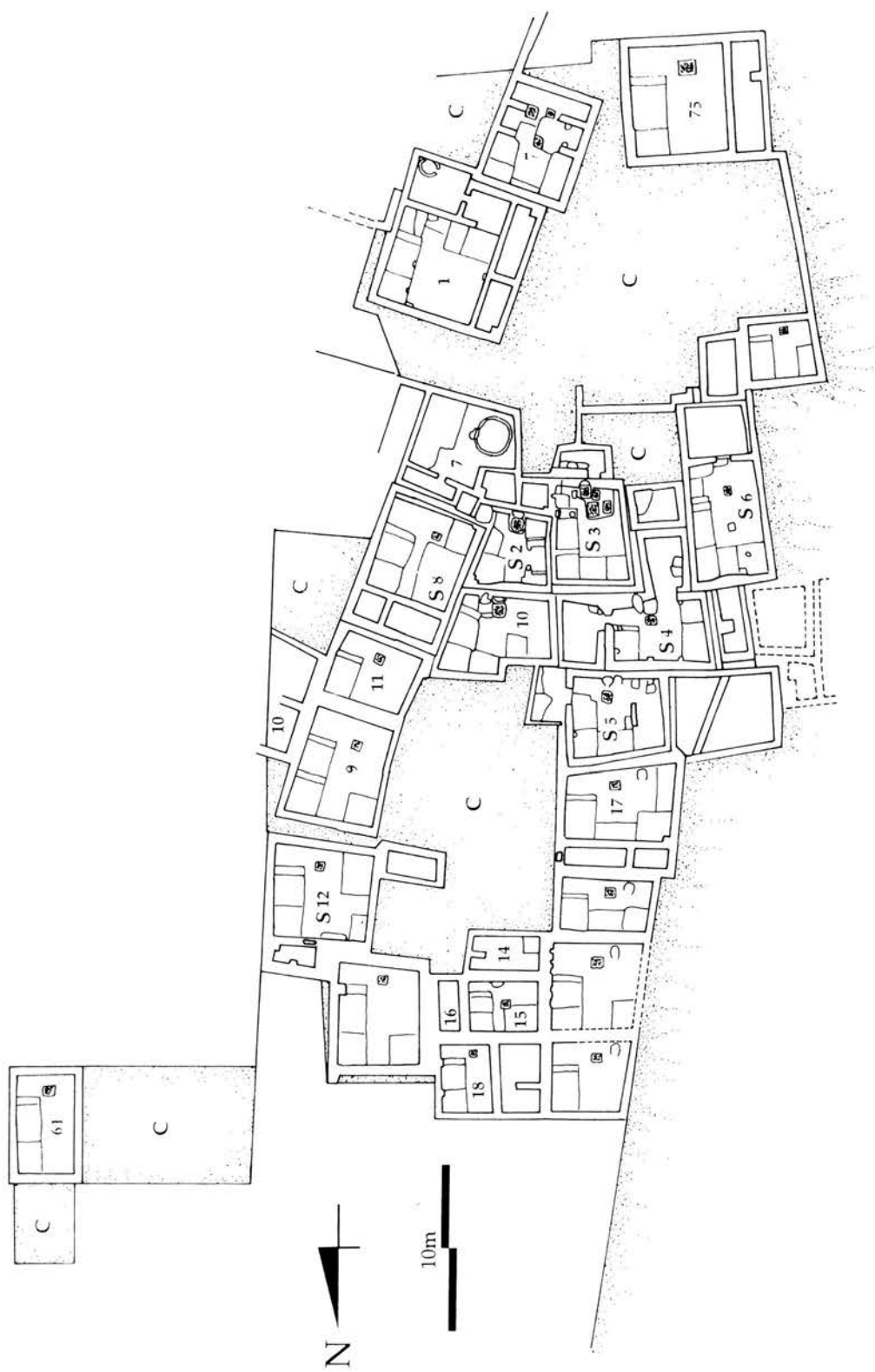


Plan 17: Mellaart excavations, level VIB. Reproduced from Hodder 1996c.

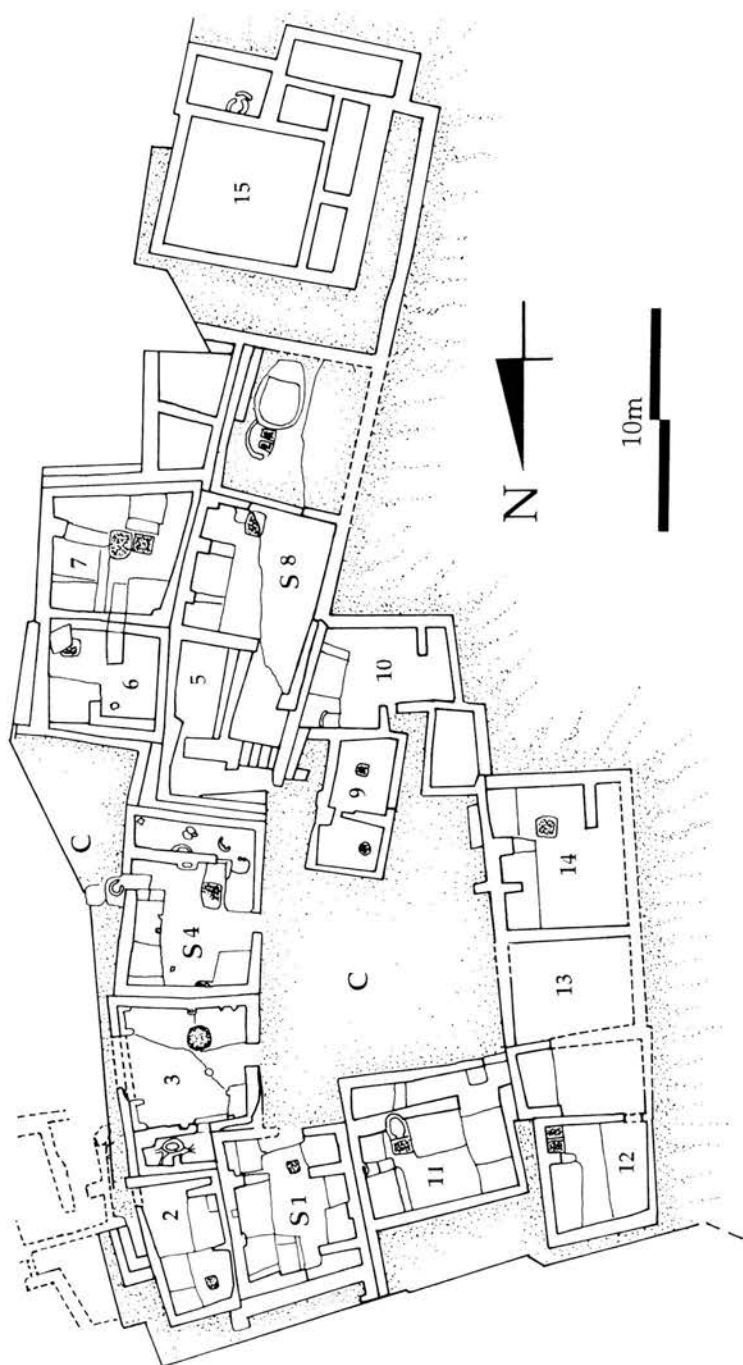


Plan 18: Mellaart excavations, level VIA. Reproduced from Hodder 1996c.

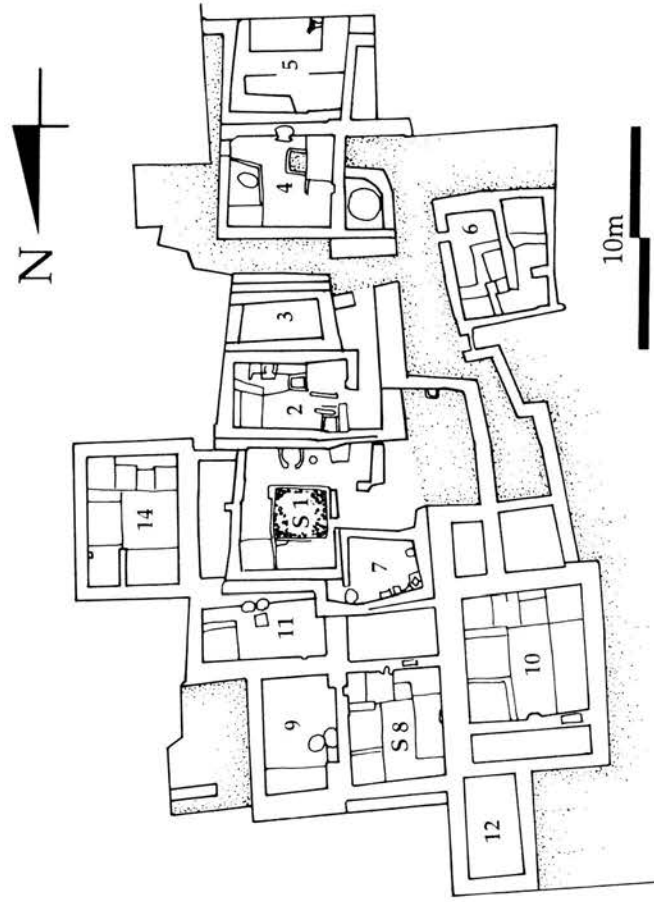




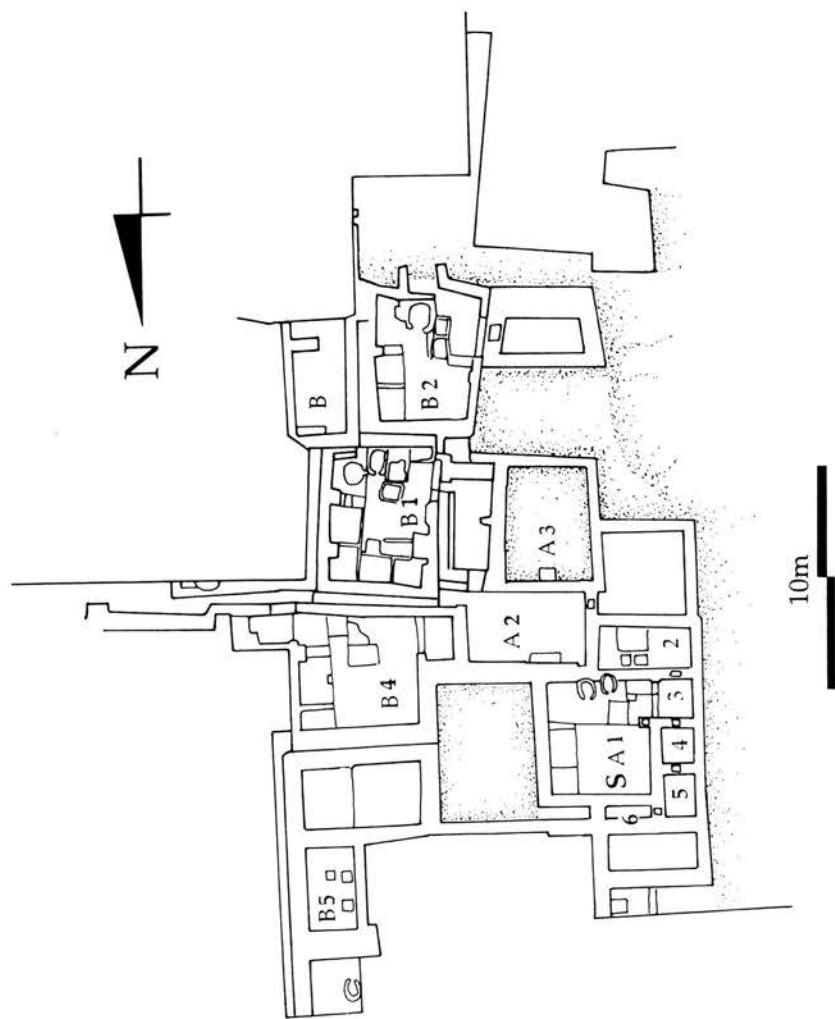
Plan 19: Mellaart excavations, level V. Reproduced from Hodder 1996c.



Plan 20: Mellaart excavations, level IV. Reproduced from Hodder 1996c.



Plan 21: Mellaart excavations, level III Reproduced from Hodder 1996c.



Plan 22: Mellaart excavations, level II. Reproduced from Hodder 1996c.

Space	Number of figurines
105	14
106	3
107	4
107/108	2
109	1
112	2
115	24
115/117	1
116	3
117	12
152	1
153	9
154	2
155	2
158	4
159/173	4
163	3
163/170	2
164	2
164/176	1
168/165	1
168/169	2
170	4
171	2
173	2
181	26
69	1
70	2
70/71	1
71	4
73	3
86	15
88	2
89	2
Kopal	1

Building	Number of figurines
1	17
2	15
3	21
5	4
6	5
24/6	4
17/6	2
17	4
16	2
16/7	1
18	2

Table 1: Number of figurines per space and building.

Unit number	Feature	Space	Info
1364	29	110	scattered bones from top of B29
1364.1	29	110	scattered bones from top of F29
1364.2	29	110	scattered bones
1364.3	29	110	scattered bones
1364.4	29	110	scattered bones; small, gracile
1368	28	110	
1378	28	110	primary, no ev of defleshing; poss bound but ev weak. Black deposit in lungs
1379	28	110	
1380	28	110	soil within skeleton
1424	30	71	primary
1425.1	30	71	disturbed
1426.1	30	71	infant foot
1450	30	71	infant
1464	30	71	frags
1465	29	110	
1466	29	110	headless
1467	29	110	incomplete; extensive manganese staining; corroded in areas and friable
1470	29	110	few scraps of foot bone, position unknown
1491	31	71	a few vertebrae
1495	36	71	primary, intact, juvenile
1498	31	71	baby; primary
1912	40	71	articulated infant
1913	35	71	articulated child, intact, primary
1916	41	71	articulated infant
1922	38	71	cranium
1923	38	71	skull only

Table 2: Details of burials in Building 1.



Platform/area	Sex	Age	Completeness
EC			scattered bones, mainly hand and foot
EC	F	OA	
EC		A	
EC	M	Adol	
EC		A	
EC			
EC	M	MA/OA	complete
EC			
EC			
NC	F	OA	complete, articulated
NC	F?	Adol 15-20	frags of skull, pelvis, femur, vert, plus ribs
NC			
NC		3-6 months	complete, articulated
NC		A	femur only
EC			
EC	M	MA	complete except skull and atlas
EC	M	Adol	a few long bones, phalanges, pelvis and ?ribs
EC	-	-	few scraps of foot bone
NC		late adol/<17	lower vertebra only
NW, far NE corner of plat		5-6	complete
NC		10 month	complete, articulated
NC		very young infant	complete
NW, furthest N next to 36		9	pretty much complete, no sacrum, some damage
NW		9 months	missing ribs and mandible?
NW		8	roughly complete
NW		J 5	skull only

Table 2: Details of burials in Building 1.

Unit number	Feature	Space	Info
1924	38	71	complete
1925	38	71	skull + a few vert
1926.1	38	71	
1926.2	38	71	
1926.3	38	71	
1926.4	38	71	
1927	29	110	with fill 1470
1928.1	29	110	with fill 1470
1928.2	29	110	
1928.3	29	110	
1934	31	71	more than half
1935	44	71	part only
1937	38	71	skull (south)
1938.1	38	71	west
1939	38	71	articulated body
1940	44	71	
1949	29	110	frags only
1950	40	71	articulated infant
1951	44	71	articulated body
1955.1	47	71	with pendant
1959	44	71	complete, articulated
1960	44	71	complete articulated
1961	42B	71	disturbed
1963	29	110	exposed at end of 96, dug 97
1965	49?	110	with 1963
1967	29	110	with 1968

Table 2: Details of burials in Building 1.

Platform/area	Sex	Age	Completeness
NW	M	OA	basically complete
NW		J 9	skull + top 3 vertebra
NW	M	20+? pr J 1	roughly complete, some elements missing
NW		10	frags
NW		7	frags
NW		4	frags
EC			
EC	-	Adol;	
EC		OA	
EC		OA	
NC	F	MA/OA	no femurs, L arm, hands, feet, pelvis, sacrum
NC		6 months	mainly long bones and skull
NW		J 8-9	skull only
NW		J 4	missing bits and pieces
NW		8	basically complete
NC			
EC	M	OA	skull, arms bones only
NC		9 months	basically complete, articulated, primary,
NC			
NW	F	OA	pretty complete
NC		4-5	basically complete
NC	M?	5	basically complete
NW, toward N, W of 35 and NE of 38	M	8	some long bones/hands/feet parts/vert missing
East central	M	Y-MA	incomplete - no skull or arms
EC			
EC			

Table 2: Details of burials in Building 1.

Unit number	Feature	Space	Info
1968	29	110	
1971	?	110	in cut 1973, no skele remains
1973	?	110	remnants, the rest removed as F.29
1978	49	110	truncated grave cut
1988	49	110	grave cut?
1989		71	badly truncated burial remnant
1992	45	71	articulated baby
1993	49	110	
1995	49	110	
2105	202	71	juvenile with many beads
2114	200	110	with skeleton 2115
2115	200	110	primary burial
2116	49	110	for skeleton 1995
2117	200	110	
2119	212	110	
2121	200	110	with skeleton 2119
2125.1	47	71	extra bones in F.47 (I called it 2125.1, originally just 2125 bones!
2141	207	71	small baby truncated by F.202
2168		71	renumbering of 1st lot of 2125 ribs (dif. indiv.)
2169	204	71	individual below 1955
2191	206	71 (below)	middle neonate in foundations
2192	206	71 (below)	
2194	205	71 (below)	northern neonate in foundations
2195	204	71	juvenile bones
2197	206	71 (below)	middle neonate
2199	205	71 (below)	northern neonate

Table 2: Details of burials in Building 1.

Platform/area	Sex	Age	Completeness
EC		A-OA	incomplete - torso only
EC			
EC			
EC			
EC			
NW			
SW-NE		3 months?	complete
EC			
EC	F?	18-24	no legs
NW		1	complete, articulated
EC			
EC	F	60+	complete, articulated
EC			
EC			
EC	M?	10-12	complete, articulated
EC			
NW		9-10 months	
NW		6 months	basically complete
NW		J	missing skull, many vert, ome long bones, L hand
NW	M	MA	complete
SW corner			
SW corner			
SW corner			
NW			
SW corner		stillborn	complete
SW corner	M?	stillborn	basically complete

Table 2: Details of burials in Building 1.

Unit number	Feature	Space	Info
2501	205	71 (below)	for skele 2199
2506		71	disarticulated long bones
2510	210	71	skull +
2515	208	71 (below)	southern neonate in foundations
2520		71	disarticulated? foot bones
2527	211	71	in foundation
2529	209	71	foundation adult male
2532	211	71	baby on adult skull

Table 2: Details of burials in Building 1.



Platform/area	Sex	Age	Completeness
SW corner			
NW			
NC		9 months	skull and top verts only
SW corner	F?	neonate	complete, rather disturbed by animals
NW			
NC	F	MA	complete
WC	M	OA	complete
NC		neonate	basically complete

Table 2:      Details of burials in Building 1.

Platform/area	Sex	Age	Unit number
EC		A-OA	1968
EC	M	OA	1949
EC	F	60+	2115
EC			1364
EC	F?	18-24	1995
EC			1993
EC			1988
EC			1978
EC			2117
EC			1971
EC			2116
EC			1967
EC			1965
EC	M	Y-MA	1963
EC			1927
EC	-	Adol;	1928.1
EC		OA	1928.2
EC		OA	1928.3
EC			1973
EC	F	OA	1364.1
EC	M	MA/OA	1378
EC			1379
EC			1380
EC			2114
EC		A	1364.4
EC	M?	10-12	2119
EC			1368
EC		A	1364.2
EC			1465
EC	M	MA	1466
EC	M	Adol	1467
EC	-	-	1470
EC			2121
EC	M	Adol	1364.3
NC			1426.1
NC	F	MA/OA	1934
NC		6 months	1935
NC	F?	Adol 15-20	1425.1
NC		3-6 months	1450
NC		very young infant	1912
NC		10 month	1498
NC		A	1464
NC		late adol/<17	1491
NC	F	OA	1424
NC		4-5	1959

Table 3: Building 1 skeletons by age, sex and area of burial.

Platform/area	Sex	Age	Unit number
NC		9 months	1950
NC		9 months	2510
NC			1940
NC	M?	5	1960
NC			1951
NC		neonate	2532
NC	F	MA	2527
NW		6 months	2141
NW		J 9	1925
NW		9 months	1916
NW		9-10 months	2125.1
NW		1	2105
NW		J	2168
NW	M	MA	2169
NW			2506
NW			2520
NW		8	1922
NW			2195
NW	M	OA	1924
NW			1989
NW	M	20+? pr J 1	1926.1
NW		10	1926.2
NW		7	1926.3
NW		4	1926.4
NW	F	OA	1955.1
NW		J 8-9	1937
NW		J 4	1938.1
NW		8	1939
NW		J 5	1923
NW, far NE corner of plat		5-6	1495
NW, furthest N next to 36		9	1913
NW, toward N, W of 35 and NE of 38	M	8	1961
SW corner			2194
SW corner			2192
SW corner		stillborn	2197
SW corner	M?	stillborn	2199
SW corner			2501
SW corner			2191
SW corner	F?	neonate	2515
SW-NE		3 months?	1992
WC	M	OA	2529

Table 3: Building 1 skeletons by age, sex and area of burial.

Unit	Space	Phase	Sex	Age	Feature	Platform/Area
2510	71	1		9 months	210	NC
2515	71 below	1	F?	neonate	208	SW corner
2532	71	1		neonate	211	NC
2527	71	1	F	MA	211	NC
2529	71	1	M	OA	209	WC
2197	71 below	1		stillborn	206	SW corner
2199	71 below	1	M?	stillborn	205	SW corner
2119	110	2	M?	10-12	212	EC
2141	71	2		6 months	207	NW
2126	71	2		1 year	47?	NW
2115	110	2	F	60+	200	EC
1955.2	71	2		6	47	NW
2169	71	2	M	MA	204	NW
1989	71	2				NW
2125	71	2	M?	1 year	47	NW
2506	71	2				NW
2168	71	2		J		NW
2105	71	2		1	202	NW
1955.1	71	2	F	OA	47	NW
2195	71	2			204	NW
2125.1	71	2		9-10 months	47	NW
1950	71	3		9 months	40	NC
1961	71	3	M	8	42B	NW, toward N, W of 35 and NE of 38
1926.2	71	3		10	38	NW
1938.1	71	3		J 4	38	NW
1924	71	3	M	OA	38	NW

Table 4: Building 1 skeletons by age, sex and phase of burial.

Unit	Space	Phase	Sex	Age	Feature	Platform/Area
1939	71	3		8	38	NW
1937	71	3		J 8-9	38	NW
1992	71	3		3 months?	45	SW-NE
1424	71	3	F	OA	30	NC
1926.1	71	3	M	20+? pr J 1	38	NW
2520	71	3				NW
1925	71	3		J 9	38	NW
1926.3	71	3		7	38	NW
1923	71	3		J 5	38	NW
1922	71	3		8	38	NW
1425.1	71	3	F?	Adol 15-20	30	NC
1464	71	3		A	30	NC
1450	71	3		3-6 months	30	NC
1426.1	71	3			30	NC
1926.4	71	3		4	38	NW
1484	71	3			42	NW
1426.2	71	3		I	30	NC
1425.44	71	3	?	A	30	NC
1425.3	71	3	M	A	30	NC
1425.2	71	3	F?	A	30	NC
1938.2	71	3		(14)-18	38	NW
1912	71	3		very young infant	40	NC
1959	71	4		4-5	44	NC
1995	110	4	F	18-24	49	EC
1483	71	4		20-25	31	NC
1481	71	4	M?	pre-adol	31	NC

Table 4: Building 1 skeletons by age, sex and phase of burial.

Unit	Space	Phase	Sex	Age	Feature	Platform/Area
1498	71	4		10 month	31	NC
1489	71	4	F	A/MA	31	NC
1960	71	4	M?	5	44	NC
1495	71	4		5-6	36	NW, far NE corner of plat
1934	71	4	F	MA/OA	31	NC
1935	71	4		6 months	44	NC
1916	71	4		9 months	41	NW
1491	71	4		late adol/<17	31	NC
1482	71	4	M?	Adol 15	31	NC
1378	110	5	M	MA/OA	28	EC
1470	110	5			29	EC
1466	110	5	M	MA	29	EC
1467	110	5	M	Adol	29	EC
1928.1	110	5		Adol	29	EC
1928.3	110	5		OA	29	EC
1968	110	5		A-OA	29	EC
1963	110	5	M	Y-MA	29	EC
1928.2	110	5		OA	29	EC
1364	110	5			29	EC
1364.2	110	5		A	29	EC
1364.3	110	5	M	Adol	29	EC
1364.4	110	5		A	29	EC
1364.1	110	5	F	OA	29	EC
1913	71	5		9	35	NW, furthest N next to 36
1949	110	5	M	OA	29	EC

Table 4: Building 1 skeletons by age, sex and phase of burial.



Unit number	Space	Platform/area	Sex	Age
4328	163	centre of foundations		neonate
4406	163	SW, F428		8 months (6 months-1 yr)
4424	163	against E wall in NE quadrant		18 months?
4427	163	SW of space, near W wall, in foundations		2-3 months (1m Arch99)
4438	163	centre of NE quadrant		neonate
4927	173	antechamber of Bg 17		neonate
4394	163	centre of space 163/173	M	Adol 15-18?
4458	163	almost in centre of space		8 months?
4593	163	against W wall, mid-way along	M	YA
4615	163	centre right of space	F	A (MA Arch99)

Table 5: Building 6 skeletons by age, sex and area of burial.

Unit	Phase	Sex	Age	Platform/Area
2779	1		6 months	
2056	1	M	M-OA	west/centre of room
2362	1		neonate?	SW corner
2017	1		neonate	mid-south wall
2058	1	F	OA	west/centre of room
1885	2	M?	7	SW corner
1884	2	M on canine size	8-9/adol	towards SW, parallel to 84
2033	2		3	SW corner
2728	2?		15 months	NW corner
2842	2?		2-3 years	centre of floor
2886	2?	M	A	centre of floor

Table 6: Space 112 skeletons by sex, age and phase of burial.

SIDE OF BURIAL	SEX	AGE	PLATFORM/AREA	SPACE	UNIT
(back-redeposited)	F	OA	NW	71	1955.1
(back-disturbed)		neonate	NC	71	2532
back		Foetus (7 months?)	NW corner by wall 55/N end of space, central W-E	178	4853
back	M	YA	against W wall, mid-way along	163	4593
back		6 months	NW	71	2141
back		5-6 months	between 2? Against E wall	168	4215
back		8 months?	almost in centre of space	163	4458
back, slightly left	M	MA	EC	110	1466
front		10 month	NC	71	1498
front-redeposited?		(14)-18	NW	71	1938.2
left		very young infant	NC	71	1912
left	F	OA	NC	71	1424
left	M on canine size	8-9/adol!	towards SW, parallel to 84	112	1884
left		5-6	NW, far NE corner of platform	71	1495
left	M?	7	SW corner	112	1885
left	M?	stillborn	SW corner	71 below	2199
left		neonate	antechamber of Bg 17	173	4927
left		S-N! Neonate	midden, south of deep sounding	181	4828
left		neonate	centre of NE quadrant	163	4438
left		18 months?	against E wall in NE quadrant	163	4424
left	M	YA 20-25		115	3368
left	M	A	centre of floor	112	2886
left	F	MA	NC	71	2527
left	F?	neonate	SW corner	71 below	2515
left	M	MA	NW	71	2169
left	M?	10-12	EC	110	2119

Table 7: All skeletons by side of burial.

SIDE OF BURIAL	SEX	AGE	PLATFORM/AREA	SPACE	UNIT
left	F	60+	EC	110	2115
left		1	NW		
left	M?	5	NC	71	2105
left		3	SW corner	71	1960
left	F?	18-24	EC	112	2033
left		3 months?	SW-NE	110	1995
left		9 months	NC	71	1992
left	F	A (MA Arch99)	centre right of space	71	1950
right	M	Adol 15-18?	centre of space 163/173	163	4615
right		18 months	by E wall, mid-N/S?	163	4394
right		9	NW, furthest N next to 36	170	5177
right		4-5 months	N end of space, central W-E	71	1913
right		8	NW	178	4861
right		8 months (6 months-1 yr)	SW, F428	71	1922
right		neonate	centre of foundations	163	4406
right		neonate?	SW corner	163	4328
right		2-3 years	centre of floor	112	2362
right		15 months	NW corner	112	2842
right	M	OA	WC	112	2728
right		3-6 months	NC	71	2529
right	M	M-OA	west/centre of room	71	1450
right		9 months	NW	112	2056
right		4-5	NC	71	1916
right (redeposited?)	M	Y-MA	EC	71	1959
right (redeposited?)		A-OA	EC	110	1963
right/back		8	NW	110	1968
				71	1939

Table 7: All skeletons by side of burial.

Orientation	Sex	Age	Platform/Area	Space	Unit
E		8	NW	71	1939
E		8	NW	71	1922
E		very young infant	NC	71	1912
E		baby 6-9m	by E wall, mid-N/S?	170	5357
E	M?	7	SW corner	112	1885
E	M (canine size)	8-9/adol!	towards SW, parallel to 84	112	1884
E		10 month	NC	71	1498
E		S-N! Neonate	midden, south of deep sounding	181	4828
E	M	OA	NW	71	1924
E		Foetus (7 months?)	NW corner by wall 55/N end of space, central W-E	178	4853
missing		5-6 months	between 2? Against E wall	168	4215
missing (would have been W)	M	YA	against W wall, mid-way along	163	4593
N	M	OA	WC	71	2529
N	F	A (MA Arch99)	centre right of space	163	4615
N		4-5	NC	71	1959
N	M?	5	NC	71	1960
N	M	M-OA	west/centre of room	112	2056
N?		J 4	NW	71	1938.1
no plan in file		15 months	NW corner	112	2728
on top		18 months?	against E wall in NE quadrant	163	4424
S	F	OA	west/centre of room	112	2058
S		neonate	centre of NE quadrant	163	4438
S		stillborn	SW corner	71 below	2197
S	M	Adol 15-18?	centre of space 163/173	163	4394
S, into room		3-6 months	NC	71	1450
S, into room	F	OA	NC	71	1424

Table 8: All skeletons by orientation of head.

Orientation	Sex	Age	Platform/Area	Space	Unit
S, into room		5-6	NW, far NE corner of plat	71	1495
S, out of room		neonate?	SW corner	112	2362
SE		4-5 months	N end of space, central W-E	178	4861
SE		9 months	NW	71	1916
shd be to E	M	MA	EC	110	1466
SW	M?	stillborn	SW corner	71 below	2199
SW		1	NW	71	2105
SW, into room		3 months?	SW-NE	71	1992
to W	M	MA/OA	EC	110	1378
to W	F?	18-24	EC	110	1995
to W, into room	M?	10-12	EC	110	2119
W		neonate	antechamber of Bg 17	173	4927
W		18 months	by E wall, mid-N/S?	170	5177
W		8 months (6 months-1 yr)	SW, F428	163	4406
W		neonate	centre of foundations	163	4328
W	F	MA	NC	71	2527
W	M	A		86	2236
W	M?	A		86	2234
W	F	A		88	2211
W	M	MA		86	2205
W	F	OA	NW	71	1955.1
W		9	NW, furthest N next to 36	71	1913
W		9 months	NC	71	1950
W	J				2225
W, into room	F	60+	EC	110	2115

Table 8: All skeletons by orientation of head.



Facing	Sex	Age	Platform/Area	Space	Unit
down		3 yrs?	NW	86	6237
down		8 months (6 months-1 yr)	SW, F428	163	4406
E	F	60+	EC	110	2115
E	M?	5	NC	71	1960
E	M	Adol 15-18?	centre of space 163/173	163	4394
E and down	F	A (MA Arch99)	centre right of space	163	4615
E, facing adult 1424		3-6 months	NC	71	1450
face down		10 month	NC	71	1498
looking E, head down on knees	M	MA/OA	EC	110	1378
looking NE?	F?	18-24	EC	110	1995
N	M?	10-12	floor	86	3529.X1
N		baby6-9m	by E wall, mid-N/S?	170	5357
N		stillborn	SW corner	71 below	2197
N		9 months	NC	71	1950
N		9 months	NW	71	1916
N	M?	10-12	EC	110	2119
N	M?	stillborn	SW corner	71 below	2199
N?		1	NW	71	2105
N?	F	MA	NC	71	2527
N?	M	OA	NW	71	1924
N?		3 months?	SW-NE	71	1992
N?		5-6	NW, far NE corner of plat	71	1495
N?	F	OA	NC	71	1424
S		neonate	centre of foundations	163	4328
S		9	NW, furthest N next to 36	71	1913
S		very young infant	NC	71	1912

Table 9: All skeletons by direction faced.

Facing	Sex	Age	Platform/Area	Space	Unit
S	M?	7	SW corner	112	1885
S	M	OA	WC	71	2529
S		18 months?	against E wall in NE quadrant	163	4424
SE	F	YA	floor	86	3529.X2
SE?		18 months	by E wall, mid-N/S?	170	5177
W		neonate	centre of NE quadrant	163	4438
W	M on canine si	8-9/adol!	towards SW, parallel to 84	112	1884
W		4-5	NC	71	1959
W	M	M-OA	west/centre of room	112	2056

Table 9: All skeletons by direction faced.

Platform	ID number	Feature	Skeleton	Category	Material
EC	2119.X5	200	2119	Ring	Bone
EC	2119.X4	200	2119	Ring	Bone
EC	2119.X3	200	2119	Ring	Bone
EC	2119.X2	200	2119	Ring	Bone
EC	2119.X1	200	2119	Ring	Bone
EC	2114.H2	212	2115	Shell	Mussel shell
EC	1965.X1	29	1963 or 1968	Scoop	Antler
EC	1993.X1	49	1993	Bowl?	Wood?
EC	1995.X1	49	1993	Toggle/fastener	Wood? or possibly antler
NW	1493.X2	38	1493	Mini clay ball	Clay
NW	1921.X1	38	1924	Pendant Type 16	Bone
NW	1921.H6	38	1924	Pendant	Bone
NW	1921.H5	38	1924	Bead	Dentalium
NW	1921.H4	38	1924	Bead	Dentalium
NW	1921.H3	38	1924	Bead	Clay
NW	1921.H2	38	1924	Bead	Stone
NW	1921.H1	38	1924	Bead	Stone
NW	1921.X2	38	1924	Pendant Type 16/18	Stone
NW	1493.X1	38	1493	Mini clay ball	Clay
NW	1493.H1	38	1493	Bead	Stone
NW	1479.X1	35	1479	Necklace	Stone and dentalium
NW	1479.H4	35	1479	Necklace	Stone
NW	1495.H1	36	1495	Bead	Stone
NW	2105.H1	202	2105	Necklace?	Stone, dentalium
NW	2118.H3	202	2105	Beads	Stone
NW	2118.H2	202	2105	Bead	Stone, coral?

Table 10: Building 1 grave-goods.

Colour	Position on body
orangey brown, mottled	on left hand - index or middle finger
orangey brown, mottled	on left hand - index or middle finger?
orangey brown, mottled	on left hand - which finger?
orangey-brown, mottled	on left index finger?
orangey-brown	on left? thumb?
white	between chin and right shoulder, slightly ahead
yellowy brown	in area where right shoulder should have been
stain only	beside skull of 1995
black stain on bone!	on central right ribs/vertebral column
brown	in fill
dark brown/black	by neck
very dark brown/black	found in flotation
white	from flotation
white	from flotation
brownish grey	from flotation
blueish grey?	from flotation
beige	from flotation
beige and grey/blue	by neck
brown	in fill
dark brown	from flotation
black, rusty dark brown, white	neck area
black, rusty dark brown	from fill, in flotation
dark brown	
black/dark brown, white	in fill
black/dark brown	from flotation
pinkish	from flotation

Table 10: Building 1 grave-goods.

Platform	ID number	Feature	Skeleton	Category	Material
NW	2118.H1	202	2105	Necklace?	Stone
NW	2105.X4	202	2105	Necklace	Stone
NW	2105.X3	202	2105	Necklace?	Stone
NW	1982.H1	202	2105?	Necklace parts	Stone
NW	2105.X1	202	2105	Anklet?	Stone
NW	1921.X3	38	1924	Bracelet	Dentalium shell
NW	2105.F1	202	2105	Pendant	Shell - mussel?
NW	2124.H1	47?	1955	Beads	Stone
NW	1982.H2	202	2105?	Beads	Stone
NW	1479.H1	35	1479	Beads	Stone
NW	1955.X1	47?	1955	Pendant/Bead	Stone
NW	1924.H1	38	1924	Bead	Dentalium shell
NW	2105.X2	202	2105	Necklace?	Stone, dentalium

Table 10: Building 1 grave-goods.

Colour	Position on body
black/dark brown, brown, white/pink	beneath baby 2105
black, dark brown	don't know - around body?
black/dark brown	around neck?
black, brown	from flotation
black or very dark brown	around ankle
white	upper arm
white	beneath chin
black	from flotation
black	from flotation
dark brown	from flotation
semi-translucent pale green, bluish if no light	between femur and pelvis, rather disarticulated
white	in grave fill
black or very dark brown, white	in fill over baby body

Table 10: Building 1 grave-goods.



Phytoliths	Pigment	Unit	Feature
small sample of grasses by skull - mat?		1378	28
on mandible plus traces on long bones		1424	30
yes, over body		1450	30
lots around vertebrae to feet lining grave	?yellow ochre in front of knees	1912	40
	yellow ochre in front of ribs	1950	40
	yellow ochre in fill	1955.1	47
	ochre in fill (yellow, I presume)	1963	29
	ochre in fill (yellow I presume)	1968	29
on bones		1992	45
	yellow ochre sample 1993.X4	1995	49
below body by knee, foot, pelvis	yellow ochre and blue deposit in mixed fill (associated with 2105)	2105	202
yes, around base and sides of lower cut	yellow ochre and grey pigment in waist area and in fill	2115	200
	yellow ochre behind/below shoulder and waist area	2119	212
	yellow ochre below left ribs	2169	204
lots of 'tape' on skull and phyto under body		2527	211
lots under and over and around skele	thin layers of yellow ochre in front of lumbar vertebrae	2529	209
lots of 'tape'		2532	211
?		2772	264
	red pigment in mortar	2842	271
no	blue pigment in shell and scattered, found 1995	4215	417
matting beneath body		4328	442
basket 4429 with lid 4423	red pigment 4407 (presumed ochre)	4406	464
basket 4442	red pigment on frontal bone	4424	475
		4438	487
	Arch99 says ochre - nothing on unit sheet	4458	
	Basak mentioned red ochre, but nothing on unit sheet	4593	

Table 11: All skeletons with pigment and/or phytoliths.

Space	Platform/Area	Sex	Age
110	EC	M	MA/OA
71	NC	F	OA
71	NC		3-6 months
71	NC		very young infant
71	NC		9 months
71	NW	F	OA
110	East central	M	Y-MA
110	EC		A-OA
71	SW-NE		3 months?
110	EC	F?	18-24
71	NW		1
110	EC	F	60+
110	EC	M?	10-12
71	NW	M	MA
71	NC	F	MA
71	WC	M	OA
71	NC		neonate
109	by S wall		neonate
112	centre of floor		2-3 years
168	between 2? Against E wall		5-6 months
163	centre of foundations		neonate
163	SW, F428		8 months (6 months-1 yr)
163	against E wall in NE quadrant		18 months?
163	centre of NE quadrant		neonate
163	almost in centre of space		8 months?
163	against W wall, mid-way along	M	YA

Table 11: All skeletons with pigment and/or phytoliths.

Phytoliths	Pigment	Unit	Feature
basket 4829	25x25cm patch of red ochre on chest area	4615	
basket 4854 + lid 4851 - very small	yellowish organic residue - ochre?	4828	525
basket 4862 and lid 4857	red ochre on frontal skull bone	4853	543
basket		4861	544
basket 5180 and lid 5179	band of red pigment on skull	4927	537
	yellow organic deposit possibly within a shroud	5177	564
basket		5357	576
		6237	617

Table 11: All skeletons with pigment and/or phytoliths.

Space	Platform/Area	Sex	Age
163	centre right of space	F	A (MA Arch99)
181	midden, south of deep sounding		S-N! Neonate
178	NW corner by wall 55/N end of space, central W-E		Foetus (7 months?)
178	N end of space, central W-E		4-5 months
173	antechamber of Bg 17		neonate
170	by E wall, mid-N/S?		18 months
170	by E wall, mid-N/S?		baby6-9m
86	NW		3 yrs?

Table 11: All skeletons with pigment and/or phytoliths.



Plate 1. Punctured figurine heads (top) 4839.H2, 4921.H1, 4793.H1 and 5049.H1; phallic head 4116.D1 (bottom).



Plate 2. Faceless humanoid heads 5323.H1 (right) and 4624.H1 (left).  
Front view (top), back view with headscarves (bottom).





Plate 3. Figurines 5021.D1 (top) and 5043.X1 (bottom).



Plate 4. Baby skeleton 4406 (top) wearing bracelets and anklets. Headless male skeleton 4593 (bottom) covered with plank of hackberry wood.



Plate 5. Bone imitation deer teeth 5169.X2-X13 (top) found in a burial with an elderly female. Bone object 5177.X1 (bottom) found buried with a baby.



Plate 6. Burial of a baby in a basket, which survives as phytoliths.